

HISTORY
OF THE
ANCIENT
GERMANS

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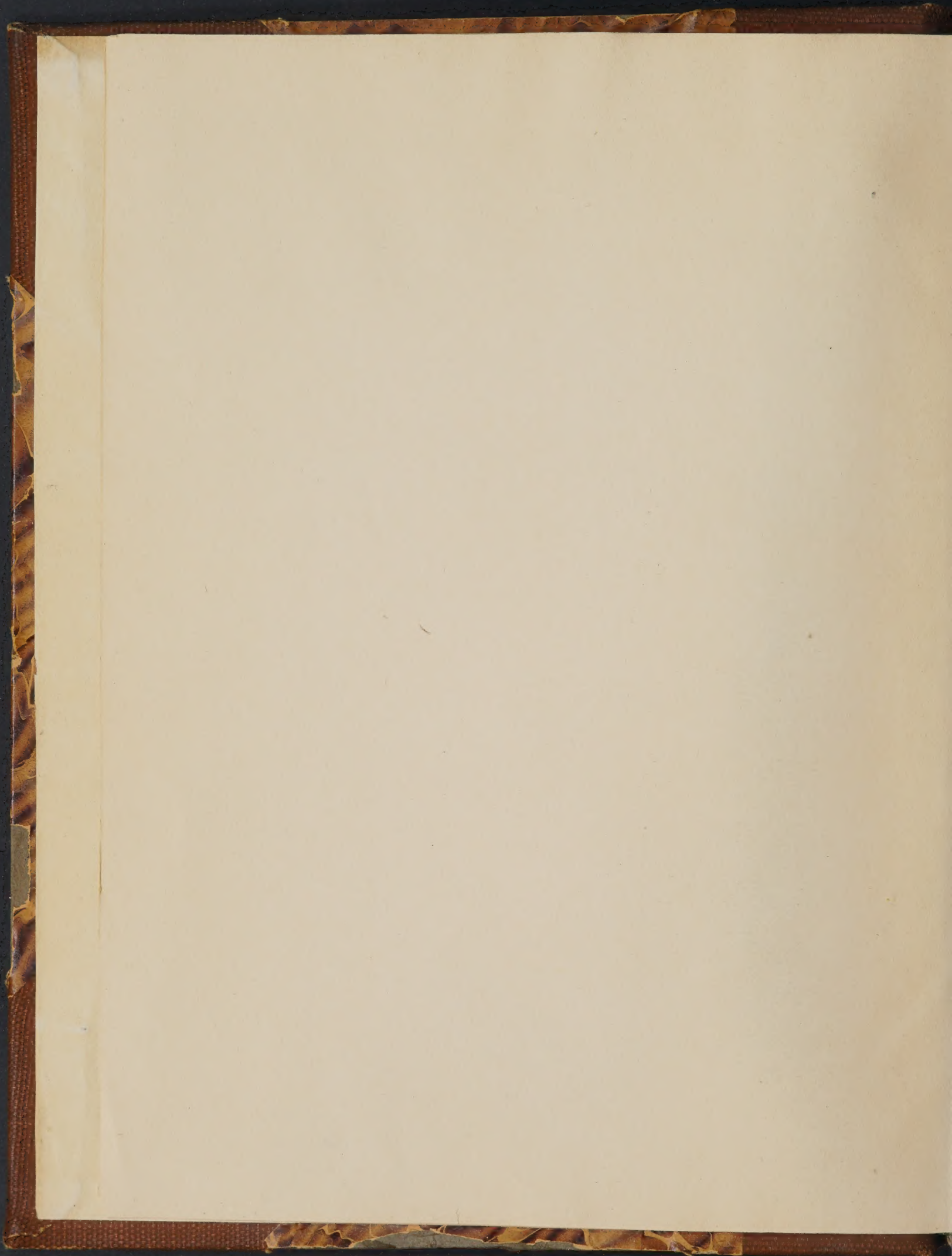
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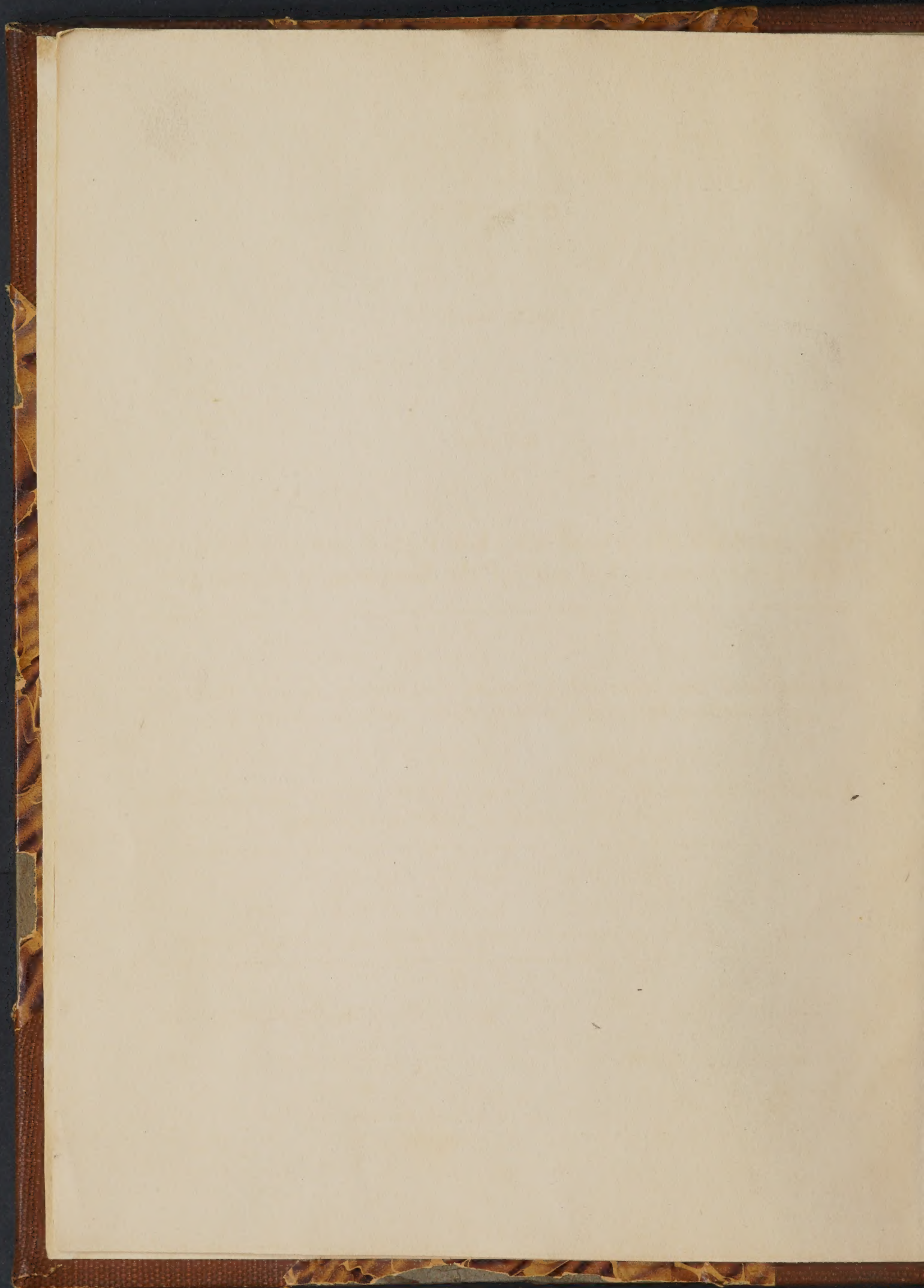
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ANCIENT GERMANES;

Including that of the

CIMBRI, SUEVI, ALEMANNI, FRANKS,
SAXONS, GOTHES, VANDALS,

And other

Ancient Northern Nations,

Who overthrew the ROMAN EMPIRE and establish'd that
of GERMANY, and most of the Kingdoms in EUROPE.

Written Originally in HIGH GERMAN;

*And illustrated with Notes and Quotations, from ancient Authors, Accounts of
Monuments, Inscriptions, Medals, Coins, and other Antiquities,*

By Doctor JOHN JACOB MASCOU,

Aulick Counsellor to the King of Poland, Assessor of the Court of Justice,
and Senator of the City of Leipzig, in Saxony.

Now Translated into ENGLISH,

By THOMAS LEDIARD, Esq;

Late Secretary to his MAJESTY'S Envoy Extraordinary in Lower Germany.

VOL. II.

To the Extinction of the MEROVINGIAN, and Beginning of the
CAROLINGIAN LINE.

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NOSTER-ROW, CURLL in COVENT-GARDEN; MILLAN, at WHITEHALL; WILLOCK, in CORNHILL;
and BRETT, in WESTMINSTER-HALL. 1738.

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TO THE
NOBLE and Right HONOURABLE,

Sir Robert Walpole,

First Lord Commissioner of the TREASURY;
Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the
EXCHEQUER; One of HIS MAJESTY'S
most Honourable PRIVY COUNCIL, and
KNIGHT-COMPANION of the MOST NOBLE
ORDER of the GARTER.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,



FLATTER myself with the assured
Hopes, that the Contents of the following
Sheets will alone be sufficient to recom-
mend them to Your PROTECTION. *The*
History of our GREAT ANCESTORS, (the
Ancient Germans) is, SIR, a Subject not hitherto, I be-
lieve, professedly attempted in the *English* Tongue: And

as

D E D I C A T I O N.

as our own *Laws*, and Ancient *Laudable Customs*, nay even our *Excellent Constitution* itself, are, in a great Measure, form'd on the Model of theirs, to whom can this *Epitome* of their *Original* be, with so great Propriety, address'd, as to the NOBLE PERSON, who, by His *High Stations*, is so greatly concern'd for their Preservation, and has them so much and so constantly at Heart.

BUT, SIR, the View I have chiefly had in this Translation furnishes me with a farther Plea for Your favourable Acceptance of it; as it is intended, by Way of Introduction, to be the Fore-runner of a much larger Work; for which I have collected Materials, from the principal Archives and Libraries, in *Germany*, in above Twenty Years Travels in those Parts; I mean *A Chronological History of the EMPERORS, KINGS, and PRINCES of the MOST ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE of BRUNSWICK, in all its Branches*; from the Time of *Charlemaign*, (the Period at which the *History of the Ancient Germans* ends) to the present Time; chiefly upon the Plan of the same History begun by the famous Mr. *Leibnitz*, and continued by the learned Mess. *Hahn, Eccardy, and Gruber*, in *Hannover*, by Order of the late King, and now deposited in the Library there, but never published.

YOUR immovable Attachment, SIR, to this ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE, even in the worst and most perilous of Times,

D E D I C A T I O N.

Times, when impending Ruin almost immediately threatened us, will, I am convinced, render an Attempt of this Kind, in the *English* Tongue, acceptable to You; and the following Sheets being introductory thereunto, may thence, I humbly presume, confidently lay Claim to Your PATRONAGE.

I SHALL not dare, SIR, to break in any farther upon Your precious Time, (always devoted to the Honour of Your SOVEREIGN, and the *Good* of Your COUNTRY,) to offer but at a Sketch of Your *Aimable Character*: It is too transcendant for my weak Capacity to attempt, with any Prospect of Success; and will undoubtedly hereafter be the *Glorious Task* of some more Masterly *Genius*, when groveling Envy and foul Detraction will no longer dare to rear their Heads, and the Impotent Rage of Party and Faction will have given Way to the irresistible Force of All-prevailing Truth. *Then will the BEAUTIFUL IMAGE be displayed in its True and Native Light; and it will then be recorded, to the Immortal Honour of GREAT-BRITAIN, that SHE, in this Age, produced so GREAT, so FINISH'D a STATESMAN; a MINISTER so DESERVING of the CONFIDENCE and ROYAL FAVOUR of two of the WISEST and MOST DISCERNING MONARCHS, that ever graced the ENGLISH THRONE; and a Subject, who by his SALUTARY COUNCILS, and PRUDENT ADMINISTRATION, of the several HIGH*
OFFICES

D E D I C A T I O N.

OFFICES *he was deservedly vested with, in two Reigns, and during so long a Series of Years, as has not many Parallels in our History, was justly stil'd the* DARLING OF THE NATION.

I beg Leave, with all possible Submission, to subscribe myself,

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

Your most Devoted,

and most Obedient

Humble Servant,

*Smith's Square, Westminster,
May 29. 1738.*

Thomas Lediard.

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THE
Author's Preface,
TO THE
SECOND VOLUME.

IN the first ten Books, I collected the most Ancient Histories of the *German* Nations, to the Beginning of the Monarchy of the *Franks*. This Volume contains a Continuation of near three hundred Years, to the Extinction of the Race of the *Merovingian* Kings, amidst the extraordinary Revolutions of many Kingdoms and People. I have indeed prefix'd the Contents to each Book ; however, it may be of Use, to recapitulate the principal Circumstances ; that we may take a View of them at once. *Clovis*, as Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, opens the
b Scene,

The AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

Scene, with bloody Campaigns, and successful Treaties, and secures to himself the Fruits of both, by his Conversion. His Sons extend them, among other Means, by a Conquest of the *Burgundians* and *Thuringians*. No less worthy our Notice, is the Kingdom founded, almost about the same Time, in *Italy*, by *Theoderic*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, who, as long as he lived, was a Match, as well for the Emperor, as the Kings of the *Franks*. We left the *Vandals*, at the Conclusion of the first Volume, in *Africa*. We here continue their History, under the Successors of *Geiseric*, 'till *Justinian* visits them with a War, and *Belisarius* leads *Gelimer*, their last King, in Triumph at *Constantinople*. This Victory encourages the Emperor to attack the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*. *Belisarius* is, at first, so successful in this War, that King *Vitiges* surrenders at *Ravenna*: But the *Goths* revive their Courage, and *Totilas*, in the latter Campaigns, almost robs *Belisarius* of the Honour he had gain'd in the former. *Narses*, at length, reduces *Italy* again to their Allegiance to the Emperor, and puts a total End to the Kingdom of the *Ostro-Goths*.

THIS *Gothick* War, which lasted nineteen Years, brings, at the same Time, several other Nations into Motion. The Kings of the *Franks*, and particularly *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasia*, try, in vain, their Fortune, on the other Side of the *Alps*; as do likewise the two Dukes of the *Alemanni*, *Bucelinus* and *Leutharis*. In *Illyricum*, the foreign Nations cut out so much Work for *Justinian*, as almost obliges him to abandon the *Italian* War. He admits the *Lombards*

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bards into *Pannonia*, as it were to defend it; notwithstanding which the *Gepidæ* and *Heruli* ravage, almost without Controul; and yet more the *Sclavi*, who, in Process of Time, almost peopled these Countries with their Colonies.

AFTER *Justinian's* Death, the Constitution of the *Roman Empire*, in the *West*, which he had, in some Measure, restor'd, again declines. The *Longobards* enter *Italy*, in the Year 568, under the Conduct of their King *Alboin*, after they had, with the Assistance of the *Abari*, overthrown the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*. The *Franks*, under the Successors of *Clotarius, I.* are involved in a Civil War, which is inflam'd by the Hatred between the two Queens, *Brunehild* and *Fredegund*, 'till, in the Year 613, the Kingdom is again united, in the Person of *Clotarius, II.* The Dominion of the *Wiss-Goths*, in *Spain*, gains a very different Aspect, after their King, *Leovigild*, had vanquish'd the *Suevi*. His Son, *Reccaredus*, embraces the *Catholick* Faith, and thereby cements a stricter Union between the Minds of the *Goths* and the Natives of the Country. The Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons* furnishes us with an Opportunity to take Notice of the State of the *Saxon* Kingdoms, and, at the same Time, of their Religion, in *Britain*. What the *Franks* then contributed to their Conversion, the *Anglo-Saxons* afterwards richly requited, by a like Endeavour with the *German Nations* in *Germania*.

THE seventh Century produces new Enemies to the Roman Empire, in the *Saracens*. While the Emperor has his Hands full with them in *Asia*, the *Longobards* find the less Difficulty in extending their Kingdom in *Italy*; especially after King *Grimoald* had embraced the *Catholick* Faith, and the Nation began to conform to certain Laws, which, at Length, were likewise approved by the *Italians*. The *Franks* recover themselves under *Clotarius*, II, and his Successors, from their former Civil Broils. *Dagobert* makes War with those Nations of the *Sclavi*, who border on his Kingdom in *Germania*: But, at Length, the Youth and Weakness of the succeeding Kings pave the Way for the Power of the *Majores Domus*. *Pipin* of *Herstall* raises this Power to its highest Pitch, and leaves it to his Family almost hereditary. In the Midst of the Wars, which were the Consequences of this, History meets with an agreeable Turn in the Introduction of the *Christian* Religion, into several *German* Countries. In particular, St. *Willibrod* propagates it among the *Frisians*; St. *Gallus* among the *Swabians*, and St. *Emmeranus* and *Rupertus*, among the *Bavarians*. The Manner in which these Conversions are effected gives us no less Opportunity to new Enquiries, than the Consequences of them.

AT the Beginning of the eighth Century, the *Wish-Goths* suffer a signal Overthrow, from the *Saracens*, in *Spain*. In the History of the *Franks*, the *Majores Domus* have now a greater Share than the Kings; tho' the Actions of *Charles Martell* are so glorious, that the Nation is no Sufferer by it. We find him in the Field, sometimes against the Dukes of *Aquitain*,

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Aquitain, and sometimes, on the other Side, against the *Frishi*. At other Times, we see him turn his Arms to the Heart of *Germania*, against the Dukes of *Swabia* and *Bavaria*, or against the *Saxon* Nations, who, by that Means, become, by Degrees, better known in History. To his Victories over the *Saracens*, the *Western* Part of *Christendom* owes its Safety, and the Kingdom of the *Franks*, in particular, is indebted for *Septimania*, the only Province which the *Wisi-Goths* had retain'd in *Gaul*. His Sons, for a Time, support the Kingdom with equal Valour, and likewise follow his Example in promoting the religious Endeavours of St. *Boniface*. *Pipin*, at Length, obliges King *Childeric* to retire into a Cloister, and himself mounts the Throne. With this Revolution, I conclude, for the present, my History; this being the Foundation of a new Period in the History of the *Germans*: For, about the very same Time, Matters begin to ripen, in *Italy* also, for that great Revolution, which, at Length, comes to a full Maturity under *Charlemaign*.

As for the Method which I have observ'd, in this Volume, I may refer to what I have said, on the same Occasion, with Regard to the first. The History of the *Franks* is now, as it were, the Foundation, on which the History of the other *German* Nations rises. That History itself, without this Help, would be obscure and imperfect: But this Connexion gives it a certain Grandeur and Diversity, which could hardly be expected of these Times. As my Design is chiefly aim'd at *Germania*, I go no farther, in that Part of the History

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story of the *Franks*, which particularly regards *Gaul*, than a Connexion requires. I have thereby the greater Latitude for my Remarks on those Circumstances, which more especially respect *Germania*, and its Inhabitants, or likewise some of their Neighbours, whose History requires an Illustration from that of the *Germans*. The Revolutions of the Empire continue yet to have a great Influence over the Affairs of the *German* Nations. I must likewise, sometimes, take Notice of the Controversies of the Church, when they are the Motives to Political Disputes, or, at least, serve as a Pretext for them. This was but too often the Case, as the Examples, from the Differences about *Arianism*, to the Quarrel which arose, concerning the Adoration of Images, more than sufficiently shew. The Accounts we have of the Manners and Customs of the *Germans* are, by Degrees, more to be depended on, after we can take them from their own Laws, and from the Testimonies of such Writers as were cotemporary with them. The latter have indeed recorded little more of them than their Wars: But it is even worthy our Labour, to view them likewise in this Light; and to observe how, under the various Success of their Arms, they encrease in Power, as it were, even by their Overthrows *. However, besides this, *Tacitus* and other ancient Writers, in their Times, extol their Integrity as much as their Valour; two Qualities which together make a good National Character. That with these, they were not in want of good Maxims, is evident from their very Actions, and principally

* Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes, animumque, ferro.

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XV

from the Duration of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, which, next to the *Roman*, was the most powerful in the *West*.

WITH Regard to the Stile of History, we discover in general, a great Difference in Taste, between the ancient and more modern Times. The Ancients look'd upon History, almost as a Work of Eloquence, as *Cicero*, in particular, expresses himself, on this Occasion *: The *Moderns* require a greater Certainty. Miracles, which were of Service to an ancient Historian, and an Elegance in the intermix'd Discourses, do not so much affect them, as they are desirous to know every Circumstance, with great Accuracy, and to measure almost every Degree of Truth and Probability. This is, in itself, a happy Difference; but, in Times, so obscure as are here treated of, it makes the Narrative so much the more difficult. The scatter'd Circumstances must, in Order to bring them into some certain Form, be connected with infinite Pains. We must often be contented, if we can but come at the Order of Time, on which the Certainty of the History rests. It is, therefore, the more necessary, to be exact, in quoting the Passages from whence we take this Assistance, or even to subjoin them.

AMONG these obscure Circumstances, there are many which require a more narrow Enquiry into, than the Course of History will allow of. Many Nations are not sufficiently known; many Customs differ too widely from our own; and many Occurrences are not related by Historians in the same Manner. For the Illustration of such Matters, I have ra-

* I. de leg. I.

ther

ther chosen to add some separate *Annotations*, at the End of this Work, in which several minute Circumstances are related and enquired into, that would not have been so proper, in the Body of the History, and yet give some Light to it.

ACCORDING to the *Plan*, which I at first laid down, for illustrating the History of the *Germans*, there, therefore, yet remains a third Period, containing the History of the Emperors and Kings of the *Carolingian* Race, till the Time it became extinct in *Germany*, in the Person of *Lewis*, the Son of *Arnulph*. In this Period, the History of *Charlemaign* deserves our principal Notice; and, in particular, his reducing the Kingdom of the *Longobards*, and the *Roman* Empire, under the Dominion of the *Franks*. From the ensuing Partitions, made by several Kings, arise different States; and, at Length, the History branches out in like Manner, as the Monarchy of the *Franks* itself does. Then it is, that *Germania* becomes a separate Empire, which under *Otto*, the *Great*, again obtains the Imperial Dignity, and the Crown of *Italy*, and thence is call'd the *Roman German Empire*. But, as this Volume has already swell'd beyond the Bulk of the former, the HISTORY of the *GERMANS*, under the *CAROLINGIAN* RACE, will be the Subject of a separate Volume.



T H E

Translator's Preface.



S I gave the Reader, in my Preface to to the first Volume of this Translation, a pretty particular Account of what he was to expect in the Second; and the the Author, in the preceeding Preface, has briefly re-capitulated the Substance of it, there is little left for me to add; unless what his Modesty compelled him to pass over in Silence: I mean, that he has treated his Subject with so much Brevity, and, at the same Time, Perspicuity; has brought the Substance of so many, and withal so important Matters, within so narrow a Compass, and has

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disposed

The TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

disposed them in so orderly a Method, and with so great Judgment, as must even infinitely surpass our Expectations.

WHEN I published the first Volume, I had not then received the large *Annotations*, which the Author has added to the Second, as it were by Way of Appendix to, or rather Illustration of, both; and consequently could give no Account of them there. The Author, in his Preface to this Volume, has given a very just Reason for his introducing the Materials, of which they consist, in the Manner he has done; and, as to the Value of them, and the curious Remarks he has interspersed with them, they speak more than enough for themselves, and do not want any *Encomium*, from so insufficient a Pen as mine.

As to what the Author says, with Regard to a Continuation of this Work, I refer to what I have observed in my Preface to the first Volume: The Publication of it seems very precarious, in Point of Time: Neither he nor I can foresee what may intervene with Regard to either or both of us: These two Volumes, (carried down to the Period, which our Author has judiciously chosen, to put a Stop to his Work, for this Time at least,) make a COMPLETE HISTORY of the ANCIENT GERMANS, and those NORTHERN NATIONS, who are, by him, comprehended under that Denomination, from the CIMBRIAN WAR to the Extinction of the MEROVINGIAN

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GIAN LINE *of the* KINGS OF THE FRANKS: I therefore hold the Subscribers, who have favoured me with their Encouragement hitherto (for which I take this Opportunity of returning my hearty Acknowledgments) under no farther Obligation. However, as I agree with our Author, that the *Life and Actions of that Great Prince, CHARLEMAIGN*, for which I have been many Years collecting Materials, in *Germany*, is the most memorable Part of the History immediately subsequent to this Period, I may probably attempt that, the next ensuing Season, either by itself, or as a Part of a larger Work, of which the Publick will soon be more particularly apprized.



N. B. AFTER the following Sheets were printed off, I found the Author had thought fit to make a few Alterations in a Couple of Pages of the XI. Book, of which I think it my Duty to inform the Reader. These Alterations are contain'd in Page 58 and 59 of the Translation, which are to be read as follows:

Page 58. at the Conclusion of § XXXVIII. add; *But this Tradition has no Manner of Grounds, as is evident from Agnellus, an ancient Writer of Ravenna. See the XIV. Annotation.*

IB. § XXXIX. n. 1. *ad fin.* del. *As for the Name of Ostrogoth, it is a Question whether that was rightly written by Jornandes.*

IB. n. 2. after the Words, *profuit ista conjunctio*, del. *Jornandes seems not to have been well inform'd of the Names of Clovis's Sons.*

IB. n. 3. Read: *Some more modern Spanish Writers say he had likewise a Spanish Wife: But with as little Foundation, as when they relate his Journey to Spain.*

P. 59. After the Words: *for the Diversions of the Amphitheater*, read: *The Emperor, Justin, who was his Partner in the Consulat, that Year, had adopted him for his Son; as Theoderic himself had, in like Manner, been honour'd by Zeno.*

IB. after the Words: *had been murder'd by his Father*: del. *I have met with a Medal of Theoderic, where, in Honour to him, his two Grandsons are represented, in Imitation of a Medal of Augustus, on which we find Cajus and Lucius, his Daughter's Children.*

IB. n. 7. read: *See the Words of Athalaric below, § XLIV. n. 4.*

IB. n. 8. before § XLIV. n. 1. put: *See the Testimony of Jornandes; and add: Athalaric himself writes.*



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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K X I.

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§. I. **T**HE Foundation of the Monarchy of the *Franks* begins a fresh Period in the History of the *Germans*; in which we shall find those Nations, that remain'd in *Germany*, united under the *Frankish* Scepter. This, with the principal Transactions of those *German* Nations, who settled in foreign Countries, 'till they may be properly said to be wholly secluded from the *German* History, will be the chief Subjects of the following Sheets. We meet here with as great a Number and Variety of Occurrences, as in the former Period; and so far they have a Preference, as the Regulations and Establishments of this Period, were of longer Duration, and in Part subsist to this Day. If, in the former Volume, we saw the Subversion of the *Roman* Empire in the *West*, by Means of the *Germans*, we here find it again restored by their Posterity,

IN the preceding Books, we gave an Account of the Origin of the *Franks*, the Progress they made, and the sure Footing they gain'd in *Germania Secunda*, and in *Belgica*, after the Times of *Valentinian III* (1). All which evidently confutes the Opinion of *F. Daniel*, who pretends to assert, that the *Rhine* continued, 'till *Clovis's* Time, the Boundary of the Dominion of the *Franks*, and that this Prince did not lead his Nation over the *Rhine*, 'till he had formed the Resolution of establishing his Power in *Gaul* (2). *Clovis* is to be regarded as Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, not only because he erected a lasting Kingdom, of far greater Extent, than that Tract of Land, which his Predecessors probably possess'd; but likewise because he united the other Nations of the *Franks* under his Dominion. The Beginning of his Reign is placed in the Year 482. Five Years after this, and in the twentieth of his Age, he form'd the Design of attacking the Residue of the *Romans*, in *Gaul*, who were then commanded by *Syagrius* (3), a Son of the General *Ægidius*. He march'd thro' the *Arduennian* Forest, directly to *Soissons*, where *Syagrius* then was. An Engagement soon ensued, at a small Distance from that City. *Syagrius* was overcome, and fled for Refuge to *Alaric*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*; but was surrender'd to *Clovis*, and, by his Order, privately put to Death (4). *Clovis* had, in the mean Time, reduced to his Dominion, *Soissons*, *Rheims*, and the other Cities in *Belgica*, which, till then, appertain'd to the *Roman* Empire. The ancient Inhabitants of the Country, who could expect no Relief from the *Romans*, begun, by Degrees, voluntarily to submit to the *Franks*: And thus ended the Sovereignty of the *Romans* in *Gaul*, which *Julius Caesar* had, above five hundred Years before, with much Blood-shed, acquir'd. Thus Heaven prescribes Limits to Nations and Kingdoms! *Cæsar*, at that Time, repell'd those *Germans*, who were desirous of fixing their Habitation in *Gaul*: Now the *Germans*, in their Turn, triumph over the *Romans*.

§ I. (1) *Conf. Lib. 10. § 39.*

(2) *V. Preface Historique, Art. 1.*

(3) Whether this be the same *Syagrius*, whom *Sidonius Apollinaris* speaks in Praise of, *Lib. 5. ep. 5.* is uncertain.

(4) *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, Lib. 2. cap. 27.* Mortuo Childerico regnavit Clodoveus filius ejus pro eo: anno autem quinto regni ejus Syagrius, Romanorum Rex, Egidii filius, ad civitatem Sueffiones, quam supra memoratus Egidius retinuerat, sedem habebat. Super quem Clodoveus, cum Rachario, parente suo, qui & ipse

regnum tenebat, veniens, campum, ut pugnaret, preparari sibi deposcit. Sed nec iste distulit, ac resistere metuit. Itaque inter se utrisque pugnantibus, Syagrius elisum cernens exercitum, terga vertit, & ad Alaricum, Regem, Tolosam cursu veloci perlabitur. Clodoveus vero, ad Alaricum mittit, ut eum redderet; alioquin noverit, sibi bellum ob ejus detentionem inferri. At ille metuens, ne propter eum iram Francorum incurreret, (ut Gothorum pavere mos est) vinctum legatis tradidit. Quem Clodoveus receptum custodiæ mancipari præcepit, regnoque ejus accepto, cum gladio clam feriri mandavit.

§ II. BUT, as *Theoderick*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, will, in the Sequel, have a considerable Share in the History of the *Franks*, and the other *German Nations*, we must here have an Eye, to the great Revolution which, about this Time, broke out in *Italy*. I have already taken Notice, that *Odoacer* so far gain'd his Point in *Italy*, that the *German Troops*, which consisted of *Scirri*, *Heruli*, and *Rugi*, proclaim'd him King (1); and that thereupon he made himself Master of *Italy* (2). He soon after came to an Agreement with the *Vandals* about *Sicily* (3), and gave up *Provence*, in *Gaul*, to *Euricus*, King of the *Wisi-Goths* (4), in Order to secure his Friendship; hoping, that if these two Kings were his Allies, he would have the less to fear from the *Grecian Emperor*. He therefore bore as absolute a Sway in *Italy*, as was before allow'd to the Emperors, and *Baronius* says, in Praise of him; that tho' he was an *Arian* himself, yet he never persecuted the Professors of the *Catholic Faith* (5). History even informs us, that *Basilius*, *Patricius* and *Præfectus Prætorio* (6), presided, in his Name, at a Synod in *Rome*, and made that Regulation, by which no *Roman Pope* was to be elected without the King's previous Knowledge (7). He likewise carried on some Wars out of *Italy* (8): In particular with the *Rugi*, who then dwelt on this Side of the *Danube*, opposite to *Noricum*. In the Year 487, he gained a Victory over their Prince, *Feletheus*, who is likewise called *Fava* or *Feba*,

The History
of Italy re-
sum'd. The
Reign of
Odoacer, &c.

§ II. (1) Lib. 10. § 33. It appears from a Passage in *Ennodius*, where he upbraids *Odoacer* with his Birth, that his Promotion to the Royal Dignity was not so much owing to his Birth, as to Fortune, *Paneg.* p. 298. Metuebat parentes exercitus, quem meminisse originis suæ admonebat honor alienus. Nam ire ad nutum suum legiones, & remeare pavore algidus imperabat. Suspecta enim est obedientia, quæ famulatur indignis: & quotiens prælatos convenit conscientia stirpis ultimæ, & illud metuunt, quod timentur. Edica was, according to *Hadrianus Valesius's* Opinion, the Father of *Odoacer*, and is said, by *Jornandes*, cap. 54, to have been *Primas Scirrorum*.

(2) *Ibid.* § 37.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *VALESIUS*, Lib. 5. p. 234. refert ad A. 477.

(5) See above, Lib. 10. § 38.

(6) This is, perhaps, the same *Cæcina*, Vir Consularis whom *Sidonius Apollinaris* speaks in Praise of, Lib. 1. ep. 9.

(7) In the *Acta Concilii Romani III.* sub *Symmacho Papa*, we find an Ordinance mention'd, which was made by *Basilius*, *Præfectus Prætorio*, after the Death of *Pope Simplicius*, concerning the *Papal Election*, and the Estates of the Clergy. The Beginning of it runs thus: Cum in unum apud *Beatum Petrum Apostolum* resedissent, sublimis & eminentissimus vir, *Præfectus Prætorio*, atque *Patricius*, agens etiam vices præcellentissimi Regis, *Odoacris*, *Basilius* dixit: Quanquam studii nostri & religionis interfit, ut in *Episcopatus* electione concordia principaliter servetur *Ecclesiæ*, ne per occasionem seditionis status civitatis vocetur in dubium: tamen admonitione beatissimi Viri, *Papæ nostri*, *Simplicii*, quam ante oculos semper habere debemus, hoc vobis meministis sub obtestatione fuisse mandatum, ut propter illum strepitum, & venerabilis *ecclesiæ* detrimentum, cum de hac luce transire contigerit, non sine nostra consultatione, cujuslibet celebraretur electio. Conf. *BARONIUS* ad A. 483. n. 10. seq.

(8) *CASSIODORUS* in *Chronico*: *PLACIDIO* Cos. (481) *Odoacer* in *Dalmatis* *Odivam* vincit & perimit,

and

and carried him, with *Gisa*, his Consort, Captives to *Rome* (9). *Frederick*, their Son, made his escape by Flight, and taking upon him the Government of the Nation, infested *Noricum* to the utmost of his Power. *Odoacer* detach'd *Anaulphus*, or *Aonulphus**, his Brother, against him, with an Army. *Frederick*, not daring to encounter him, fled into *Moësia*, to *Theoderick*, the Prince of the *Ostro-Goths*, whom he afterwards accompanied into *Italy*: And, after this Time, these *Rugi* do not appear to have formed a separate Monarchy: But the *Longobards* took Possession of the Country on the *Danube*, which the *Rugi* till then dwelt in. The Inhabitants of those Cities, which lay on the *Danube*, in *Noricum*, and were continually expos'd to the Incursions of foreign Nations, were, on this Occasion, sent to *Italy*, which was then destitute of Inhabitants, and where they might, at the same Time, strengthen the Power of the *Heruli* (10).

Theoderick,
Prince of the
Ostro-Goths,
goes to *Italy*.

§ III. BUT as *Odoacer's* Kingdom was established by Violence, so it was soon oblig'd to give Way to a superior Power. *Theoderick*, Prince of the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Moësia* (1), bent his Designs on *Italy*. I gave some Account of this Hero in the former Volume, and shall only repeat here, that he was the Son of *Theodemir*, the *Gothick* Prince (2), and, after having succeeded his Father in the Government, contributed greatly to the Restoration of the Empire to *Zeno*, by whom he was so highly esteemed, that he created him *Patricius*, and *Magister Militiæ Præsentis*,

(9) CASSIODORUS, (A. 487.) BOETIO CONSULE. Odoacer, Febano, rege Rugorum, victo captoque, potitus est.

CHRONOGRAPHUS a CUSPINIANO editus: BOETIO UNICO CONSULE: Pugna facta est inter Odoacrum regem, & Febanum, regem Rugorum: & vicit Odoacer, & abduxit captivum Febanum Regem, sub XVIII. cal. Dec.

* He is likewise call'd Anulph, and, by Isidorus, Arnulphus.

(10) These Circumstances are related by Eugippius in vita S. Severini, where he frequently mentions these *Rugi*, and the State of *Noricum*, cap. 45. Fridericus, post Severini mortem vestes ejus, & altaris Calices rapuit, hinc intra mensis spatium a Friderico, fratris filio, interfectus. Quapropter Rex Odachar Rugis intulit bellum, quibus devictis, & Friderico fugato, patre quoque Fava capto, eum ad Italiam cum noxia conjuge supra memorata, videlicet *Gisa*, transmigravit. Post audiens idem Odachar Fridericum ad proprios re-

vertisse, statim fratrem suum cum multis exercitibus Aonulfum misit, ante quem denuo fugiens Fridericus, ad Theodericum regem, qui tum apud Novam, civitatem provinciæ Misianæ, morabatur, profectus est: AONULFUS vero præcepto fratris admonitus, universos jussit ad Italiam migrare Romanos.

§ III. (1) *Theoderick's* Death occasion'd many Elegies and Heroick Poems: But the Accounts of his Life, taken from them, are very fabulous. When Joh. Cochleus, for Instance, relates, in vita Theoderici, that Theodemir, his Father, was Lord of Verona, and that Theoderick from thence receiv'd the Name of Dietrich of Bern: Item that Samson, Prince of Salerno, was his Grandfather, by his Mother's Side. This is, nevertheless, repeated by J. Peringschiold in his Annotations, p. 40, and his whole Genealogy is founded thereon, p. 271, 272. From hence we may form some Notion of the other ancient Lives to which he appeals.

(2) See above, Lib. 10, § 9. & 31.

and

and nominated him *Consul*, for the Year 484, which Year is still distinguish'd in the Annals by his Name (3). *Jornandes* even affirms, that he adopted him for his Son, and caused an Equestrian Statue to be erected in Honour of him before the Imperial Palace (4). Historians vary about the Motives, that induc'd *Theodorick* to form this great Resolution. According to *Ennodius*, we might conclude, that he was incited by *Frederick*, Prince of the *Rugi* (5). Others pretend, that he was persuaded to go to Italy by *Zeno* himself (6). Both Accounts may be easily reconcil'd. His warlike Disposition, and Ambition of Greatness, might alone have incited him to this Undertaking*, which the Prince of the *Rugi*, and the whole Nation, no sooner heard of, than they highly approv'd of it. The Emperor *Zeno* might, with Pleasure, embrace an Opportunity of ridding himself of these enterprising Neighbours, who might prove as detrimental now, as they were serviceable before; which he had but lately experienc'd, when *Theoderick* made Incursions, almost as far as *Constantinople* (7). He might likewise, by this Means, save those considerable Sums, which the *Goths* had, 'till then, annually cost him. To this we may add, that, in all Probability, *Zeno* had not formally acknowledg'd *Odoacer* to be King and *Patricius*, and rather suffer'd him to reign in *Italy*, than approv'd of it (8). Thus may his Design have met with Approbation on all Hands: But the Conditions agreed on, between the

(3) *IBID*, 34, 36.

(4) *JORNANDES*, cap. 57. Et post aliquod tempus ad ampliandum honorem ejus, in arma sibi eum filium adoptavit, suisque stipendiis triumphum in urbe donavit, factusque est Consul ordinarius, quod summum bonum, primumque in orbe Decus edicitur: nec tantum hoc, sed etiam equestrem statuem, ad famam tanti viri, ante Regiam Palatii collocavit,

(5) *ENNODIUS* in *Panegyrico Theoder.* p. 289.

(6) *PROCOPIUS*, *THEOPHANES*, p. 113. *AUTOR. HISTOR. MISCELLÆ*, &c.

* *JORNANDES*, cap. 57. introduces *Theoderick* as addressing *Zeno* thus: *Hesperia* plaga, quæ dum decessorum, prædecessorumque vestrorum regimine gubernata est, & Urbs illa caput orbis & domina, quare nunc sub Regis *Turcilingorum*, & *Rugorum* tyrannide fluctuat? Dirige cum gente mea, si præcipis, ut hic expensarum pondere careas; & ibi si adjutus a Domino vicero, fama vestræ pietatis irradiet. Expedit namque, ut ego, qui sum servus vester & filius, si vicero, vobis donantibus, Regnum illud possideam; haud

ille, quem non nostis, tyranni jugo Senatum vestrum, partemque Reipublicæ captivitatis servitio premat. Ego enim si vicero, vestro dono, vestroque munere possidebo: si victus fuero, vestra pietas nihil amittit; imo, ut diximus, lucratur expensas. Quo audito, quamvis ægre ferret Imperator discessum ejus, nolens tamen eum contristare, annuit quæ poscebat, magnisque ditatum muneribus dimisit a se, Senatum populumque ei commendans Romanum:

(7) *MARCELLINUS* in *Chronico* ad A. 487. (*BOETHIO* Cos.) *Theodericus*, *Gothorum* Rex, *Zenonis* Augusti nunquam beneficiis satiat, magna suorum manu usque ad regiam Civitatem, & *Melentiadam* oppidum, infestus accessit, plurimisque locis igne crematis, ad *Novensem* *Mœsiæ* civitatem, unde advenerat, remeavit. *Melentias* was, according to *Suidas*, apud *Pagium*, ad A. 487. n. 2. a Village, 102 Furlongs distant from Constantinople.

(8) We observed before, Lib. 10. § 2. that he did not at least acknowledge him formally at first.

Emperor

Emperor and the Gothick Prince, are much more obscure: For the Grecians afterwards] pretended, that Zeno sent him thither to re-incorporate Italy with the Empire (9), and the Goths, on the contrary, affirm'd, that Zeno left Italy to their King, as an independant Government (10). But of this we shall be better able to judge in the Sequel, when it will, at the same Time, appear, that the Goths obtain'd a legal Possession of Italy. Theoderick broke up, in the Year 489, with his whole Nation; and a new World seem'd, as it were, to be marching to Italy (11). In his Way, he was forc'd to touch upon Part of the Dominions of the Gepidae, who, after Attila's Death, had fix'd their Habitations in Dacia, and extended themselves even on the other Side the Danube, especially in the Countries about Sirmium and Singidunum (12). Traffila or Trapstila, King of the Gepidae, endeavour'd to oppose his Passage, but was defeated in a bloody Battle, near the River Ulca (13).

§ IV.

(9) *This Passage of the anonymous Writer, publish'd by Valefius, may serve to shew the Pretensions of the Greeks. Mittens (Zeno) Theodericum ad Italiam, pactuatus est, ut si victus fuisset Odoachar, pro merito laborum suorum, loco ejus, dum adveniret, tantum præregnaret. Ergo superveniente Theoderico patritio de Civitate Nova, cum gente Gothica, missus ab Imperatore Zenone de partibus Orientis ad defendendam sibi Italiam, &c.*

(10) *For the Assertion of the Goths, let us view the following Passage out of Procopius, de Bello Gothico, Lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 308. Sub idem tempus Gothi, qui imperatoris permissu Thraciam incolebant, in Romanos rebellavere, duce Theoderico, qui vir erat Patricius, & Byzantii Sellam Consularem ascenderat. At Zeno Aug: rationem optimam e re nata inire callens, Theoderico suavit, ut Italiam peteret, & cum Odoacro collata manu, sibi Gothisque imperium Occidentis pararet: cum esset convenientius, præsertim Senatori, tyrannum exigere, & Romanis atque Italis præesse omnibus, quam armis cum imperatore contendere, & in tantum venire discrimen. Eo delectatus consilio, Theodericus, in Italiam proficiscitur; Gothi se comites adjunxerunt, parvulis feminisque in plaustra impositis cum suppellectile, quantacunque deferri potuit. Ubi ventum est ad sinum Ionium quoniam trajicere nequibant, defecti navibus, illum circumeundo, per Taulaniorum, aliorumque ejus accolarum oras progressi sunt. Ipsi factæ obviam Odoacri copiae, & multis fusæ congressibus, cum suo principe Ravennam*

se commiserunt, aliisque munitissimis locis: quæ Gothi cum obsedissent, pleraque variis, prout cujusque fors tulit, cepere modis: Cæsenam autem Castellum, Ravenna stadiis CCC. distitum, nec non Ravennam ipsam, ubi erat Odoacer, in potestatem suam nec vi, nec deditone redigere valuerunt.

(11) *This Calculation is confirm'd in the following §. Ennodius says, l. c. of the great Multitude, that followed him; Migrante Tecum ad Ausoniam mundo, nullus præter parentem iter arripuit. Sumta sunt plaustra vice testorum, & in domos instabiles confluxerunt omnia servitura necessitati.*

(12) *See above, Lib. 10. § 7.*

(13) *ENNODIUS extolls this Victory in the Panegyrick he speaks in Honour of Theoderick, p. 299. Ulca fluvius est tutela Gepidarum, quæ vice aggerum munit audaces, & in jugorum morem latus provinciæ quibusdam muris complectitur, nullo ariete frustrandis. Ad hunc te callis tui rigor adduxit: ubi pro legatis & gratiæ postulatione, obsistendi animo gens diu invicta prope-ravit. Cum pene cohortes tuas ante inimicos famis necessitas obsideret. Dic quæso, clementissime domine, quid præter te spei erat residuum, in populo arenæ aut sideribus comparando? Instantibus Gepidis, amne, pestilentia, iter quod declinasset fugiens, contra nudatos vagina gladios transvolasti. Nullius inscii merfa cœno hæfere vestigia. Nullius vitæ prodigus periculum ignarus incurrit.*

And lower, p. 301.

Cæsa

§ IV. THE *Goths*, thereupon, pass'd the *Julian Alps*, into *Italy* (1). *He defeats Odoacer, &c.* *Odoacer* had drawn as many *Auxiliaries* together, as possibly he could (2), and met them on the River *Isonzo* *; but was defeated, yet rallied his *Troops* near *Verona*. *Theoderick* there attack'd him, and, after a bloody *Battle*, carried the Day a second Time (3); whereupon *Odoacer* fled to *Ravenna*.

Cæsa est multitudo adversaria, donec paucos eriperet nox vicina: dum ad vaga horrea copiis urbium referta veniretur: quæ non solum satis facerent necessitati, sed sublevarent inter deliciarum secunda fastidium.

By the River *Ulca*, mention'd by *Ennodius*, are meant the *Paludes Volcæ*, or *Volocæ*; which make a large Lake, several Miles in Length, betwixt the Cities *Stuhl-Weissenburg* and *Canischa*. It is, at present call'd *Lacus Balatton*: In the German, *Platten-See*.

§ IV. (1) *The Year and Circumstances of the Battle near the Isonzo and Verona, appear from the following Testimonies of the Ancients: MARIUS in Chronico: Probino & Eusebio Coss. (A. 489.)* His Consulibus ingressus est *Theodericus*, rex *Gothorum*, in *Italiam*, ponte *Isoni*.

CASSIODORUS in Chron. *Probino & Eusebio Coss.* His *Coss.* felicissimus atque fortissimus *D. N. rex Theodericus* intravit *Italiam*, cui *Odoacer* ad *Isonium* pugnam parans, victus cum tota gente fugatus est. Eodem anno, repetito conflictu, *Veronæ* vincitur *Odoacer*.

CHRONOGRAPHUS a CUSPINIANO editus ad eundem annum; His *Coss.* ingressus est rex *Theodericus* in fossato pontis *Sontii* *V. Cal. Septembr.* & fugit *Odoacer* rex de *Fossato*, & abiit *Veronam*. Eo anno ingressus est *Odoacer* rex in *Fossatum*, *Herulis* in *Pineta* existentibus. Et occisus est *Libella* magister militum, & ceciderunt pluri ab utraque parte, & clausit se *Ravennam* *Odoacer* rex, *VI. Idus Julias*, & regressus est rex *Theodericus* in *Ticino*. *XI. Cal. Septembr.*

JORNANDES, cap. 57. at once relates the whole Italick Expedition: Indequè Venetorum fines ingressus ad pontem Sontium nuncupatum castra metatus est, Cumque ibi ad reficienda corpora hominum jumentorumque aliquanto tempore refedisset: Odoacer armatum contra eum direxit exercitum. Quem ille, ad Campos Veronenses occurrens, magna strage delevit, castrisque solutis, fines Italiæ cum potiori audacia intrat; transactoque Pado amne, ad Ravennam, regiam urbem Castra componit, tertio fere milliaro ab urbe, loco qui appellatur Pineta. Quod cernens Odoacer, intus se in urbe communivit, indeque sub-

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reptive noctu frequenter cum suis egrediens, *Gothorum* exercitum inquietat; & hoc non semel, nec iterum; sed frequenter, & pene molitur toto triennio. Sed frustra laborat, quia cuncta *Italia* dominum jam dicebat *Theodericum*, & illius ad votum res illi publica obsecundabat. Tantum ille solus cum paucis satellitibus, & Romanis qui aderant, & fame & bello quotidie intra *Ravennam* laborabat. Quod dum nihil proficeret, missa legatione, veniam, supplicat. Cui & primum concedens *Theodericus* post modum hac luce privavit. Tertioque, ut diximus, anno ingressus in *Italiam*, *Zenonisque* imperatoris *Consulto, privatim habito, (Al. privatum habitum,)* suæque gentis vestitum reponens, insigne Regii amictus, quasi jam *Gothorum Romanorumque* regnator, adsumsit.

(2) *To this appertain these Words of Ennodius, p. 301. Tibi cum restare meo, Odoacer, occurro, qui universas contra eum nationes, quasi orbis concussor, exciveras. Tot reges tecum ad bella convenerant, quot sustinere generalitas milites vix valeret. Deprehensum est varias esse mentes coacervatæ multitudinis, nec spem victoriæ venire de numero.*

* *The Isonzo arises in the Carinthian Alps, and discharges itself five Miles from Aquileia, into the Bay of Trieste.*

(3) *ENNODIUS relates this second Engagement at large, p. 302. I shall only quote the following Passage: Jam raucum buccinæ concinebant, jam te sui oblitus quærebat exercitus. Qui dum munimentis chalybis pectus includeres, dum ocreis armarere, dum lateri tuo vindex libertatis gladius aptaretur, sanctam matrem, & venerabilem forem, quæ ad te diligentia causa convenerant, dum inter spem & metum sceminea sollicitudo penderet, dum de eventu attonitæ vultus tui fidere pacerentur, talibus alloquiis confirmasti. He says moreover of Odoacer's Overthrow, p. 304. Protinus adventum tuum indicavit hostibus populus occisorum, executorem prodidit cædis enormitas. Sed nec illis remedia defuere consueta. Continuo alas, quas tribuit formido, sumpserunt; cursu præpeti*

C

Ravenna. But *Theoderick* went to *Milan*, where, at the Beginning of the ensuing Year, 490, many of *Odoacer's* Adherents, and even *Tufa*, *Magister Militum*, submitted to him (4). *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Pavia*, came likewise thither to him (5), probably to provide for the Safety of his Church. This Prelate had before been employ'd in the most important Concerns in *Italy*, and was, afterwards, highly serviceable even to the *Gothick* King. *Theoderick* detach'd a Body of Troops to besiege *Odoacer* in *Ravenna*, and *Tufa* had so far gain'd his Confidence, that he was entrusted with the Command of them. But the King soon experienc'd, that one Piece of Treachery is always succeeded by another. *Tufa* deliver'd up all his Men to *Odoacer*, at *Faënza*, who sent them chain'd and fetter'd to *Ravenna* (6). *Theoderick* was so confounded at this, that he lock'd himself up in *Pavia*, and drew his People together into the other tenable Places (7). In the mean Time, he obtain'd Succours from the *Wisi-Goths* in *Gaul*, and thereupon took the Field again, the same Year. A bloody Engagement ensued, on the 11th of *August*, on the *Adda*, when *Theoderick*, a third Time, gain'd the Victory; and *Odoacer* once more fled for Refuge to *Ravenna* (8).

præpeti interitum metu mortis eligentes. Qui me veritati nescit obsecutum, Athesis undas videat tua vice opulentas extitisse cadaveribus: & dum tamesaceres gurgites de cruore, in parte alia sistebatur impetus fluentorum. Itaque ne ensibus non sufficeret, pro te & lymphæ militavit. Salve fluviorum splendidissime, qui ex majore parte fordes Italiæ deluisti, mundi fecem suscipiens sine dispendio puritatis.

(4) VALESIIUS's anonymous Author, after having related the Battles on the *Isonzo* and near *Verona*, goes on thus: Et ambulavit *Theodericus* *Mediolanum*, & tradiderunt se ipsi maxima pars exercitus *Odoacris*, nec non & *Tufa*, *Magister militum*, quem ordinaverat *Odoachar*, cum optimatibus suis, Cal. Aprilis. Eo anno missus est *Tufa* *Magister militum*, a *Theoderico* contra *Odoacrem* *Ravennam*. Veniens *Faventiam* *Tufa* obsedit *Odoacrem* cum exercitu, cum quo directus fuerat. Et exiit *Odoachar* de *Ravenna*, & venit *Faventiam*, & *Tufa* tradidit *Odoacri* *Comitem patricii Theoderici*, & missi sunt in ferro, & adducti *Ravennam*. The Accounts of the other Historians, which agree with this, are a good Testimony of the Credibility of this Relation.

(5) ENNODIUS in *Vit. Epiphan.* p. 390.

(6) ANONYMUS a VALESIO editus. See the Quotation, not. 4.

(7) This Circumstance is related by *Ennodius*, p. 390. Interea perduelles animos dedititii exercitus mutationum incendit ambitio, quorum caput *Tufa* fuit, homo in perfugarum infamia notitia veteri pollutus: qui concepit mente, ut se desperatis partibus cum ingenti multitudine redderet. Quod dum *Theodericus* rex principali sollicitudine cognovisset, continuo omnem illam, quam totus *Oriens* vix sustinuit, contraxit manum, atque ad *Ticinenfis* civitatis angustiam contulit.

(8) ANONYMUS VALESII in the Year 490. FAUSTO & LONGINO COSS. *Odoachar* rex exiit de *Cremona*, & ambulavit *Mediolanum*. Tunc venerunt *Wisi-Gothæ* in auxilium *Theoderici*, & facta est pugna super *Addam*, & ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte: & occisus est *Pierius*, Comes domesticorum III. Idus *Augustas*, & fugit *Odoachar* *Ravennam*. Et mox subsequutus est eum patricius *Theodericus*, veniens in *Pineta*, & fixit fossatum, & obsidens *Odoacrem* clausum per triennium *Ravennæ*: & factus est usque ad sex solidos modius tritici. Et mittens legationem *Theodericus*, Festum, caput *Senatus* ad *Zenonem* imperatorem, & ab eodem sperans vestem se induere regiam. The Battle on the *Adda* is likewise taken Notice of by *CASSIODORUS* in *Chronico*: Fausto V. C. Jun. Cos. (A. 490.) Ad Ducam (L. *Adduam*) fluvium *Odoacrem* D. N. *Theodericus* Rex tertio certamine superavit, qui *Ravennam* fugiens obsidetur inglusus.

§ V. *THEODERICK* block'd him up in that Place, and, as it was the only one remaining in the Enemy's Hands, thought himself securely Master of all *Italy*. He then dispatch'd *Festus*, at that Time, the most considerable Member of the Senat at *Rome*, to *Zeno*, the Emperor, that he might, likewise, secure to himself the Fruits of his Victory (1). *Odoacer* made a vigorous Sally, in the Year 491, but was repell'd (2); however the Siege lasted 'till the third Year. Nevertheless, this did not hinder *Theoderick* from transacting, in the mean Time, other Affairs. He made an Agreement with the *Vandals*, concerning *Sicily* (3), and prevented the Kings of the *Burgundians*, who had made an Irruption into *Italy*, from prosecuting their Design (4). A Want of Provisions, which became daily more pressing, in the City, at Length obliged the Besieged to surrender. A Peace ensued thereupon, towards the Conclusion of *February*, A. 493, by the Mediation of the Bishop of *Ravenna*, and the *Goths* were admitted into the City (5). The Conditions are not indeed transmitted to us (6); but from the Success *Theoderick* had 'till then met with, we may conclude that they were most advantageous to him. However, an Accommodation between these two Princes could not subsist long; since *Odoacer* had the Losses, which he had sustained, daily before his Eyes; and *Theoderick*, on the other Hand, thought himself not secure, whilst he liv'd; and consequently every Thing furnish'd Grounds for Suspicion. *Odoacer* was soon after murder'd at *Ravenna* (7).
Thelanes,

§ V. (1) ANONYMUS a VALESIO editus. See n. 7. ad §. 4.

(2) ANONYMUS VALESII ad A. 491. OLYBRIUS, V. C. Cos. Exiit Odoachar Rex de Ravenna nocte cum Erulis, egressus in Pineta, in fossato Patricii Theoderici, & ceciderunt ab utraque parte exercitus. CASSIODORUS in Cbr. ad eund. An. Hoc Cos. Odoacer cum Erulis egressus Ravenna, nocturnis horis, ad pontem Candidium, a D. N. Rege Theoderico, memorabili certamine, superatus.

(3) CASSIODORUS Olybrio Jun. Cos. (A. 491.) Tum etiam Vandali pace suppliciter postulata, a Sicilia de predatione cessarunt.

(4) VALESIIUS places this Irruption in the Year 492. Tom. 1. p. 244.

(5) PROCOPIUS de bello Gothico, L. 1. p. 309. Jam annos tres Theodericus & Gothi Ravennam circumfederant frustra, cum hinc Gothos obsidio-

nis tedium, inde Odoacri defensores penuria cibarium ad hanc perpulit pactionem, cujus conciliator fuit Antistes Ravennæ: ut in ea urbe Theodericus, atque Odoacer, ex æquo viverent. Aliquamdiu quidem mansere pacta: postea vero Theodericus detecta, ut perhibent, fraude, quam Odoacer ipsi struebat, eum dolose ad epulas invitatum occidit. CHRONOGRAPHUS a Cuspiniano editus ad Consulatum Albini (A. 493.) Hoc Cos. quoque facta est pax inter Theodericum Regem, & Odoacrum III. Kal. Martias: & ingressus est Ravennam Rex, Theodericus, III. Nonas Martias, & occisus est Odoacer Rex a Rege Theoderico, in Palatio cum commilitonibus suis.

(6) PROCOPIUS says, that something was left Odoacer: But we may conclude from Ennodius's Words, cited in the following Note, that he was, at least, oblig'd to abdicate the Government of Italy.

(7) PROCOPIUS's Passage, relating to the Murder of Odoacer, was cited before. CASSIODORUS in Chronico: Albino V. C. Cos. D. N. Rex Thode-

Thebanes, his Son *, his Kindred, and principal Adherents, together with their Wives and Children, were all put to Death, on the same Day (8). Historians pretend, in *Theoderick's* Defence, that *Odoacer* had form'd a Conspiracy against him, which he was oblig'd to prevent (9). We find *Rugi* and *Heruli* in *Theoderick's* Service, who were so united, that they compos'd a separate Army: But it is Matter of Doubt, whether they were the same who had been in *Odoacer's* Service.

The Constitution of the Ostro-Gothick Kingdom in Italy.
† A. 491.
the 9th of April.

§ VI. AT this Period, some place the real Beginning of *Theoderick's* Reign in Italy (1). *Zeno*, the Emperor, dying, in the mean Time †, *Theoderick* now assum'd the Purple, notwithstanding *Anastasius*, the new Emperor, would not, at first, consent to it (2). He thereupon sent *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Pavia*, and *Victor*, Bishop of *Turin*, to *Gundobald* and *Godegisilus*, Kings of the *Burgundians*, to establish a Peace with them. At their late Irruption into Italy, they had carried away a great Number of Captives: Of these, he redeemed several Thousands, and procur'd the Release of 6000 of them, without any Ransom. A Marriage was, on this Occasion, concluded, between his Daughter, and *Sigismund*, the *Burgundian* Prince, the Son of *Gundobald* (3). He likewise maintain'd the Peace with the *Vandals*, and, as a Confirmation of this Alliance, gave his Sister in Marriage to *Thrasimund*, their King; which prov'd so far advan-

Theodericus Ravennam ingressus, Odoacrem molientem sibi insidias, interemit. Ennodius represents the Matter, as if Odoacer, and his Partizans, having resolv'd upon a fresh Attempt, it was discover'd to Theoderick, who thereupon took such Measures, that Odoacer, as well as all his Adherents, were, on one Day, put to Death. Libuit eos rursus tendenti inermem dextram Odoacri regna polliceri. Innotuit illico rebus in luce deprehensis hostilium error animorum, Advocasti providentiam actuum Tuorum comitem: & ne impunita esset libido discurrentium, ultionis vexilla concutiens, fecisti consiliorum participem, in secretis populum jam probatum. Neminem adversariorum agnovisse contigit, quod tecum pars mundi potior disponebat. Mandata est per regiones distinctissimas nex votiva. Quia hæc præter supernam voluntatem præstitit, ut unius ictu temporis effunderetur Romani nominis clades, longa temporum improbitate collecta. Hic quo me veritam nescio. Gradum referam, qui suscepi officium laudatoris; an arreptum præconiorum tuorum iter ingrediar? Consumta res est prospero fatalique bello. Succisa est Odoacris præsumptio, postquam eam contigit de fallacia non juvari. Quid Herulorum agmina fusa commemorem? qui

ideo adversus Te deducti sunt, ut hic agnoscerent, etiam in propriis sedibus, quem timerent.

* ANON. VALESII.

(8) Odoacer and Anulphus his Brother, are, in some ancient Genealogies, said to have given Rise to several illustrious Families in Germany.

(9) PROCOPIUS, CASSIODORUS, and ENNODIUS. The Passages are quoted in the foregoing Notes, 5 & 7.

§ VI. (1) Some date the Years of his Reign, in Italy, from the Year 489. Others, and especially Baronius and Pagius, from the Year 493. Conf. PAGIUS ad A. 493. n. 1.

(2) ANONYMUS VALESII: At ubi cognita morte ejus, antequam legatio reverteretur, ut ingressus est Ravennam, & occidit Odoacrem, Gothi sibi confirmaverunt Regem, non expectantes jussionem novi Principis. With this we must compare Jornandes's Relation, which may be seen above, § 4.

(3) This Embassy is related at large by ENNODIUS, in vita Epiphani. conf. PAGIUS, ad A. 494. n. 10. tagueous

tageous to *Italy*, that it put a Stop to the Depredations of the *Vandals* on those Coasts (4). *Anastasius* was likewise at last reconcil'd to him; and sent back all the Appurtenances of the Palace of *Ravenna*, which *Odoacer* had caus'd to be brought to *Constantinople* (5). *Theoderick* went to *Rome* himself in the Year 500 (6); he there celebrated a Triumph; conven'd the Senat *ad palmam auream*; confirm'd the Immunities of the *Romans*, and gain'd the Affections of the Populace, by exhibiting pompous Spectacles, and by his great Liberality (7). He assum'd the Name of *Flavius* (8), and so regulated his Government, that nothing farther was wanting, but the Imperial Title. *Theoderick* must not be regarded as a Prince, who ow'd his Greatness merely to the Strength of his Arms (9): He went to *Italy* with the Knowledge and Consent of the lawful Emperor, and took upon him the Government, not only with the Approbation of the Emperor, but with that of the Senat of *Rome*: He likewise rul'd

(4) This is mention'd by ENNODIUS, p. 311. Quid castigatas Vandalorum, ventis parentibus, eloquar depredationes, quibus pro annua pensione fatiſ est amicitia tua? Evagari ultra possibilitatem neſciunt. Duce ſapientia, affines eſſe meruerunt, quia obedire non abnuunt. In the Sequel, we ſhall give a more exact Account of the Nuptials of the Vandalick King.

(5) PAGIUS ad A. 500. n. 3. infers from the Relation of Theophanes, that the Agreement with *Anastasius*, was concluded, A. 499. In *Cassiodori Varia*. L. 1. ep. 1. we meet with a Letter from *Theoderick* to *Anastasius*, which treats of a Peace and Accommodation. But we cannot find any Footſteps, when it was written.

(6) CASSIODORUS in Chr. PATRITIO & HYPATIO COSS. (A. 500.) Hoc anno D. N. Rex *Theodericus* Romam cuſtorum votis expetitus advenit, & SENATUM SUUM mira affabilitate tractans, Romanæ plebi donavit annonas, atque admirandis mœnibus deputata per annos ſingulos maxima pecuniæ quantitate ſubvenit. Sub cujus felici imperio plurimæ renovantur urbes, munitiffima caſtella conduntur, confurgunt admiranda palatia, magnifque ejus operibus antiqua miracula ſuperantur. *Valeſius's* anonymous Author relates this ſtill more circumſtanti- ally. Poſt facta pace in urbe Eccleſiæ ambulavit Rex *Theodericus* Romam, & occurrit B. Petro devotiſſimus, ac ſi Catholicus. Cui Papa *Symmachus*, & cunctus Senatus, vel populus Romanus communi gaudio extra urbem occurrentes: deinde veniens, ingreſſus urbem venit ad Sena-

tum, & ad Palmam populum adlocutus, ſe omnia, Deo juvante, quæ retro Principes Romani ordinaverat, inviolabiliter ſervaturum promittit. There was a Palace in *Rome* ad palmam auream, of which ſee Vita B. FULGENTII: In loco, qui Palma aurea dicitur, memorato *Theodorico* Rege concionem faciente. King *Theoderick* calls it Domus Palmata, ap. CASSIODORUM in Variis 4. ep. 30.

(7) VALESIUS's Anonymus proceeds thus: Per tricennale triumphans ingreſſus Palatium, exhibens Romanis ludos Circenſium: donavitque populo Romano, & pauperibus, annonas ſingulis annis, centum viginti millia modios, & ad reſtaurationem Palatii, ſeu recuperationem mœniorum civitatis, ſingulis annis libras ducentas de arca Vinaria dari præcepit. *Valeſius* and *Pagius* agree in this, that inſtead of tricennale, we muſt read decennale, and that *Theoderick* then celebrated his Decennalia at *Rome*, with the greateſt Magnificence, as was uſual with the Emperors. Conf. PAGIUS ad A. 500. n. 2. We muſt only obſerve, that if he celebrated his Decennalia in this Year, the Beginning of his Reign muſt not be plac'd in the Year 493.

(8) Vid. duas litteras *Theoderici* ad Synodum Romanum miſſas, ap. BARONIUM ad A. 502. n. 2. ſeq.

(9) Several modern Writers acknowledge, that the Goths were the lawful Maſters of *Italy*. See, among the Reſt, BERNARDUS SACCHIUS, Ticinenſis, de Italicarum rerum varietate & elegantia, L. 8. p. 161. ſeq.

in such Manner, that *Rome* could not, long before or after, boast of such happy Days, as under his Government. He was, with Regard to his Person, of a noble Aspect (10), and possess'd all the Qualifications requisite to aggrandize a Prince, and render his Administration acceptable. He was both valiant and fortunate in the Field; and yet, after his Throne was once establish'd, never took up Arms; but in Case of Necessity; and always out of *Italy*. We shall find, in the Sequel, how, by a proper Regulation of his Dominions, he chose the safest Method of becoming powerful. This Regulation, and the prudent Alliances connected with it, caus'd the *Grecian* Court, on one Side, and all the *German* Princes, on the other, to be greatly influenc'd by his Steps. We cannot, next to the Mention of this great Prince, justly omit that of the Senator, *M. Aurelius Cassiodorus*, his Prime-Minister (11). The Letters are extant, which he dispatch'd in that King's Name. The Stile of them is affected and obscure, but we may discover in them, Principles throughout the whole, which do Honour to the Master as well as the Servant.

Clovis's Expedition against the Thuringians.

§ VII. *CLOVIS* had, in the mean Time, partly secur'd and partly extended his Dominions in *Gaul*: *Soissons* is said to have been the Capital of them. Historians mention an Expedition of his, about the Year 491, against the *Thuringians*. They then border'd, in *Germania*, on the Dominions of the *Franks*, and the latter being gone to *Gaul*, they seem now to have endeavour'd taking Advantage of their Absence. *Gregory* says, that *Clovis* then subjected them to the Dominion of the *Franks* (1); but in this he perhaps goes too far. We find, at least, that *Thuringia* remain'd a powerful Kingdom, 'till the Time, when *Clovis's* Sons conquer'd it. In the Year 493, he married *Clotildis*, a Daughter of *Chilperic*,

(10) *Theoderick's graceful Aspect is taken Notice of by ENNODIUS in Panegy. p. 316. Sed nec formæ tuæ decus inter postrema numerandum est, quando regii vultus purpura ostrum dignitatis irradiat. Exhibete Seres indumenta, pretioso murice quæ fucatis, & non uno aheni bibentia nobilitatem tegmina prorogate: discoloribus gemmis fertum texatur, & quem vehementior vipera custodit, lapis adveniat. Quæcunque ornamenta mundo obsequente transmissa fuerint, decorata venerandi genio corporis plus lucebunt. Statura est, quæ resignet prolixitate regnantem. Nix genarum habet concordiam cum rubore, vernant lumina serenitate continua. Dignæ manus, quæ exitia rebellibus tribuant, bonorum voto subiectis. Nullus intempestive positum jactet: quia quod agunt in aliis dominis diademata, hoc in rege meo operata est Deo fabricante natura. Il-*

los faciunt tot divitiarum adjumenta conspicuos: Sed hunc edidit simplex, & inde mutabilis figura meliorem. Quid cultu laborant, qui capiunt peregrinam obtinere pulcritudinem? Italiae rector in amicitiam colligit duo diversissima: ut sit in ira sine comparatione fulmineus, in lætitia sine nube formosus.

(11) *His Life is prefix'd to his Works, and F. de Sainte-Marthe has given it us, in a separate Treatise.*

§ VII. (1) *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. 2. c. 27. Decimo regni sui anno Thoringis bellum intulit, eosdemque suis ditionibus subjugavit. In gestis regum Francorum, c. 10. we only read: devicto populo totaque terra vastata, ipsos Thoringos tributarios Francorum fecit.*

King

King of the *Burgundians* (2). It may here suffice, that we barely take Notice of the Fact, for the other Circumstances are interspers'd with so many Fictions (3), that it would be impossible to select the Truth from them. He extended the Dominion of the *Franks*, the same Year, as far as the *Seyne* (4); and, the next, as far as the *Loire* (5). These Provinces were now, after the Downfal of the *Roman Empire*, destitute of all Protection, and the *Franks* therefore met with little Resistance. The Kings of the *Wisi-Goths*, and of the *Burgundians*, were yet quiet, and perhaps little thought, that these Neighbours would soon subvert even their Monarchies.

§ VIII. But he soon after gain'd a yet more glorious Victory over the *Alemanni* (1). This Nation dwelt originally on the Right of the *Rhine*, betwixt the *Danube* and the *Mayn*, where we frequently found them, in the Transactions of the foregoing Volume: But they had likewise extended their Dominion on the other Side of the *Mayn*, and had gain'd a sure Footing in *Germania Prima*, and in *Sequanis* (2). They were involv'd in a War with one Part of the *Franks*, govern'd by *Sigebert*, who resided at *Cologn*. *Clovis* went to the Assistance of these *Franks* †, and defeated (3) † A. 496.

(2) Conf. COINTE ad h. a. n. 3.

(3) Pl. DANIEL, P. I. p. 10.

(4) *Autor de gestis Francorum*, c. 14. In illis diebus dilatavit Clodoveus amplificans regnum suum usque Sequanam. SIGEBERTUS refert ad A. Clodovei XII. Conf. COINTE ad A. 493. n. III.

(5) Conf. COINTE ad A. 494. n. 2.

§ VIII. (1) The last Mention I made of the *Alemanni* was in the former Volume, L. 9. § 12. and Lib. 10. § 10.

(2) The Borders of the *Alemanni* are describ'd by the Geographer of Ravenna, L. 4. § 26. That Passage is illustrated by HERTIUS in Notitia Populorum Veteris Germaniæ, p. 111. We find among others, the Cities of Worms, Spire, Strasburg, Basel, Constance, Brigantia. &c.

(3) We may here add the Relation of GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, Lib. 2. c. 30. Regina [vero] non cessabat prædicare, ut Deum verum cognosceret, & idola negligeret. Sed nullo modo ad hæc credenda poterat commoveri, donec tandem aliquando bellum contra Alemannos commoveretur, in quo compulsus est confiteri necessitate, quod prius voluntate negaverat. Factum est autem ut con-

fligente utroque exercitu, vehementer cæderentur: atque exercitus Chlodovei valde ad internecionem ruere cœpit. Quod ille videns, elevatis ad Cælum oculis, compunctus corde, commotus in lacrymis, ait: Jesu Christe, quem Chrothildis prædicat esse filium Dei vivi, qui dare auxilium laborantibus, victoriamque in Te sperantibus tribuere diceris, tuæ opis gloriam devotus deflagito: ut si mihi victoriam super hos hostes induleris, & expertus fuero illam virtutem, quam de te populus, tuo nomini dicatus, probasse se prædicat, credam tibi, & in nomine tuo bapticer. Invoca- vi enim Deos meos, sed ut exsuper, elongati sunt ab auxilio meo: unde credo eos esse nullius potestatis præditos, qui sibi obedientibus non succurrunt. Te nunc invoco, & tibi credere desidero, tantum, ut eruar ab adversariis meis. Cumque hæc diceret, Alemanni terga vertentes in fugam labi cœperunt. Cumque Regem suum cernerent interentum, Chlodovei se ditionibus subdunt, dicentes: Ne amplius, quæsumus, pe- reat populus: jam tui sumus. At ille prohibito bello, coarctatoque populo, cum pace regressus, narravit Reginæ, qualiter per invocationem nominis Christi victoriam meruit obtinere. Actum Anno 15 regni sui. The Gesta Francorum agrees with this in the principal Circumstances.

the *Alemanni*, in a bloody Battle, near *Zülpick*, in the present Duchy of *Juliers* (4). The King (5) was slain on the Spot, and this Overthrow so weaken'd the whole Nation, that they were no longer able to withstand the *Franks*. *Clovis* pursu'd his Victory, and aim'd at subjecting the whole Country to his Dominion: But one Part of the *Alemanni* implor'd the Protection of *Theoderick*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, who assign'd them a Tract of Land in *Rætia* (6). He likewise wrote a Letter to *Clovis*, and beg'd he would not treat these conquer'd People too severely, and, in particular, that he would spare those, who had put themselves under his Protection (7). How far his Intercession prevail'd is uncertain; but we find, that the whole Nation, excepting these who shelter'd themselves under the *Goths*, was reduc'd to a Subjection to the *Franks*. The *Franks* peopl'd one Part of *Alemannia*, with their Colonies; whence the present *Franconia*, a fine Province of the *German Empire*, and the City of *Frankfurt*, where the *Franks* pass'd the *Mayn*, receiv'd their Names. The Arms of the *Franks* gain'd therefore no small Renown, by subduing at once a People, who had been able to withstand the *Romans* so long. That Body of *Alemanni*, who took Refuge among the *Goths*, was afterwards given by *Vitiges*, the *Gothick* King, to *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasia*, *Clovis's* Grandson. The Treatment, which the vanquish'd *Alemanni* met with from the *Franks*, contributed perhaps chiefly to their constant Subjection: And in this, we have a great Instance of *Clovis's* Capacity, as well to secure his Dominions, by proper Measures, as to extend them by his Arms. We find that the *Alemanni* were, after this, govern'd by their own Dukes, under the Sovereignty of the Kings of the *Franks*; and tho' they conform'd to the *Franks*, in many Respects, with Regard to their Policy, yet they retain'd their Customs and civil Laws, which Liberty even reach'd to their Religion, insomuch, that they remain'd

(4) *HERTIUS* imagines, that instead of *Tolbiacense Oppidum*, we must read *Tulliacense* or *Tulense*. This Doubt has likewise been raised by others. But if we take these Things, as related by *Valesius*, such Conjectures are unnecessary.

(5) King *Theoderick* says, in his Letter to *Clovis*, in *CASSIODORUS Variar. Lib. 2. ep. 41*. Sufficiat illum regem cum gentis suæ superbia cecidisse. Sufficiat innumerabilem nationem partim ferro, partim servitio subjugatam. In *Vita S. Severini*, c. 19. we meet with a King of the *Alemanni*, named *Gibuldus*. In the *Acta S. Lupi*,

he is called *Gebavultus*. But it is uncertain whether this be the same who was conquer'd by *Clovis*.

(6) *ENNODIUS* takes Notice of this Reception of the *Alemanni*, in *Panegyrico*, p. 311. Quid quod a te *Alemanniæ* generalitas inter *Italiæ* terminos, sine detrimento *Romanæ* possessionis, inclusa est? cui evenit habere regem, postquam meruit perdidisse: cui feliciter cessit fugisse patriam suam, nam sic adepta est soli nostri opulentiam. The Words inter *Italiæ* terminos may very well be interpreted of *Rætia*, which was at that Time, comprehended under the Name of *Italy*.

(7) See above, not. 7.

Heathens,

Heathens, after the *Franks* had embrac'd the *Christian* Faith (8): But all this will appear more evidently in the Sequel.

IX. THIS Victory over the *Alemanni* leads us to the Conversion of the *Franks*. We must not hope to find every secret Circumstance of this important Change transmitted to us in History. *Clovis* was frequently instigated by *Clotildis*, his Queen, to embrace the *Christian* Faith. He had likewise had frequent Opportunities, in *Gaul*, to converse with Christians; and when they represented to him the Truth and Excellency of their Religion, he undoubtedly consider'd, that his Conversion would prove, at the same Time, a Means of subduing all *Gaul*, with the greater Ease. In the War of the *Alemanni*, we find, according to the Relation of *Gregory*, of *Tours*, the Circumstances whereby Heaven had decreed to reveal the Gospel to the *Franks*, which by them was to be spread into so many other Countries. When *Clovis*, in the Battle near *Zülpick*, was reduced to great Streights, he call'd upon the Name of *Jesus Christ*, and vow'd, that if He would grant him that Victory, he would instantly embrace his Faith (1). Now after he had defeated the Enemy, the Queen exhorted *Remigius*, Bishop of *Rheims*, who had before some Share in the King's Favour (2), to lay hold on this Opportunity of carrying on the Work of his Conversion with the more Zeal (3). *Clovis* doubted

at

(8) AGATHIAS, p. 18. A. Sunt etiam his patria quædam instituta: in reipublicæ vero administratione Francorum politiam sequuntur. Tantum in iis quæ ad Deum pertinent sententia variant. Arbores enim quasdam colunt, & fluminum lapsus, & colles, & saltus. Atque his, tanquam justa facientes, equos aliaque, quam plurima resectis capitibus immolant. Porro consuetudo, quam cum Francis habent, ipsis conducit, in melius transferens, & quodam modo pertrahens cordatiores: & brevi, uti spero, tempore hoc ipsum apud omnes evincet.

§ IX. (1) I here follow *Gregory*: The Words themselves are in the foregoing §. n. 3.

(2) By the Testamentum B. *Remigii* it appears, that this King, when yet a Pagan, gave him several Estates.

(3) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, Lib. 2. cap. 31. Tunc regina accessit clam sanctum *Remigium*, Remensis urbis episcopum jubet, deprecans, ut Regi verbum salutis insinaret. Quem sacerdos accersitum, secretius cœpit instigare, ut Deum verum, factorem cœli & terræ crederet, idola negligeret, quæ neque sibi, neque aliis, prodesse possunt. At ille ait: Libenter Te, sanctissime pater, audiam. Sed restat unum, quod populus, qui me sequitur, non patitur relinquere Deos

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suos. Sed vado, & loquor eis juxta verbum tuum. Conveniens autem cum suis, priusquam ille loqueretur, præcurrente potentia Dei, omnis populus pariter acclamavit: Mortales Deos abigimus, pie Rex, & Deum, quem *Remigius* prædicat, immortalem sequi parati sumus. Nunciantur hæc antistiti, qui gaudio magno repletus, iussit lavacrum præparari. Velis depictis adumbrantur plateæ, ecclesiæ curtinis albescentibus adornantur, baptisterium componitur, balsamum diffunditur, micant fragrantibus odore cœci, totumque templum baptisterii divino respargitur odore. Talemque ibi gratiam adstantibus Deus tribuit ut æstimarent se Paradisi odoribus conlocari. Rex ergo prior proposcit se a pontifice baptizari. Procehit novus *Constantinus* ad lavacrum, deleturus lepræ veteris morbum, sordentesque maculas gestorum antiquorum recenti latice deleturus. Cui ingressu ad baptismum Sanctus Dei sic inquit ore facundo: Mitis deponere Sicamber colla, adora quod incendiisti, incende, quod adorasti. And lower: Igitur Rex omnipotentem Deum in Trinitate confessus, baptizatus est in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, delibutusque sacro Chrismate, cum signaculo crucis Christi. De exercitu vero ejus baptizati sunt amplius tria millia. Baptizata est & soror ejus ALBOFLEDIS, quæ

D

noq

† 496.

at first *, whether his Subjects would be pleas'd with such a Change. He spoke to the Nation himself, and the King's Example, which has always a great Influence over the People, prov'd now the more efficacious, as it had Truth and Conviction on its Side. At the Festival of the Nativity of our Saviour (4), of this same Year †, he was baptiz'd by the Hands of *Remigius*, at *Rheims*. *Audofledis*, his Sister, was, at the same Time, baptized with him. *Lanthildis*, his other Sister, who was before of the *Arian* Persuasion, now profess'd the *Catholick* Faith, and was confirmed. Several Thousands of the Nation were immediately baptiz'd †, and their Example was soon followed by the Rest. But here we are only to understand those *Franks*, who were originally Subjects to *Clovis*: For many continu'd *Pagans*, and were not converted 'till a considerable Time after, in the Countries about the *Scheld*, *Maes*, and *Rhine*, where other *Franconian* Princes then ruled, of whom I shall Make mention below (5). The Circumstances of this great Ceremony, are sufficiently set forth by the Compilers of the Ecclesiastical History (6). *Hincmarus*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, relates, in the Life of *S. Remigius*, that when *Remigius* was about to baptize the King, a white Dove brought to him, in a small Flask, the Oil requir'd for the Ceremony. But neither *Avitus*, Bishop of *Vienna*, who lived at that Time, nor *Gregorius Turonensis* or *Fredegarius*, who were both prior to *Hincmarus*, take any Notice of this notable Miracle. The Learned have therefore plac'd this Relation among those, which *Hincmarus* interspers'd, to the Honour of his Predecessor and his Church, without either producing a Proof, or even regarding their Probability (7). In publick Ceremonies, however, as

non post multum tempus migravit ad Dominum. Pro qua cum Rex contristaretur, sanctus Remigius consolatoriam misit epistolam, quæ hoc modo sumsit exordium: Angit me, & satis me angit vestræ causa, tristitiæ, quod bonæ memoriæ germana vestra transiit Albofledis. Sed de hac re consolari possumus, quia talis de hoc mundo migravit, ut suspici magis debeat quam lugeri. Conversa est enim & alia soror ejus LANTHILDIS nomine, quæ in hæresin Arianorum dilapsa fuerat, quæ confessâ æqualem filium patri, & Spiritui Sancto, chrisinata est.

* ALCUINUS in vita VEDASTI relates, that, on his Return, he took *S. Vedast* with him from Tull to *Rheims*, in Order to be instructed by him, in the Christian Religion. Conf. COINTE ad A. 496. n. 7.

(4) That he was baptized at Christmas, appears from *Avitus's* Letter; as we find it farther illustrated by *F. le COINTE*, ad A. 496. n. 8. Conf. PAGIUS ad A. 499. n. 9 & 10.

† GREGORY says 3000. FREDEGARIUS 6000. Conf. COINTE, l. c. n. 68. seqq.

(5) COINTE, l. c.

(6) *F. le COINTE* has made the most diligent Enquiries into the Circumstances of *Clovis's* Baptism; and proves, among other Things, that it was celebrated at the Font, belonging to the Cathedral Church of *Notre Dame*, which, as we still find at several very ancient Churches, stood without the Church, according to the Custom of those Times, when Baptism was perform'd by dipping. Those who were then baptiz'd, were dipp'd in the Water, and *Clovis* himself was dipp'd thrice, as *Hincmarus* relates, in vita *Remigii*. The Custom of anointing, as it was then used in Baptism, is likewise illustrated by *F. le COINTE*; but he deserves very little Credit, when, n. 67. he relates from *Flodoardus*, Lib. 2. c. 19. that *Clovis* was anointed King.

(7) Conf. *JOH. JACOB. CHIFLETIUS* in Tr. de Ampulla Remensi: And the Abbé de Vertot's Dissertation au sujet de la sainte ampoule, &c.

more

more Regard is generally had to the Devotion of the Populace, than to the Enquiries of the Learned, this Vessel is still preserv'd, with great Veneration, at *Rheims*; and even the *Crisma*, which is us'd when the Kings are anointed, is taken out of it. We may easily imagine how greatly the *Christians* rejoyc'd on this Day, which produc'd, in a Manner, a second *Constantine*. *Anastasius*, the Roman Pope, sent him a congratulatory Letter on his Conversion (8), as did likewise *Avitus*, Bishop of *Vienna* (9), (a See appertaining to the Kingdom of the *Burgundians*) who was, at that Time, highly esteem'd by the *Catholick* Bishops in *Gaul*. And we may perceive, by this Letter, what Advantages the *Catholicks*, in other Countries, hop'd for from this Conversion, which, in Reality, prov'd highly beneficial to the *Catholick* Church; for *Clovis* was the only *Orthodox* Prince in the *West* (10), the other *Christian* Kings being all Professors of *Arianism*: And, in the *East*, the Emperor *Anastasius* himself fell into the Errors of *Eutychius*. *Gaul* was, in Process of Time, clear'd from the Infection of *Arianism* by the *Franks*, and by their Means so many other *German* Nations embrac'd the true Faith. But *Clovis* gain'd, on the other Hand, likewise this Advantage thereby, that the People of those Countries, which were already subject to him, became entirely devoted to his Service, and the Subjects of the *Wist-Gothick* and *Burgundian* Kings bore a great Affection to the *Franks*; which prov'd greatly advantageous to him and his Sons, in their Wars with these Princes. The Sequel of History even shews this to have been the most secure Means of uniting the ancient Inhabitants of his Country with the *Franks*, and of forming a Monarchy out of both; which happy Circumstance was wanting, in the *Gothick* and *Burgundian* Kingdoms. The Wars which *Clovis* soon after wag'd with both these Nations, oblige me to resume their History.

§ X. THE *Burgundian* Kingdom then comprehended that Part of *Gaul*, where we now find the Duchy and County of *Burgundy*; the City and District of *Lyons*; the Territory of *Dauphiny*, and a Part of *Provence*: and besides all this, *Savoy*, and on this Side of Mount *Jura*, a Part of *Swisserland*, and the Country of *Valais*. Which will appear more plainly in the Sequel, when, in the Reign of *Sigismund*, I shall treat of the Convention of the *Burgundian* Bishops, at *Tenne* †. † *Epaona*. *Gundeucus* had left four Sons (1); *Chilperic*, *Godomar*, *Gundobald*, and *Godegisil*. The two former did not reign long. *Gregory* of *Tours* relates (2),

(8) In *Spicilegio* LUCÆ D'ACHERY, Tom. 5.

(9) *Epist.* AVITI 41.

(10) *Id fufius probat* COINTE ad A. 496. n. 98. seqq.

§ X. (1) The History of the *Burgundian* Mo-

narchy, to the Reign of *Gundeucus*, may be seen, Book 10. § 12 and 22.

(2) GREGORIUS, L. 2. cap. 28. The Words themselves are cited, L. 10. § 22. n. 6.

that *Gundobald* made away with them, and, in particular, caus'd *Chilperic* to be beheaded, and his Wife to be cast into the Water, with a Stone tied about her Neck. But if with this, we compare the Account, given of the Death of these two *Burgundian* Princes, by *Avitus*, Bishop of *Vienna*, who was co-temporary, it will plainly appear, that *Gregory* was too much prejudic'd by the Hatred he bore to the *Burgundian* Nation (3). *Chilperic's* (4) Memory is preserv'd, on Account of the Marriage which ensued betwixt *Clotildis*, his Daughter, and *Clovis*, whereby she became the Mother of all the succeeding Kings of the *Franks*. *Gundobald* and *Godegisil*, the two other Brothers, agreed on a Partition, the former kept his Court at *Lyons*, and the other at *Geneva* (5). *Gregory* represents *Gundobald* in a very odious Light, and the Writers of the *Franconian* History, as it were, copy from him, without any farther Enquiry, in Order, previously to justify *Clovis's* Sons, they having, at the Instigations of *Clotildis*, their Mother, made War against *Burgundy*, and wholly extirpated *Gundobald's* House. But, in the Histories of this Time, we discover many Things, which serve to explode these Calumnies. He was greatly esteemed in the *Roman* Empire, under *Olybrius*, who dignified him, A. 472, with the Title of *Patricius*. And when *Glycerius* seiz'd the Imperial Throne, after his Death, his chief Dependance was on this *Burgundian* Prince; all which has been related in the former Volume (6). He is not only represented in History, as a warlike Prince; but *Ennodius* and *Avitus* speak in Praise of his Eloquence (7), and that in the *Latin* Tongue, which was then still in common Use, in the Provinces. *Heraclius*, a *Roman* Senator, and a great Orator in *Gaul*, extolls likewise his quick Penetration, and happy Inventions (8). He was long a zealous Professor

(3) He says (Ep. 5. ad Gundobaldum Regem) in the Letter, wherein he condoes the King on the Death of his Daughter: Nihil hic casuale præsumo, nihil asperum: ordinavit hunc potius occulta dispensatio, quam infligit angorem. Flebat quondam pietate ineffabili funera Germanorum, sequebatur fletum publicum universalis afflictio; & occulta divinitatis intuitu, instrumenta mœstitiæ parabantur ad gaudium. Minuebat regni felicitas numerum regaliū personarum, & hoc solum servabatur mundo, quod sufficebat imperio. Illic repositum est quicquid prosperum fuit Catholicæ veritati. Et nesciebamus illud tunc frangi tantummodo, quod deinceps nesciret inflecti. He at last concludes: Quicquid tunc flevimus nunc amamus.

(4) In the former Volume, L. 10. § 22. n. 4. I quoted a Passage from *Sidonius Apollinaris*, con-

cerning one *Chilperic*. F. Sirmond applies it to this *Chilperic*, and I see no Cause, why *Valesius*, L. 3. p. 139. and *Pagius* ad A. 472. n. 6. differ from him.

(5) This appears in particular from *Ennodii vita S. Epiphani*, where he relates this Prelate's Embassy to both Kings.

(6) L. 10. § 22, 23.

(7) *ENNODIUS* in *Vita Epiphani*, p. 405. Tunc Rex probatissimus, ut erat fando locuples, & eloquentiæ dives opibus, & facundus assertor, verbis taliter verba reposuit: *AVITUS* says the same of him in several Passages, as Ep. 28.

(8) IN EP. AD AVITUM (inter Ep. *Aviti*, n. 48.) Quamquam præcellentissimus Princeps, cum sit ad inveniendum igneus, profluus ad dicendum, ita sensus scrutatus humanos, ut semper conventibus mitissimo pareat auditu.

of *Arianism* (9): But, in the mean Time, he never persecuted the *Catholicks*; the Bishops assembled without Interruption (10); the Churches retain'd their Estates (11), and he generally attended, whenever the two Parties disputed on any dubious Point of Faith. He had himself a continual verbal or epistolar Correspondence with *Avitus*, Bishop of *Vienne*, on religious Matters, as those Letters which are yet extant demonstrate (12). *Gundobald* acted a considerable Part, at the great Revolution, which, in his Time, happen'd in *Italy* and *Gaul*. He enter'd into an Alliance with *Theoderick*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, and *Sigismund*, his Son, married that Prince's Daughter, who was Sister to the Consort of *Alaric*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*. He seems likewise to have proceeded cautiously with the *Franks* (13). *Clovis* had married his Brother's Daughter: But this Affinity was of no Service to him, for we find, that, in the Year 500, a bloody War broke out between the two Nations. The Accounts we have of it vary; I shall, therefore, only transcribe the principal Circumstances, from the most ancient *Franconian* Writers (14). *Godegisil* enter'd into a secret Treaty with the *Franks*, and promis'd to pay an annual Tribute, if the King would assist him to expel *Gundobald*, his Brother (15). This Prince was yet ignorant of his Brother's Negotiation with the *Franks*, when *Clovis* was preparing to attack him. He therefore desir'd his Aid, against an Enemy whom they

(9) In the former Volume, Book 8. § 38. I treated of the Conversion of the Burgundians, and observ'd, in particular, that they at first profess'd the Catholick Faith. F. PACI ad A. 424. n. 7. imagines that Gundeucus was a Catholick still, and Gundobald was the first who turn'd Arian.

(10) A Convention of this Kind will be mention'd in the Sequel. Avitus takes Notice of another Council at Lyons.

(11) Thus says Avitus to him, Ep. 39. Quicquid habet ecclesiola mea, imo omnes Ecclesiæ nostræ, vestrum est, de substantia, quam vel servastis hæcenus, vel donastis

(12) Besides the Letters in Avitus's Works, we meet with another of the same Import, from Avitus to Gundobald, in Baluzii Miscellan. T. 1. p. 355.

(13) In the abovemention'd Letter, where Avitus congratulates Clovis on his Conversion, is a very remarkable Passage. (Ep. 41.) In apice rerum omnium gubernacula continente non minus eminet sanctitas, quam potestas. Ex qua utique factum est, ut dirigi ad vos servi vestri Laurentii filium, PRINCIPALI ORACULO JUBERETIS. Quod apud Dominum meum, suæ quidem gentis Regem, sed

MILITEM VESTRUM, obtinuisse me suggero. F. Daniel imagines, p. 20, that he made himself a Vassal to Clovis immediately after his Baptism: But I cannot find what Motive could induce the King of the Burgundians to this, and leave the Reader to judge, whether the Words Miles vester, may not be regarded as only a Compliment. The two next Letters at least plainly intimate, that this Son of Laurentius ow'd his Freedom to Clovis's Intercession, rather than to his Command: And the Word Miles is met with in the same Sense, Ep. 42.

(14) Conf. GREGORIUS and MARIUS AVENTICENSIS. It is related differently, by the Author of the Historia Francorum, who liv'd not long after Gregory; by Hincmarus, in Vita Remigii; and by Rorico, the Monk. But H. Valesius proves the Accounts of the two former to be most credible. Why I do not mention Procopius here, will appear in the following §, not. 2.

(15) It is uncertain, whether Godegisilus made the Proposal, as Gregory asserts, or whether Clovis aim'd at the Treaty on his Part, as Gundobald complains in the Passage cited in the following §, not. 9.

had

had both Cause to fear (16); and Godegisil actually join'd his Troops: But when they came to an Engagement, near *Dijon* (17), he went over to the *Franks*. Gundobald was oblig'd to quit the Field, in great Consternation, and could not think himself safe 'till he reach'd *Avignon*, where he put himself into a Condition to hold out a long Siege. Clovis pursu'd him, and besieg'd *Avignon*; but met with so much Difficulty, that, setting aside his Engagement to Godegisil, he made Peace with Gundobald (18), on his Promise of a Tribute, which he nevertheless afterwards refus'd to Pay.

Gundobald
makes him-
self Master of
all Burgundy.

§ XI. GODEGISIL, in the mean Time, with the Assistance of some Troops, which Clovis had left him, made himself Master of a Part of the Country belonging to his Brother, and enter'd *Vienne*, as it were, in Triumph. He thought himself now secure of being soon Master of all *Burgundy*: But Gundobald came upon him unawares, and besieged *Vienne*. Godegisil took Refuge in a Church of the *Arians*, but was there put to Death (1); and expiated, with the Loss of his Life, the Treachery, to which his Avarice and Ambition had led him. Thus Gundobald became Master of all the *Burgundian* Provinces, and govern'd them with Renown to his Death, A. 516 (2). Among other good Designs, he endeavour'd to regulate his Nation by Laws, and Gregory allows him this Commendation, that he did it with a View of making the Condition of the Country, and its ancient Inhabitants, more tolerable (3). As the Dominion of the *Romans*, to whose Laws the *Gauls* were accusom'd, was wholly at an End in those Countries, this Precaution was the more necessary, that the ancient Inhabitants, as well as the *Burgundians*, might know to what Laws they were subject, and consequently might live the more peaceably together. These Laws are still extant, and to some of

(16) This Circumstance becomes very dubious, if we grant, that the Conference of the Catholics and Arians, which is mention'd below, was held during the Preparations for this War, as F. Daniel affirms: For according to the Account of their Proceedings, Gundobald knew, at that Time, that his Brother was in a League with the Franks. See the Words in the following §, not. 9.

(17) Ad fluvium Oscaram (Ouche.)

(18) MARIUS, GREGORIUS, FREDEGARIUS.

§ XI. (1) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. 2. c. 32 & 33. MARIUS AVENTICENSIS: Regnumque quod perdiderat, cum eo, quod Godegisilus habuerat, receptum, usque in diem mortis suæ feliciter gubernavit. Gregory is therefore notoriously mistaken, when he says: Gundobaldum & regnum & animam perdidisse.

(2) PROCOPIUS de Bello Gothico, L. 1. c. 12. relates, that Clovis enter'd into a League with Theoderick, King of the Ostro-Goths, against the Burgundians, and then wag'd War with them: But he assigns no particular Time. F. Daniel follows his Account, p. 35. and so connects his Relation as if this War happen'd after the Year 500, when Gundobald was Master of all Burgundy. But Procopius's Accounts of the Franks are in general, and in this Passage more particularly, so imperfect, that I thought it safest to have no Regard to this Relation of his.

(3) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. c. c. 33. Ipse vero regionem omnem, quæ nunc Burgundica dicitur, ut in suo dominio restauravit, Burgundionibus leges mitiores instituit, ne Romanos opprimerent.

them

them we find the Name of *Gundobald* expressly prefix'd. In the Reign of *Sigismund*, his Son and Successor, I shall treat more circumstantially of the Collection of the *Burgundian* Laws themselves (4).

I HAVE already extoll'd the Regard he had to Religion; and cannot, on this Occasion, omit the Mention of a Conference (5) held at *Lyons*, in the King's Presence, soon before, or after the *Franconian* War (6), betwixt the *Catholick* Bishops and the *Arians*. *Stephen*, Bishop of *Lyons*; *Avitus* of *Vienne*; *Ennodius* of *Arles*; the Bishop of *Valence*, and some others, being assembled, according to Custom, on the Festival of *S. Justus*, went to Court, and beg'd the King would grant them a Conference with the *Arians*. *Avitus* spoke in the Name of the Rest. The King started to them this Question: *Since the Purity of your Faith is such, as you boast of, why do you not dissuade the King of the Franks, from waging War with me* (7)? *Avitus* answer'd, that they knew not what Views or Motives the King of the *Franks* might have to induce him to War; but they knew, from sacred Writ, that the Transgression of the Divine Law had caus'd the Desolation of whole Kingdoms, and that therefore, the best Method of preserving Peace, was for the King and his People, to return to the Law of God (8); which done, they would do their utmost to procure a lasting Peace, by their Mediation. The Conference was held the next Day. The King, on this Occasion, renew'd the Mention of the *Franconian* War, to the Bishop of *Vienne* (9), and the Bishop repeated, that
his

(4) In the Collection of the *Burgundian* Laws, publish'd by *Lindenbrogius*, we find incontestably some Constitutions of *Gundobald's*, as ex gr. the 42d and 45th. *Gundobald's* Name is likewise prefix'd to the 89th. These Laws are call'd *Lex Gundobalda* (vulgarly, *Les Gombettes*.) The 45th Constitution is famous, in particular, on Account of the Treatise written against it by *Agobardus*. *Leg. Longobard. L. 2. Tit. 55. l. 22. ut infantes qui sine rationabili ætate sunt, non cogantur jurare, sicut GUNDEBADA LEGE viventes faciunt.*

(5) V. *Collatio Episcoporum adversus Arianos*, præsertim *AVITI*, *Viennensis* Episcopi, coram Rege *Gundobaldo*, in *Spicilegio LUCÆ D'ACHERY*, T. 3. p. 304. This seems almost to have been the Conference which *Avitus* mentions to *Sigismund*, Ep. 21.

(6) *F. Daniel* places it in this Year (500), and supposes it to have been held, when Preparations were making on both Sides for a War. But according to *F. PAGIUS*, ad A. 501. n. 4. it was in the following Year. It would be difficult to determine this with any Certainty: I have therefore thought it safest to assign no certain Year.

(7) Vid. *Collatio, &c. l. c. p. 305*. Ad quæ Rex respondit: Si vestra fides est vera, quare Episcopi vestri non impediunt regem Francorum, qui mihi bellum indixit, & se cum inimicis meis sociavit, ut me destruerent? nam non est fides, ubi est appetentia alieni, & fitis sanguinis populorum. Ostendat fidem per opera sua.

(8) IBIDEM. Ignoramus, o Rex, quo consilio & qua de causa Rex Francorum facit, quod dicitis; sed scriptura nos docet, quod propter derelictionem legis Dei sæpe subvertuntur regna, & suscitantur inimici omni ex parte, illis qui se inimicos adversus Deum constituunt. Sed redite cum populo vestro ad legem Dei, & ipse dabit pacem in finibus vestris; nam si habetis pacem cum illo, habetis & cum ceteris, & non prævalebunt inimici vestri.

(9) IBIDEM, p. 306. Ingressi sunt ergo, & cum rex eos vidisset, surrexit in occursum eorum, mediisque inter Dominum Stephanum, & Dominum Avitum adhuc multa locutus est contra Francorum Regem, quem dicebat sollicitare fratrem suum contra se. Sed cum responderent præfati Episcopi, quod non esset melior via ineundi pa-

his Conversion to the *Catholick* Faith would be the best Means of procuring a Peace. As for the Conference itself, the Historian says, that the *Arians* made a very weak Defence, and that the King was indeed moved, but would not declare his Mind publickly. Several other such Conferences were held, as appears from the Letters of *Avitus*. It is indeed dangerous to confute a Doctrine, in the Presence of Princes, and perhaps against themselves, which they esteem to be true, when they are resolv'd to supply the Want of demonstrative Arguments by their Authority: But the *Catholicks* themselves boast, that they had nothing of this Kind to fear, on the Part of *Gundobald* (10): And it seems evident, that, at Length, he publickly quitted the *Arian* Party. *Gregory* indeed relates, that the King desir'd *Avitus* would confirm him privately; but that *Avitus* refus'd it, and insisted on performing the Ceremony in Publick; which the King not being willing to consent to, he remain'd in the Community of the *Arians*, to the Day of his Death (11): And *Agobardus*, Bishop of *Lyons*, says likewise, that he died an *Arian* (12). But we find him publickly extoll'd, as the Support and Protection of the *Catholick Orthodox* Church, in several Passages in *Avitus* (13), which are of more Weight than what either *Gregory* or *Agobardus* say, the latter, especially, having written above three hundred Years afterwards. Those Letters, among others, which *Avitus* wrote, about the Year 512, by the King's Command, contain Encomiums, which this zealous and resolute Prelate would never have been so liberal of to an *Arian* Prince (14).

Clovis wages
War with
the *Wisi-Goths*.

§ XII. *ALARIC*, who succeeded *Euricus*, his Father, A. 484, was Sovereign of the *Wisi-Goths* (1). *Euricus* had greatly extended his Dominion in *Gaul*, after he had conquer'd *Auvergne*, and after *Odoacer* had, as I observ'd before, resign'd *Provence* to him. The *Wisi-Gothick* Kingdom, which in the Records of these Times, is call'd *Gothia* (2),

cem quam concordare in fide, & operam suam si gratam haberet, pollicerentur pro tam sancto fœdere conciliando, nihil amplius locutus est, sed unusquisque locum, quem præcedenti die tenuerat occupavit.

(10) *Vid. locus HERACLI, not. 8. ad § 10.*

(11) *GRECORIUS, L. 2.*

(12) *AGOBARDUS, in Tr. adversus Legem Gundobadam, qui (scil. Avitus) ipso Gundobado, in sua perfidia perduto, successorem ejus, Sigismundum Regem, ad fidem catholicam convertit.*

(13) *In the Letter, which he wrote, to condole with him, on the Decease of his Daughter, he says: (Ep. 5.) Unde cum lætitiâ vestram, quasi serenitatem cœli expectet universitas, reddite vos gaudiis populorum: quia nunquam respublica orphanitatibus incurrit perniciem, quam diu susten-*

tantibus vobis mater ecclesia non senferit orbitatem.

(14) *His first Letter, (Ep. 2.) he begins thus: Unicum simul & multiplex donum seculo nostro, nutu divinitatis, indultum est, ut inter regias ordinationes gloriosissimi principatus vestri, principaliter de tuenda Catholicæ partis veritate curetis, &c We shall give a farther Account of this Affair in the Sequel.*

§ XII. (1) *Of the State of the Wisi-Gothick Kingdom, see in the former Volume, Lib. 10. § 26, 27, 28.*

(2) *LEX BURGUNDIORUM, in Additamento II. n. 3. Quicunque ingenuus de GOTHIA captivus a Francis in regionem nostram venerit, & ibidem habitare voluerit, ei licentia non negetur.*

compre-

comprehended then *Hispania Terraconensis* and *Batica*, beyond the *Pyrenean* Mountains: It reach'd, in *Gaul*, as far as the *Loire*, border'd Eastwards on the Dominions of the *Burgundians*, and, on the Side of *Provence*, on the *Ostro-Goths* in *Italy*. The few dispers'd Remains of the *Roman* Subjects, in these Countries, were, after the Overthrow of *Syagrius*, oblig'd to submit wholly to the *Gothick* Dominion. The *Wisi-Goths* had no Wars during the Reign of *Alaric*, excepting when they assisted the *Ostro-Goths* in *Italy*, and this perhaps occasion'd *Gregory* and *Isidorus* (3), to represent him as an effeminate and voluptuous Prince. We find, on the other Hand, some Monuments of his Care for the Peace of his Subjects, and for the Administration of Justice and Equity. He was himself an *Arian*, and yet granted many Privileges to the True-Believers, as appears from the Acts of the Council, which was held in his Reign, *A.* 506, at *Agde* †, † In lower Languedoc. which Council was open'd with Prayers and Vows for the Prosperity of his Person and Government (4). *Theoderick*, his Grand-father, and *Euricus*, his Father, had already collected a Body of Laws for the Use of the *Goths* *: But *Alaric* was now desirous of bringing the Laws of the *Gauls* into some Order. And, as that Nation was accusom'd to the *Roman* Laws, and the Clergy, in particular, were strenuously for them, he grounded his Laws upon them; but they were regulated in such Manner, that the enacting Power was no longer deriv'd from the *Romans*, but from him. He caus'd an Extract to be made from the *Codex*, publish'd by *Theodosius*, the younger, *A.* 438, and from other Collections of the *Roman* Laws ††; *Anianus* had the chief Inspection over this Work, and he prefix'd a Summary to each of those Statutes, which were retain'd from the ancient *Roman* Laws (5); to the Intent, that those, who found it too difficult, thoroughly to understand those ancient Laws, might nevertheless have an Idea of the Sense of them. The Bishops and Nobles of the Country, were previously consulted about the whole Work (6); because

(3) *ISIDORUS* says, *Alaricum a pueritia vitam in otio, & convivio peregrisse.*

(4) *ACTA SYNODI AGATHENSIS* in *SIRMONDI Concil. Gal. T. I. p. 160. in Proem.* Cum in nomine Domini, ex permisso Domini nostri, gloriosissimi, magnificentissimi, piissimique Regis, in civitate Agathensi, sancta Synodus convenisset, ibique flexis in terram genibus, pro regno ejus, pro longævitate, pro populo Dominum deprecemur, ut qui nobis congregationis permiserat potestatem, regnum ejus Dominus felicitate extenderet, justitia gubernaret, virtute protegeret.

* These Laws have already been mention'd, L. 10. § 28.

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†† Viz. the *Codex Gregorianus* and *Hermogenianus*: From *Pauli Sententiæ*, *Cassiodori Institutiones*, and the new Constitutions of the Emperors, made after the Times of *Theodosius*.

(5) In the *Commonitorium*, prefix'd to this *Breviarium Aniani* (for so it is call'd) we read: *Anianus, Vir Spectabilis, ex præceptione D. N. Gloriosiss. Alarici Regis, hunc Codicem de Theodosii legibus, atque sententiis juris, vel diversis libris electum, Aduris, Anno XXII. eo regnante edidit, atque subscripsit.*

(6) *IBIDEM.* *Utilitates populi nostri propitiâ divinitate tractantes, hoc quoque quod in legibus videbatur iniquum, meliori deliberatione corrigi-*

E

VIUS.

because, when Laws are to be establish'd, which a Nation is to conform to, that Nation is best able to judge, how far they are suitable to it. These Countries therefore found, at the Change of their Government, this advantageous Difference, that they were now themselves consulted about the Regulation of their Laws, whereas they depended before on the arbitrary Will of the Emperors. This new Collection, which was publish'd, A. 506, is known by the Name of *Codex Alaricianus* or *Breviarium Aniani*. It remain'd in Use in *Gaul*, even after the Dominion of the *Goths* was at an End, and was afterwards confirmed a-new by *Charlemaign* (7). On the other Hand, the *Goths* in *Spain* had Laws of their own, of which we may treat more properly in the Sequel.

ALARIC had married *Theudigoth*, the Daughter of *Theoderick*, King of *Italy*. This Alliance was intended to unite the Minds and Forces of the *Goths*, that their Name might be the more formidable to the *Romans*, as well as the *Germans*: But *Alaric's* Hopes, in this Respect, were frustrated, with Regard to the *Franks*. The latter had, in former Times, earnestly sought the Friendship of the *Wisi-Goths*, as long as their Designs were the same against the *Romans* in *Gaul*, and the Treaty, *Euricus* engag'd in with them, is particularly famous in History *: But when *Clovis* had now subverted the Dominion of the *Romans*, and the *Franks* were become Neighbours to the *Goths*, Pretences could not be long wanting to foment Differences between the two Nations. Some Letters are extant of *Theoderick*, King of *Italy*, which were written at a Time, when a Rupture was on the Point of breaking out, between the *Wisi-Goths* and *Franks*. We there perceive how solicitous *Theoderick* was to prevent it, and preserve, as it were, an equal Ballance betwixt the two Nations. He admonishes both his Son-in-Law (8) and *Clovis* (9), not

mus: ut omnis legum Romanarum, & antiqui juris obscuritas, adhibitis sacerdotibus ac nobilibus in viris, lucem intelligentiæ melioris deducta resplendeat: & nihil habeatur ambiguum, unde se diuturna, aut diversa jurgantium impugnet objectio. Quibus omnibus enucleatis, atque in unum librum prudentium electione collectis, hæc quæ excerpta sunt, vel clariori interpretatione composita, venerabilium episcoporum, vel electorum provincialium nostrorum roboravit adensus.

(7) This Collection Jac. Gothofredus treats of at large, in his Prolegomena Codicis Theodosiani, cap. 5. and likewise Anton. Schultingius, in Præf. ad Jurisprud. Ante-Justinianeam. The Work itself was first printed at Basil for Sichardus, A. 1528.

* See L. 10. § 27. not. 1.

(8) CASSIODOR. Var. Lib. 3. Epist. 1. Quapropter sustinete, donec ad Francorum Regem Legatos nostros dirigere debeamus, ut litem vestram amicorum debeant amputare judicia. Inter duos enim nobis affinitate conjunctos non optamus aliquid tale fieri, unde unum minorem contingat forsitan inveniri. Non vos parentum fusus sanguis inflamat: non graviter urit occupata provincia: adhuc de verbis parva est contentio: facillime transigitis, si non per arma vestros animos irritetis. Objiciamus, quamvis cognato, cum nostris conjuratis eximias gentes. Justitia, quæ Reges efficit fortiores, cito convertit animos, qui contra se tales sentit armatos.

(9) IBIDEM, Ep. 4. He writes him, among other Things, Jure Patris vobis interminor, & amantis.

Ille

not to be too hasty; he puts them in Mind of the ancient good Intelligence which subsisted between them, and exhorts them to let their Misunderstandings be terminated by a peaceable Accommodation; threatening withal, that he and his Allies were ready to take up Arms against the Party that should reject these friendly Proposals. He entreats *Gundobald*, King of the *Burgundians* (10), whom he styles his Brother, to make the same Remonstrances, on his Part, to *Clovis*. Another Letter, of the same Import (11), is directed to the Kings of the *Heruli* (12), *Guarni* (13), and *Thuringians*, who were in strict Alliance with him, and had it in their Power, greatly to molest the *Franks* in *Germany*. He reminds these Princes of the Benefits they received from *Alaric's* Father (14), and of the Danger they would be in, in their own Country, with Regard to the King of the *Franks*, if his Attempt against the *Wisi-Goths*, should prove successful (15).

§ XIII. BUT it is Matter of Doubt, whether these Letters relate to *Alaric's* ~~slain~~. the War I am now about to give an Account of (1). This Precaution at least prov'd fruitless. *Clovis* actually prepared for a War, A. 507, and pretended, that he was oblig'd to take up Arms against the King of the *Wisi-Goths*, lest that Prince should be before-hand with him. He was privately spirited up by many of the *Catholick* Party among the *Wisi-*

Ille nos & amicos nostros patietur adversos, qui talia monita (quod non opinamur) crediderit esse temnenda. Quapropter ad excellentiam Vestram ILLUM, & ILLUM legatos nostros magnopere credidimus dirigendos: per quos etiam ad fratrem vestrum, filium nostrum, Regem Alaricum, scripta nostra direximus, ut nullatenus inter vos scandala seminet aliena malignitas. *The former of the Words Jure Patris & amantis, seems to relate to Alaric his Son-in-Law, the latter to Clovis, whose Sister he had married.*

(10) IBIDEM, Ep. 2. He gives him the Title of *Fraternitas vestra*. And, Ep. 3, in speaking of him, he says, *Fratris nostri*.

(11) IBID. Ep. 3. The Superscription is: *Herulorum, Guarnorum, Thuringorum, Regibus*.

(12) This is perhaps the same King of the *Heruli*, whom *Procopius* and *Paulus Longobardus* call *Rudolphus*; and very probably the same, whom *Theodoric* adopted.

(13) *PROCOPIUS* mentions one *Hermegisclus*, King of the *Guarni*, who liv'd about this Time.

(14) *Recolite namque senioris affectum! quantis vos juvit semper muneribus, quoties a vobis proximarum gentium imminet bella suspendit? This Passage serves to illustrate what I observ'd, Lib. 10.*

§ 28, of the great Regard all the German Nations had for *Euricus*.

(15) Reddite filio ejus gratiam, quam tamen agnoscitis vestris utilitatibus attributam. Nam si tanto regno aliquid prævaluerit, vos aggredi sine dubitatione præsumet. *These last are the most remarkable Words: Ut vos, qui nostrum sequimini, Deo juvante, dispositum, unus complectatur assensus: & foris hoc agatis, ne in vestris provinciis dimicare possitis. We here perceive, that the Heruli and Guarni dwelt, at that Time, in Germany, and were, as well as the Thuringians, in a strict Alliance with the King of the Ostro-Goths.*

§ XIII. (1) We cannot exactly assign the Date of these Letters. *Valesius*, *Marina*, *F. le Cointe*, and *Pagius*, place them in the Beginning of this War. But *F. Daniel*, imagines, that they relate to some former Transaction; because, according to *Isidorus's* Account, the King of *Burgundy* was engag'd in a Treaty with *Clovis*, to make War against *Alaric*, who is nevertheless mention'd in the aforesaid Letter, as a faithful Ally to the King of the *Ostro-Goths*. But how easy was it not for him, at that Time, to alienate a Prince's Friendship, when he found a new Alliance more advantageous?

Goths (2); and *Gregory* would have it look'd upon as a War for the Sake of Religion. *Clovis* had himself been heard to declare, that he could not well tolerate Hereticks in *Gaul*: And this might, at least, serve to infuse the more Zeal into his Soldiers, and into those Inhabitants of the *Gothick* Provinces, who were already secretly affected to the *Franks* (3). He vow'd, before he set out from *Paris*, to build a Church in Honour of the Apostles. And when he arriv'd at *Tours*, which, with Regard to the *Franks*, was the first City in the *Gothick* Dominions, he made an Offering at St. *Martin's* Tomb; and caus'd a Proclamation to be publish'd throughout his Army, that no one should presume to endamage any Thing appertaining thereunto. He took with him, to the Field, *Theoderick*, his eldest Son. *Siegbrecht*, King of the *Franks*, who, as I observ'd before, resided at *Cologne*, on the *Rhine*, had sent him some Auxiliaries, commanded by *Chararick*, his Son; and the King of the *Burgundians*, at the same Time, declar'd for the *Franconian* Party. *Alaric* had led not only his *Goths*, but likewise the ancient Inhabitants of his Countries, to the Field, and waited for the Enemy near *Poitiers*. An Engagement ensued, near *Vouglé*, a Place not far distant from that City, on the River *Vienne*, in which *Clovis* gain'd the Victory. Many Persons of Distinction from *Aquitain* and *Auvergne* were slain on the Spot, and particularly *Apollinaris*, the Son of the famous *Sidonius*. King *Alaric* was slain on his Flight (4). *Clovis* pursued his Victory as far as *Bourdeaux*, where he spent the Winter Season; and his Son took, in the mean Time, from the *Goths*, the Cities of *Rovergue*, *Quercy*, and *Auvergne*. The terrified *Goths* made a Halt at *Narbonne*, and, to compleat their Misfortune, fell at Variance among themselves. One Party chose for their King, *Gesalic* *, *Alaric's* eldest Son, but not by a lawful Wife; this they did under Pretence, that *Amalarick*, the other Prince, the Son of *Theoderick's* Daughter, was too young, to govern a Nation in so dangerous a Juncture (5). The latter fled into *Spain* (6). *Clovis* went the following Year, 508, to *Toulouse*, where the Royal Treasure fell into his Hands. He then return'd, and left his Son behind him (7), who was to endeavour, with the Assistance of the *Burgundian* Nation, to

(2) GREGORIUS II. 36. Multi jam tum ex Gallis habere Francos dominos summo desiderio cupiebant. He then relates, that *Quintianus*, Bishop of *Rhodes*, was oblig'd to abandon his Church, because he was suspected of having wish'd to be under the Dominion of the *Franks*.

(3) *Cointe* and *Pagius* take Notice of the Policy made Use of on this Occasion.

(4) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS: Porro Rex,

cum fugatis Gothis, Alaricum regem interfecisset, &c. Some modern Writers say, that *Clovis* slew *Alaric* with his own Hands.

* *Isidorus* calls him *Giselic*, In *Cass. L. 5. ep. 43.* he is named *Gisolec*.

(5) ISIDORUS. PROCOPIUS.

(6) GREGORIUS, l. c.

(7) GESTA FRANCORUM: FREDEGARIUS.

drive the *Goths* entirely out of *Gaul*. He himself took *Angoulesme*, on his Return (8), and then went to *Tours*, pleased with the Thoughts of having taken from the *Goths*, in the Space of one Year, what they had before conquer'd in many, and with much Pains.

§ XIV. AT this Place he received an Ambassy from *Anastasius*, the Emperor. The Affairs between that Monarch and King *Clovis* were, after the latter had conquer'd the Residue of the *Romans*, in such a Situation, that the Subject of their Negotiations must have been of the utmost Importance. However, *Gregory* mentions nothing more, but that the Emperor had nominated *Clovis*, *Patricius* (1). *Clovis*, to enter, as it were, publicly on this Dignity, put on the Purple-Habit, belonging to the *Patriciat*, in the Abby of *St. Martin* (2), and rode to the Cathedral of that City, with his Crown on his Head, himself strowing Mony among the Populace, by the Way. An ancient Image of Stone is still to be seen at *Paris* †, which represents *Clovis* in this Habit, with a Truncheon in his Hand, such as was usually born by the *Consuls*. From the Friendship *Anastasius* hereby express'd to *Clovis*, we may conclude, that the Affair about *Gaul* was settled. But some Doubt remains, nevertheless, what his Designs might be, in granting him this *Patriciat* (3). We have already had several Instances of *German* Princes, whom the Empe-

(8) *Gregory*, impatient to bring his *Orthodox* Hero back, and resolv'd not to detain him long at the Siege of *Angoulesme*, says, that the Walls of the City fell down, at the Approach of the King. He abounds with Miracles of this Kind, throughout his whole Work.

§ XIV (1) *GREGORIUS*, L. 2. c. 38. Igitur ab *Anastasio* Imperatore codicillos de consulatu accepit, & in basilica beati Martini tunica blatea indutus est, & chlamyde, imponens vertici diadema, Tunc ascenso equo, aurum argentumque in itinere illo, quod inter portam atrii & ecclesiam civitatis est, præscentibus populis manu propria spargens, voluntate benignissima erogavit, & ab ea die tanquam consul & Augustus est vocitatus.

GESTA FRANCORUM, p. 705. Ab *Anastasio* imperatore accepit tunc codicillos Clodoveus rex, pro consulatu. Tunica blatea indutus rex in basilica beati Martini, corona aurea in capite suo: ascenso equo, aurum & argentum in atrium, quod est inter civitatem & ecclesiam beati Martini, præsente populo, manu propria sparsit, atque voluntate benignissima dispensavit. Ab ea die tanquam Consul, & Augustus est appellatus. As for the Word Consul in this Passage, it is taken for granted, that *Gregory* uses the Words Consulatus and Patriciatus, as denoting the same Thing; which others have likewise been guilty of, as is demonstrated

by *Pagius*, ad A. 508. n. 2, 3, 4. and *Valesius*, L. 6. p. 299. seq.

(2) *CASSIODORUS*, Var. Lib. 8. ep. 9 names the Sella Curulis, Chlamys, Cingulum, and the Calcei picti, as the Marks of Honour belonging to the *Patriciat*. In *Gregory's* afore-cited Words, we find the Tunica blatea, Chlamys, and Corona. We shall have farther Occasion, in the Sequel, to treat of the Crown, which the *Patricii* wore. The Insignia *Patriciatus* are treated of, among others, by *Guido Pancirolus*, Var. Lætion. Lib. 1.

† Among the Statues of the Kings of the Franks, of the first Race, which we see in the Suburbs of *S. Germain*, at the Entrance into that Abby, and are said to have been there ever since *S. Germanus's* Times. *MONUMENTS DE LA MONARCHIE FRANÇOISE*. T. 1. Tab. 7.

(3) The Conjectures that can be made on this Head, may be reduc'd to these two Queries: Whether *Clovis* accepted of this Title, in Order to possess *Gaul*, as it were, under the Protection of the Emperor, or only for the Sake of the Honour? The Abbé de *Camps* imagines, only enough, that *Anastasius* admitted him to a Share in the Empire, and that the Kings of the Franks have had, since then, a perpetual Right to the Imperial Title; which is exploded by *Eckard*, in the Preface to his *Origines Domus Austriacæ*.

rors,

rors dignified with this Title: Such was *Ricimer*, such were *Gundeucus*, *Chilperic*, and *Gundobald*, Kings of the *Burgundians*; such were even *Odoacer* and *Theoderick*; and we shall soon see a fresh Example in *Sigismund*, King of the *Burgundians*. The Emperors seem to have design'd this, as a Means to preserve some Appearance of the Supremacy of the *Roman* Empire, in those Provinces, which the *German* Princes and their Nations possess'd. But *Anastasius* perhaps confer'd this Honour on *Clovis*, with a View of securing the Friendship of a King, who was the only Prince in the *West*, capable of setting Bounds to *Theoderick*, and to the *Gothick* Power: For the Emperor was, at that Time, greatly at Variance with *Theoderick*. This Prince had lent his Assistance to *Mundus*, a Prince of the *Hunns* (4), against the Imperialists, and the Emperor, on the other Hand, had sent a Fleet against *Italy*, which had made Depredations here and there, on those Coasts (5). We have therefore more Cause to wonder, that *Clovis* should accept of this Dignity? He had, at least, no Occasion to allow any Sovereignty to *Anastasius*. His Kingdom was sufficiently establish'd, and the *Grecian* Court was in such Perplexity, that he had nothing to fear from that Quarter. But who knows what secret and distant Views were then formed, which were frustrated by the Vicissitude of the Times? And this Instance may, at least, serve to shew, that a *German* Prince vouchsafed to accept of this Pomp, which still captivated the Eyes of a People, accusom'd to the *Roman* Splendor, without making the least Concession of a superior Power, to the Emperor, on that Account; almost in the same Manner, as we at present see one King accepting an order of Knighthood from another, without any Derogation to his Dignity. We shall be put in Mind again of this *Patriciat*, in the Sequel, when we find *Pipin* and *Charlemaign* bearing the same Title. *Clovis* went from *Tours* to *Paris*, and fix'd upon this Place for his future Residence (6), which Choice was perhaps occasion'd by the Situation of it, with Regard to the Dominions he then possess'd.

Theoderick,
King of the
Ostro-Goths,
succours the
Wisi-Gothick
Kingdom.

§ XV. To return to the *Wisi-Gothick* War, we find that King *Gundobald* plunder'd *Narbonne*, and *Gesalic*, finding he could not stand his Ground, fled to *Barcelona* (1). *Theoderick*, whom *Clovis* had not given

(4) JORNANDES, cap. 58, and ENNODIUS in his Panegy. pag. 309. treats of *Mundus*, this Hunnick Prince, and of the Protection granted to him.

(5) MARCELLINUS in Chronico: CELEPE & VENANTIO Coss. (508). Romanus. Comes Domesticorum, & Ruiticus Comes Scholariorum, cum centum armatis navibus, totidemque dromonibus, octo millia armatorum secum ferentibus, ad devastanda Italiae littora processerunt, & usque ad

Tarentum, antiquissimam civitatem, progressi sunt, remensque mari inhonestam victoriam, quam piratico ausu, Romani ex Romanis rapuerunt, Anastasio Caesari reportarunt.

(6) GESTA FRANCOR. l. c. De Turonis autem egressus, Parisiis civitatem veniens, ibi sedem regni sui constituit.

§ XV. (1) ISIDORUS. See the Words in the following §. not. 2.

Time sufficient to come to his Son-in-Law's Aid; now took up Arms (2). Several were the Motives that induc'd him thereto; the Death of his Son-in-Law; the Attempt of *Gesalic*; the Declension of the *Wisi-Gothick* State; and, above all, the Danger of *Clovis's* paving a Way into *Italy*. To all these, he had now to add, the League that subsisted between the King of the *Franks* and the *Burgundian* Monarch, and the former's Friendship with *Anastasius*, especially as the good Wishes, which many *Catholics* in the *Wisi-Gothick* Provinces, had discover'd for the Success of the Arms of the *Franks*, in a Manner, warn'd him what he might justly apprehend from that Quarter: And perhaps he had, at the Beginning, an Eye to the Advantages which he afterwards found Means to obtain, at the Conclusion of the War. The most famous Transactions of this War, betwixt the *Ostro-Goths* and *Franks*, were the Siege and Relief of *Arles*. The *Franks* besieged (3) this City, which for its Situation, and on Account of its Bridge over the *Rhone*, was of great Importance. *Iba*, the *Gothick* General (4), undertook to relieve *Arles*, on which Occasion, another valiant *Goth* distinguish'd himself, whose Name was *Tholuit* (5), and who was then *Magister Domus*, and became *Patricius* afterwards, in *Athalarick's* Reign (6). The *Franks* were drove out of *Arles* (7), and *Theoderick* kept the City for himself (8). To alleviate, in some Measure, the Calamities this Place had undergone, he remitted the Contribution for the next ensuing Year, and sent himself a Sum of Money, to rebuild the Walls and Turrets †. He likewise endeavour'd to take Revenge of

(2) *CASSIODORUS in Chronico: VENANTIO JUN. & CELERE COSS. (A. 508.) his COSS. contra Francos a Domino nostro destinantur exercitus, qui Gallias Francorum deprædatione confusas, victis hostibus ac fugatis, suo acquisivit imperio. JORNANDES, cap. 58. in fin. Non minus tropæum de Francis per Hiobam, suum Comitem, in Galliis acquisivit, plus 30 millibus Francorum in prælio cæsis. Nam & Thiodem, suum armigerum, post mortem Alarici generi, tutorem in Hispaniæ regno Amalarici nepotis constituit.*

(3) *We find some Circumstances of this Siege, in Vita S. Cæsarii, written by Cyprianus.*

(4) *This General's Name is differently written: Iba, Hioba, Ebba, Helba. Isidorus calls him Comes Gepidorum.*

(5) *Toluit, Tulum, Tuluin. Avitus, Ep. 35. says to Diaconus Elpidius, who was Body Physician to King Theoderick: Per majorem Domus Tullii, qui amorem suum Dominum meum, Sigismundum, a Patre suo in legatione directus, in Viennensium civitate repererat, epistolas Tuas me accepisse lætatus, per ipsum rursus officia pro-*

fusissimæ caritatis exsolvi. Sirmondus knows not where to place this Major Domus Tullii. It must be read Magistrum Domus Tulum or Tuluit.

(6) *The Services perform'd by Tulum, are commended by King Athalaric, in his Letter to the Senat, when this Tulum was created Patricius, in Cassiodor. Var. L. 3. ep. 10. Adfuit illic dubiis rebus audacia Candidati (sc. Tuli) ubi tanta cum globis hostium decertatione pugnavit, ut & inimicosa suis desideriis amoveret, & vulnera factorum suorum signa fusciperet.*

(7) *PAGIUS, ad A. 508. supposes, with much Probability, that Arles was besieged and relieved in the Year 510.*

(8) *CYPRIANUS in vita Cæsarii. Nos tamen credimus & confidimus in Domino Deo per misericordiam & fidem, seu orationem, B. Cæsarii, quia sic in diebus suis ab hostibus Arelatensis obsessa est civitas, ut nec captivitati meruerit, nec prædæ succumbere. Sic deinde a Visi-Gothis ad Ostro-Gothorum devoluta est regnum.*

† *Var. Lib. 3. ep. 32 and 44.*

the

the King of the *Burgundians*, in his own Country, for having prefer'd *Clovis's* Friendship to his; and we find, that the *Ostro-Goths* took some Places on the *Durance* (9), and reduc'd *Orange* (10), and *Avignon* (11), to their Dominion.

The Conclusion of the Gothic War.

§ XVI. It would be a difficult Task, to come at all the Circumstances, whereby the *Wisi-Gothick* Kingdom extricated itself from these several Perplexities. The *Franks* and *Burgundians* were its Enemies; the Nobles were divided amongst themselves, and the King of the *Ostro-Goths* gave them already sufficiently to understand, that he expected to be richly paid for his Assistance. We cannot discover when, or on what Conditions, the Peace was made with the *Franks*; but certain it is, that the *Franks* retain'd *Auvergne* and both *Aquitains*, together with the City of *Toulouse*, and that the *Wisi-Goths* reserv'd no other Dominions in *Gaul*, than the Province of *Narbonne*, in which were the Cities of *Narbonne*, *Besiers*, *Nîmes*, *Carcassonne*, *Lodeve*, *Agde*, &c. This Tract of Land is very near the same with the present *Languedoc*, and was afterwards call'd *Provincia Gallia*, in the *Wisi-Gothick* History (1). As for the Throne of the *Wisi-Goths*, *Iba*, the General, pursu'd *Gesalic* into *Spain*, and reduc'd him to such Streights, that he repair'd to *Africa*, to implore the Aid of *Thrasamund*, King of the *Vandals*. He was hereupon declared, at a Convention of the States, to have forfeited the Crown he had usurp'd (2). The *Vandalick* Court was greatly perplex'd by this Visit. The Queen, who was Sister to *Theoderick*, had a Hand in all the Affairs of State, and an Inclination to comply with the distress'd Princes Request must of Course be kept from her Knowledge: But the Exigencies of the State, nevertheless requir'd it. *Theoderick*, it appear'd, would become too formidable to the *Vandals*, if he were to unite the Power of the two *Gothick*

(9) That the Goths were in Possession of the fortified Cities on the Durance, appears from Theoderick's Regulation. Var. 3. ep. 41. Tritici speciem ob exercituales expensas nostra providentia de Italia destinavit, ne fatigata Provincia hujusmodi læderetur. Ad Castella supra Druentiam constituta de Massiliensium horreis constat esse portandum.

(10) Vita S. Cæsarii.

(11) Conf. Variar. L. 3. ep. 38.

§ XVI. (1) The State of this Province has been illustrated by Garfias Loaisa, in his Collectanea Conciliorum Hispaniæ, where he says: Narbonnæ sedi subjacent hæ sedes: Beterris, Agatha, Magalona, Nemauso, Luteba, Carcasona, Elna: Several learned Annotations have been made on this by Petrus de Marca, in his Treatise de Marca Hispanica, c. 16.

(2) ISIDORUS in Chron. Dum eadem civitas (Narbonna) a Gundebaldo direpta fuisset, iste (sc. Gisefichus) cum multo sui dedecore, & cum magna fuorum clade, apud Barcelonam se contulit: ibi moratus, quousque etiam regni fascibus a Theoderico, fugæ ignominia, privaretur. Inde profectus ad Africam Vandalorum suffragia poscit, quo in regnum possit restituti. Qui dum non impetraret auxilium, mox ex Africa rediens, ob metum Theoderici, Aquitaniam petit, ibique anno uno delitescens Spaniam revertitur. ANONYMUS Chronico VICTORIS TURONENSIS insertus, ad Consulatum BOETII (510.) Hoc anno idem Gesalicus ab Helbane Theoderici, Italiæ Regis, Duce, ab Hispania fugatus, Africam petit.

Kingdoms. Whereas, on the other Hand, if *Gesalic* could be restored to the Throne of the *Wisi-Goths*, they would have a convenient Neighbour of him, who would always have the same Cause as they, to be watchful over the Motions of the *Ostro-Goths*. The King therefore assisted *Gesalic* with Money, and thereby enabled him to return to *Gaul*. A Letter is still extant of *Theoderick's*, who got Intelligence of this Affair, wherein he reproaches his Brother-in-Law in a very severe Manner (3). *Gesalic*, in the mean Time, arriv'd in *Aquitain*, and the *Franks* themselves seem to have assisted him, in Order to cut out Work for *Theoderick*. He again tried his Fortune in *Spain*: But *Iba*, *Theoderick's* General (for he did not go in Person to *Spain*) (4) defeated him again, A. 511, near *Barcellona*. *Gesalic* was taken Prisoner on his Flight, and spent the Remainder of his Life, in some Fort in *Gaul* (5). *Amalarick* was however too young to ascend his Father's Throne, and the *Wisi-Goths* were very sensible, that they stood in Need of a valiant and experienc'd King, to withstand the *Franks*. *Theoderick* therefore took upon himself the Government of the *Wisi-Gothick* Kingdom, in the Year 511, as Guardian for his Grand-son; and administred the same fifteen Years, till his Decease. He is reckon'd among the *Gothick* Kings in *Spain*, and the Acts of the Councils, that were held there during that Time, are dated according to the Years of his Reign (6). He appropriated to himself, the Cities in *Provence*, which before appertain'd to the *Wisi-Gothick* Kingdom, perhaps under Pretext of the Expences he had been at. He renew'd, on this Occasion, the pompous Title of *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, and honour'd *Liberius* with that and the *Patriciat* (7). *Gemellus*, his Lieutenant in *Gaul*, had express Orders from the King, to use the People with Lenity (8). This he likewise did himself, in Order to excite in his Subjects that Satisfaction, which contributes as much to the Security of a Government, as the strongest Garrisons. Among other Tokens of his

(3) CASSIODORUS, Var. Lib. 5. Ep. 43. *Thrasamund palliated his Fault as well as he could. Then follows Theoderick's Answer, Ep. 44, wherein he expresses himself satisfied with his Excuse: Fecimus utrique regalia: sic nos superavimus tyrannicam cupiditatem, sicut & vos vicisse constat errorem.*

(4) LUCAS FUDENSIS and others affirm, that *Theoderick* came himself to *Spain*. Among the modern Writers, F. le Cointe, ad A. 509, takes this for granted. But F. Mariana and Pagius, ad A. 508. n. 5. f. prove this Pretence to be groundless.

(5) ISIDORUS: *Gesalicus Aquitaniam petiit, ibique anno delitescens Spaniam revertitur, atque ab Elbane, Theuderici Regis Duce, duodecimo a*

Barcinone urbe milliario, commissio prælio in fugam vertitur, captusque, trans flumen Druentium Galliarum interiit, sicque prius honorem, postea vitam omisit. Pagius observes, that the Beginning of Theoderick's Reign, over the Wisi-Goths, must be plac'd in the Year 511. ante 6. Id. Junias.

(6) Such, for Instance, is the Date of the Council at *Gironna* in the Year 517.

(7) The Name at Length is, *Petrus Marcellinus Felix Liberius*. We find Letters directed to this *Liberius*; as in *Avitus*, Ep. 32, in *Ennodius*, L. 9. ep. 23. conf. CASSIODORI, Var. L. 2. ep. 6. & L. 11. ep. 1.

(8) CASSIODOR, Var. L. 4. ep. 21.

Care, he remitted the Duties in the Sea-Ports, that the Importations might be the greater, and Commodities the cheaper (9). He entrusted the Government of the *Wisi-Goths*, in *Spain*, to one *Theudis*, who was before in his Service (10), and had a great Share in his Confidence. He concluded a Peace with the King of *Burgundy* (11), of which we do not indeed find the most exact Circumstances recorded; but from the Connexion of the History, the River *Durance* appears to have been the Boundary between the *Ostro-Gothick* and *Burgundian* Dominions.

*Clovis unites
all the Na-
tions of the
Franks.*

§ XVII. I MUST refer the Reader to the Histories of *France*, for the other Transactions of *Clovis's* Reign, before he could secure to himself the Northern Part of *Gaul* (1), and for the War betwixt him and the *Britons*, who had settled on those Coasts (2). Instead of these, I shall give an Account how he subdued the other Nations of the *Franks*, and must, therefore, in this Sense likewise, be regarded as the Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*. In the Histories of these Times, we find Mention made of several Princes, or Kings of the *Franks*, each of whom govern'd a separate Nation; for several German People were comprehended under the Name of *Franks*. I have taken Notice, myself, of *Sigebert* and *Raganarius*, who both reign'd over some *Franconian* Nations, that had establish'd themselves in *Gaul*, before *Clovis's* Time. *Gregory* calls them Relations of *Clovis*: But we are not sufficiently acquainted with the ancient *Merovingian* Race, to pretend to say how nearly they were allied (3). *Sigebert's* Kingdom extended on both Banks of the *Rhine*, particularly on the left Side of that River, as far as the *Mosel*, and, in Length, from *Mentz* to below *Cologn*, which is said to have been his Capital: It therefore comprehended that Tract of Land, the Inhabitants of which, by Reason of their Promixity to the Banks, are call'd *Riparii* or *Ripuarii*. On this Side of the *Rhine*, it reach'd as far as the *Buch-Wald*, and the Borders of *Thuringia*. This was, very probably, the same Nation of *Franks*, which, in the Times of *Valentinian III*, sack'd the Cities of *Mentz*, *Cologn*, and *Treves* (4). I mention'd before, of this *Siegbrecht*,

(9) *Ibidem*, ep. 19.

(10) JORNANDES, c. 58. THIODEM, SUUM ARMIGERUM, post mortem Alarici, generi, tutorem in Hispaniæ Regno Amalarici, nepotis, constituit.

(11) That a Peace was concluded appears from *Avitus*, Ep. 32.

§ XVII. (1) In the ancient Geography of *Gaul*, these People are call'd *Armorici*. Of *Clovis's* Expedition against them, in the Year 502, see F. le Cointe, ad A. 502. n. 3. *Procopius de bello Gothico*, L. 1. c. 12. gives a long Account of the

Transactions of the *Franks* with the *Arborichi*; and F. Daniel imagines these *Arborichi* to be a separate Nation. I believe, *Procopius* meant the *Armorici*; and as he was very unexperienc'd in Matters relating to the *Franks*, only mistook their Name and Situation.

(2) We treated of these *Britons* in the former Volume, L. 10. §. 26.

(3) ECKARD, in *Historia Franciæ Orientalis*, P. 1. p. 510. makes very probable Conjectures about the Consanguinity of the first Princes of the *Franks*.

(4) See Vol. I. L. 9. § 21.

their

their King, that he was in Person at *Zülpich*, in the Engagement with the *Alemanni*, and that he sent Auxiliaries to *Clovis*, against the *Wist-Goths*, under the Command of *Cloderick*, his Son (5). This very Son now caus'd his Father to be treacherously assassinated, while he was diverting himself with the Chace, in the *Buch-Wald*; and immediately notified his Succession to *Clovis*, with an Offer, that as much as he pleas'd, of his Father Treasures, should be at his Service: But *Clovis* provided a Murderer for him, who put an End to his Life, even when he was busied in sharing his Father's Treasures with his Ambassadors. *Clovis* lay ready in the Neighbourhood, 'till he receiv'd News of the Success of his Attempt, and then went to *Cologn*, where, with little Difficulty, he reduc'd the whole Nation to his Dominion (6). He was immediately set upon a Shield, a Custom which the *Franks* still retain'd from the most ancient *Germans*, and was publickly proclaim'd King (7). These *Franks* retain'd the Name of *Ripuarii*, which we shall frequently meet with in the Sequel, as well as their own Laws, which are yet extant, and, in many Respects, agree with the *Salick* Laws. In some of them, we find the *Romans* mention'd (8), by which Name are meant the ancient Inhabitants of the Country. They appear to have been all enacted at one Time, after this Nation had embrac'd the *Christian* Faith (9). But it is uncertain, whether *Sigebert* was a *Christian*, and had caus'd these Laws to be compil'd, or whether they were not brought into the Order we now find them, in or after the Reign of *Theuderick*, the Son of *Clovis*, to whose Share *Austrasia* fell, after his Father's Decease.

§ XVIII. GREGORY mentions, moreover (1), another Prince of the *Franks*, named *Chararic*, whom he likewise calls King (2). We cannot

He causes
Chararic and
Reganarius to
be put to
Death.

(5) See above, § 8 and 13.

(6) GREGORIUS, L. 2. c. 40.

(7) IDEM, l. c. Plaudentes tam palmis quam vocibus, eum clypeo evectum, super se Regem constituunt.

(8) In the Leges Ripuariorum, the Ripuarii and Romani are set in Opposition to one another, as: Tit. 58. n. 11. Si autem Ecclesiasticus, Romanus, vel Regius homo, ingenuam Ripuariam acceperit, aut si Romana, vel Regia, seu tabularia, ingenuum Ripuarium in matrimonium acceperit, generatio eorum, semper ad inferiora declinetur. Add. Tit. 61. de Libertis secundum legem Romanam.

(9) Such Footsteps as these we find throughout. I shall only produce one Instance, Tit. 58. n. 1. Hoc etiam jubemus, ut qualiscunque Francus, Ripuarius, seu tabularius, servum suum pro animæ

sue remedio, seu pro pretio, secundum legem Romanam, libertare voluerit, ut in Ecclesia coram Presbyteris, Diaconis, seu cuncto Clero & Populo, in manu Episcopi servum tradat, & Episcopus Archidiaconum jubeat, ut ei tabulas secundum legem Romanam, qua Ecclesia vivit, scribere faciat.

§ XVIII. (1) We cannot exactly assign the Year of this Civil War. Gregory however relates the Death of Sigebert and his Son, immediately after the Gothick Expedition, and Chararick's Death soon after that. The French Chronologers, especially F. le Cointe, place Chararick's Fall in the Year 509, and the Expedition against Rachanarius in the Year 510.

(2) GREGORY relates this after Chlodaric's Death, L. 2. c. 41. Post hæc ad Chararicum Regem dirigit. Quando autem cum Syagrio pugnavit,

cannot indeed exactly assign, over what Part of the *Franks* he govern'd *: But he appears, from several Circumstances, to have been a *Christian*. *Clovis*, had of old, conceiv'd a Hatred for him, because, in the Battle with *Syagrius*, he stood neuter, as if he waited to see which Party would gain the Victory, that he might proceed accordingly. He made both him and his Son, his Prisoners, by a Stratagem: The Father he caused to be consecrated a Priest, and his Son a Deacon; but both to be, at Length, put to Death, for his greater Security, lest the Son should, soon or late, find an Opportunity of revenging the Death of his Father. *Raganarius* was, at Length, liable to the same Fate (3): Of this Prince, I observ'd before, that he was present at the Battle of *Soissons*. He kept his Court at *Cambray* (4), and his Dominions reach'd, on this Side the *Somme*, thro' the present *Flanders* and *Artois*. *Clovis* secretly gain'd Partizans among his Subjects, and then declar'd a War against him, during which he made him his Prisoner by Treachery. *Raganarius* and *Richard*, his Brother, were beheaded; and *Regnomer*, the third Brother, was, by his Orders, likewise put to Death, in the City of *Mans* (5). *Raganarius* and his People had continued in *Paganism*: But the Nation was now, thro' the Care of *Remigius*, brought to a Confession of the *Christian* Faith (6). *Gregory* mentions, that *Clovis* caus'd some other Princes, and Relations of his to be murder'd; and, as an Excuse for this Proceeding, says, that he could not place any Confidence in them; but had Reason to fear some Attempt from them, on his Throne, or on that of his Children (7). Thus all that the *Franks* had 'till then possess'd in *Magna Germania*, and had, at several Times, conquer'd in *Gaul*, was united under one So-

navit, hic Chararicus, evocatus ad auxilium Clodovechi, eminus stetit, neutram adjuvans partem, sed eventum rei expectans, ut cui eveniret victoria, cum illo & hic amicitiam colligaret. Ob hanc causam Clodovechus indignans contra eum abiit, quem circumventum dolis cepit, cum filio, victosque totondit, & Chararicum quidem Presbyterum, filium vero ejus Diaconum ordinari jubet, &c.

* JACOBUS MALBRANCUS, L. 2. c. 38. supposes, that he reign'd in the Country, where, according to the ancient Geography, the Morini dwelt.

(3) AL. RACHANARIUS. That he was present at the Battle of *Soissons*, appears from the Words of *Gregory*, quoted § 1. n. 4.

(4) JAC. MEYERUS, L. 1. Annal. Flandr. treats of this *Rachanarius* at large. He calls him the Grand-Son of *Clodius*, King of the *Franks*, and says, that he married a *Wife* Gothick Lady: But all this needs farther Proof.

(5) GREGORIUS, L. 2. c. 42. conf. COINTE ad A. 510. n. 4. See likewise *Hincmarus's* Words in the following Note.

(6) HINCMARUS in vita *Remigii*: Multi nec dum ad fidem conversi cum *Raganario*, ultra *Sommam* fluvium aliquandiu degerunt, donec Christi gratia cooperante, gloriosis potitus victoriis, eundem flagitiis turpitudinum servientem, vinctum a Francis, sibi traditum, Rex *Ludovicus* occidit, & omnem Francorum populum, per B. *Remigium* ad fidem converti, & baptizari obtinuit.

(7) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. 2. c. 42. concludes the Account of these Murders, in the following Words: Interfectisque & aliis multis regibus, & parentibus suis, de quibus zelum habebat, ne ei regnum auferrent, regnum suum per totas Gallias dilatavit.

vercignty.

verignty. However glorious the Founders of great Kingdoms may seem in History, they appear as inglorious, if we enquire more narrowly into the Means, they made Use of, to obtain their Ends: But we need hardly wonder, that *Clovis* made Attempts of this Kind, when we find *Gregory*, and other ancient Historians, making such large Concessions to him, on Account of his Conversion to the *Catholick* Religion; and how many Things the Bishops were either not able to prevent, or willingly consented to, when the Church gain'd any Advantage thereby.

§ XIX. AND indeed, as *Clovis* must be regarded as Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, so the *Franconian* Church was first instituted in his Reign. Amidst his military Atchievements, he himself was solicitous for the Concerns of the Church, and this his Care was as useful, as it was necessary, in Order to unite the *Franks* with the ancient Inhabitants of *Gaul*. The Council, which was held at *Orleans* (1), A. 511, by the King's Command, is a lasting Monument of his Solitude. The Bishops had, from ancient Times, been accusom'd to consult about Ecclesiastical Matters, at their Conventions, and had known how to preserve this Privilege, in *Gaul*, even under the *Gothick* and *Burgundian* Monarchies, notwithstanding they were *Arians*. An Assembly of this Kind seem'd now the more requisite, in the Kingdom of the *Franks*, because several Scruples had been rais'd, which were to be remov'd and determin'd by the Decrees of the Church, particularly on Occasion of the late Conversions in those Countries, which had been taken from the *Wisi-Goths*, where many *Arians* were now come into the Communion of the True Believers (2). This is the first Synod, that was held under the Government of the *Franks*. There were 32 Bishops present at it, five of whom were *Metropolitans*, viz. those of *Rouen*, of *Bordeaux*, of *Bourges*, of *Tours*, and of *Eause*, which last See was afterwards remov'd to *Auscb en Gascogne*. The Articles, on which the King desir'd their Opinions, were laid before them, and they sent their Decrees to him for his Confirmation (3). Thus was the *Franconian* Church form'd under the Umbrage of a Regal Power, and

§ XIX. (1) Of this Council F. le Cointe treats at large, ad A. 511. n. 4. sequ.

(2) Vid. Canon 10. Synodi Aurelian.

(3) The Bishops sent their Decrees to the King, with this Letter: Domino suo, Catholicæ Ecclesiæ filio, Clotovecho, gloriosissimo regi, omnes sacerdotes quos ad concilium venire iussistis. Quia tanta ad Religionis Catholicæ cultum gloriosæ fidei cura vos excitat, ut sacerdotalis mentis affectu sacerdotes de rebus necessariis tractaturos, in unum colligi jusseritis, secundum voluntatis vestræ consultationem, ad titulos, quos dedistis, ea quæ no-

bis visa sunt, definitione respondimus, ita, ut si ea, quæ nos statuimus, etiam vestro recta esse judicio comprobantur, tanti consensus Regis, ac Domini, majori autoritate servandam tantorum firmet sententiam sacerdotum. In the Beginning of the Council we read: Cum auctore Deo, ex evocatione gloriosissimi regis, Clotovechi, in Aurelianensi urbe fuisset Concilium summorum Antistitum congregatum, communi omnibus conlatione placuit, ut hoc, quod verbis statuerant, etiam scripturæ testimonio reborarent.

was, in Process of Time, join'd by all the other Churches in *Gaul*, as the Countries themselves were united under that Scepter. It is call'd the *Franconian* Church, from the Nation then reigning; tho', at first, the Bishops, as well as most of the Congregations, consisted of Native *Gauls*. The Light of the Gospel was, by Means of this Church, afterwards propagated thro' many Kingdoms and Nations, and as the *Franconian* Monarchy gave Rise to the Kingdom of *Germania*, as well as to that of the present *France*, so both national Churches esteem'd it equally an Honour to be descended from this ancient *Franconian* Church.

Clovis's
Death. The
Partition of
the Kingdom,
&c.

§ XX. *CLOVIS* did not long enjoy the Fruits of his Victory. He died at *Paris*, at the Beginning of the Year 511, in the 45th Year of his Age, and was interr'd in the Church, which he built in Honour of the Holy Apostles, and which was afterwards dedicated to *S. Genoveva*. He left Issue four Sons. We cannot discover who was the Mother of *Theuderick*, the eldest. The other three, *Chlodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotarius*, were the Sons of *Clotildis*, the *Burgundian* Princess, and one or more of them, must have been very young, when they lost their Father. These four Brothers divided the Kingdom among them. *Theuderick* obtain'd *Belgica Prima*, both *Germanies*, and that Part of *Belgica Secunda*, in which were the Cities of *Rheims*, and *Chalons sur Marne*; together with the Dominions of the *Franks*, on this Side of the *Rhine*: Besides this, he had *Aquitain*, *Roovergue*, *Auvergne*, *Quercy*, and *L'Albigois*, which Countries he had, by his Father's Commands, taken from the *Goths*, after the Battle of *Voglé*. *Rheims* and *Metz* are said to have been the two Capitals of his Kingdom. Of the other three Brothers, *Chlodomir* kept his Court at *Orleans*; *Childebert* at *Paris*; and *Clotarius* at *Soissons*. After this, we meet with the Names of *Austrasia* and *Neustria*, in the History of the *Franks*. That Part of the *Franconian* Dominions, which was situate Eastwards, was call'd *Austrasia*, and the Western Country, as far as the *Loire*, was call'd *Neustria* or *Neustrasia*. But *Aquitain* and *Burgundy* (after *Clovis's* Sons had conquer'd the latter) were not included in either, but retain'd their proper Names. Now as those Countries, which fell to *Theuderick's* Share, furnish us chiefly with Subject for the History of *Germany*, we shall principally examine the History of *Austrasia*; the other Countries appertaining more properly to the History of *France*; and that Labour has besides been already anticipated by many excellent Pens.

Other Nations
in *Germania*:
Frisians, *Tu-*
ringians,
Saxons, &c.

§ XXI. To this End, I must here take Notice of those People, who dwelt in *Germania*, at the Beginning of the Sixth Century, and were afterwards either subdued by the *Franks*, or quitted their Country in Search of fresh Adventures, and made Room for other Nations. The
Alemanni

Alemanni were before subject to the *Franks*. They were afterwards join'd by a Residue of the ancient *Suevi* (1); after which Union (2), the Names of *Alemanni* and *Swabians* were used indiscriminately, and the succeeding Dukes, were sometimes still'd *Alemannia*, and sometimes *Suevia Duces*. The *Frisians* retain'd their ancient Habitation on the Sea Coasts, which they extended greatly. The Kingdom of the *Thuringians* was in great Repute, next to that of the *Franks*. This famous Nation, which was, in foregoing Times, comprehended under the Name of the *Goths*, and was renowned in *Attila's* Time, had conquer'd the Country of the *Hermunduri*, in *Germania*, and extended themselves much farther than the present *Thuringia*. We before took Notice of the Incurfions they made into *Noricum* (3), and of their Broils with the *Franks*. They continued to live in the most perfect Intelligence with the *Goths*: They were first, in strict Alliance with the *Wisi-Goths*, particularly with King *Euricus*, but when, after *Alaric's* Death, that Monarchy fell to decay; they cultivated a Friendship with *Theoderick*, King of the *Ostro-Goths* (4), of which we shall make farther Mention in the Sequel, on Occasion of the Subversion of the *Thuringian* Kingdom. The *Saxons*, who first made their Name famous in the great *Cimbrian Peninsula*, and afterwards in the fifth Century, by their Conquests in *Britain*, had, about this Time, begun to enlarge their Territories by Land, in *Germany*, and were soon involv'd in a War with the *Franks* (5). The ancient Boundary on the *Danube*, which had long separated the *Roman* Provinces, from the free *German* Nations, remain'd 'till now unmov'd. *Rætia* and *Noricum* appertain'd to the Kingdom of the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*; after the Declension of which, they fell under the Dominion of the *Franks*, and then the Name of *Bavarians* first became noted. On the left Banks, opposite to *Noricum*, we find the *Longobards* (6), 'till, under the Command of *Alboin*, their King, they begun their March, *A. 529*, for *Pannonia*, from whence they proceeded to *Italy*. The *Silesian* Historians likewise assert, that the *Lygii*,

§ XXI (1) The *Swabians* and *Alemanni* were originally distinct Nations: But these *Swabians*, who join'd the *Alemanni*, seem to have been the same, who were under the Government of the *Ostro-Goths*.

(2) One Part of *Swabia* was subject to the *Ostro-Gothick* Kingdom, as appears from the *Gothick History*. Mention is there made of *Chunemund*, their King, whom *ECKARD*, *Rer. Franc. L. 2. p. 31.* calls the Successor of *Gibultus*, King of the *Alemanni*, which, however, is inconsistent. In *CASSIODORI Varia*, these *Suevi*, are often mention'd as a People subject to the *Gothick* Scepter. This Union of the *Alemanni* and *Swabians* cannot therefore have happen'd 'till after *Vitiges* had left the Residue of the

Alemanni to the *Franks*, and the latter had made themselves Masters of *Rætia*.

(3) See Vol. 1. 9. 30. The War with *Clovis* is mention'd above, § 7.

(4) Of the Friendship between the *Thuringians* and *Wisi-Goths*, and particularly between the former and King *Euricus*, we made Mention above, § 12.

(5) The Origin of the *Saxons* is described in the former Volume, L. 6. § 11.

(6) The Relations of *Procopius* and *Paulus Diaconus* agree herein, that the *Longobards* dwell, about this Time, on the *Danube*, in or near the Country, formerly inhabited by the *Rugi*, whom *Odoacer* conquer'd.

and

and a Part of the *Quadi*, remain'd in their ancient Country (7). Farther *Eastwards* dwelt the *Gepidæ*, who had made themselves Masters of *Dacia*, and were border'd on the other Side, by some *Hunnick* and *Sarmatian* Nations.

Of the Nations, who, at that Time, dwelt on the *East-Sea*.

§ XXII. WE must now take a View of those Nations, who dwelt on the Coasts of the *East-Sea*, on the *Elbe*, and about the *Oder* and *Vistula*. These large Tracts of Land, the Country, that first gave Rise to the *Gothick* and *Vandalick* Nations, and even to the *Franks* themselves (1), had, in ancient Times, been the Theatre of bloody Wars, and great Revolutions, which have been mention'd, in the first Volume, on Occasion of the *Gothick* and *Vandalick* Wars: For the *Goths* had erected a powerful Kingdom in these Countries, which, after *Hermanaric*, their King, had conquer'd the *Heruli*, *Venetae*, *Estii*, and *Roxolani*, about the Middle of the fourth Century, extended, at Length, from the *Baltick* (or *East-Sea*) as far as the *Black-Sea*, and consequently comprehended a great Part of those Countires, to which, taken together, the Ancients gave the Name of *Scythia*, or likewise more particularly of *Sarmatia*. By which Means, many Nations lay conceal'd under the Name of *Goths*, which were originally quite a different People. But when the *Goths* were, soon afterwards, subdu'd by the *Hunns* (2), fresh Revolutions happen'd likewise here. One Part of the Nations, which were before subject to the *Goths*, lifted themselves under *Attila*; such were the *Gepidæ*, *Rugi*, *Scirri*, &c. The Rest perhaps immediatly recover'd their Liberty; which they could, with the more Ease, maintain, as the Power of the *Hunns* fell with *Attila*, and the *Goths* sought their Fortune in other Parts. The *Varni* and *Heruli*, under which Names many neighbouring Nations were probably comprehended, are, in particular, famous in the Monuments of this Time. These *Varni* are the same *Varini*, who are placed by *Tacitus*, in his Time, among the *Swabian* Nations, who dwelt on the *East-Sea* (3), as Neighbours to the *Angli*. Geographers agree herein, that they dwelt about the two Rivers *Trave* and *Warna*; the former of which falls into the Sea near *Lubeck*, the latter near *Rostock*. How far their Dominions reach'd by Land, is uncertain; but if we have an Eye to a Letter of *Theoderick*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, directed, at the same Time, to the Kings of the *Thuringians*, *Heruli*, and *Varni* (4), these Nations seem, at

(7) HANCKIUS, in particular, has given a more circumstantial Account of this, in his Treatise, de Silesiorum majoribus, cap. 21.

§ XXII. (1) Of the Origin of the Franks, see Book 5. § 31.

(2) Of the Declension of the ancient Gothick Kingdom, see Book 7. § 15. and following.

(3) TACITUS de M. G. c. 40. Reudigni deinde, & Aviones, & Angli, & Varini, &c. The Aviones are the Chaibones, mention'd Book 6. § 1. and 15.

(4) See above, § 12. not. 11.

that Time, to have border'd on each other, and as good a Friendship to have subsisted between their Kings, as betwixt them and the King of the *Ostro-Goths*. The Kingdom of the *Guarni* flourish'd till about the Time of *Childebert*, King of *Austrasia*: And a Residue of the *Rugi* remain'd, not improbably, in their ancient Country, from whence the Territory and Isle of *Rugen* retain'd its Name (5).

§ XXIII. THE Destruction of the Kingdom of the *Heruli*, which I am now about to relate, renews in us a Desire of being better acquainted with this Nation; especially since some derive from them the People of *Lithuania* and *Livonia* (1); others the *Werli*, an ancient People in *Mecklenburg* *. It appears, indeed, from what has been said of them in the former Volume, that they dwelt on the *East-Sea* (2); but their Situation, particularly towards the Inland Countries, was not accurately describ'd (3). They had before detach'd numerous Colonies, which, in the Reign of *Gallienus*, the Emperor, cruiz'd, with the *Goths*, on the *Black-Sea*, and, with them, invaded *Illyricum*. One of these Swarms was overcome by *Gallienus*, near the City of *Naissus*, in *Moësia*, and thereupon took Service under the *Romans* (4), when the *Heruli* compos'd a separate Body, among the foreign Cavalry (5). Another Swarm, accompanied by some of their Neighbours, made their Way for *Gaul*, in the Time of *Maximinian*, the Emperor, but were by him defeated (6). The whole Nation of the *Heruli*, themselves, about the Middle of the fourth Century, were subdued by *Hermanaric*, King of the *Ostro-Goths* (7); but perhaps recover'd their Liberty, when, soon afterwards, the *Gothick* Monarchy, in the Countries betwixt the *Danube* and the *East-Sea*, were subverted. We meet, in History, with fresh Colonies of the *Heruli* after that Time.

(5) Conf. SCHWARZ de finibus Rugiæ, p. 19.

§ XXIII. (1) VIHUK KOIALOVIZ derives the Natives of Lithuania, Livonia, the Samogites and Prussians, from the *Heruli*, in his Hist. Lithuan. p. 5, 6. sq. That the People of Lithuania and Livonia are the same by Descent, is likewise confirm'd by OL. HERMELINUS in Orig. Livonicis.

* See HARTKNOCH's Altes und Neues Preussien, p. 32.

(2) MAMERTINUS in Panegyrico, speaks at once of the *Eruli* and *Chaibones* (who were the same *Aviones*, whom Tacitus places on the *East-Sea*) and says of them: *Chaibones, Erulique, viribus primi barbarorum, locis ultimi, &c.* SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS says of the *Eruli*, L. 8. ep. 9.

Hic glaucis Erulus genis vagatur.

Imos Oceani colens recessus.

Algo prope concolor profundo.

(3) The Historians of Mecklenburg, make fre-

quent Mention of *Werla*, an ancient City, which they call a Colony of the *Heruli*; and from which the ancient Princes of Mecklenburg, took the Title of Lords of *Werla*. It is said to have been not far distant from the present *Gustrow*. THOMAS, in Analect. *Gustrov*. p. 50. Even the *Heruli* are by them likewise term'd *Werli*, and they use that Name, as if it was synonymous to that of *Venedi*. But the Ancients distinguish the *Heruli* and *Venedi*. GUNDLING, in Lib. de Henrico Aucupe, p. 159 & 161. imagines, that they likewise inhabited the adjacent Part of the Marquisate of Brandenburg, and that Mount *Harlung*, near the City of Brandenburg, took its Name from them.

(4) Vid. L. 5. § 43, 44.

(5) Vexillum *Erulorum*, *Bataavorumque*, Vid. L. 7. §. 2. n. 3.

(6) Vid. L. 6. § 1. n. 3.

(7) Vid. L. 6. § 43. n. 2.

A Body of them ravag'd, in the Years 457 and 460, the Coasts of *Spain* (8): and their Troops became, soon after, famous in *Italy*, where they were instrumental in setting *Odoacer* on the Throne (9). The Nation itself kept up, during this Time, a good Understanding with the *Goths* (10), as appears from several Treaties with *Euricus*, King of the *Wisi-Goths* (11), who adopted for his Son, the King, who then reign'd over them (12), and who seems to have been the same *Rudolph*, in whose Reign the Kingdom of the *Heruli* receiv'd that violent Shock, which soon after caus'd its total Subversion.

Their singular Customs.

§ XXIV. *PROCOPIUS* makes frequent Mention of the *Heruli* (1), as a People, very famous in the Reign of *Justinian*, and observes, on this Occasion, two very extraordinary Customs, in Vogue among them. One of these was, that superannuated, infirm People themselves entreated their Relations, to remove them out of this World: Whereupon they were laid on a Pile of Wood, where some one (not of their Kindred) first kill'd them, and then set Fire to the Wood. This unciviliz'd People had no Notion, either of those easy Employments, in which old and superannuated Persons might serve the Common-Wealth; or of that tranquil State of Mind, which old Age is capable of giving. We find almost the same related of some other Nations, as of the *Cantabri* (2), that their aged People threw themselves into the Sea; which likewise the ancient Geographers took Notice of, in general, as practis'd by the

(8) *Vid. L. 10. § 24.*

(9) See above, § 11. n. 1. Yet it remains dubious whether these were the same *Eruli*, who, from the Times of *Gallienus*, were in the Roman Service, or whether they did not rather belong to those German Troops, which perhaps went into *Italy*, not long before, on Occasion of the intestine Wars, rais'd under *Anthemius*. And that the whole Nation of *Heruli* did not march into *Italy*, appears in particular from those Words of *Ennodius*, cited before, § 5. n. 7.

(10) *Theoderick* boasts of this Alliance betwixt the *Heruli* and the *Goths*, in the Letter, by which he adopts their King for his Son. Var. 4. ep. 2.

(11) *Vid. L. 10. §. 28. n. 2.* Where *Sidonius Apollinaris* expressly names the *Heruli* among the foreign Ambassadors, at *Euricus's* court. In the Letter cited, § 12. not. 11. King *Theoderick* puts the Kings of the *Heruli* and *Guarni* in Mind of the Services they had receiv'd of *Euricus*.

(12) *Varior. 4. ep. 2.*

§ XXIV. (1) *PROCOPIUS*, p. 419. Jam vero quodnam hominum genus *Eruli* sint, atque unde in *Romanorum* societatem se contulerint, explicabo. Trans fluvium *Istrum* olim habitabant, cul-

tui dediti multorum numinum, quæ humanis placare hostiis fas habebant. Instituti plurimum differebant a cæteris nationibus. Nam nec senibus, nec ægrotis fas erat vitam producere: at si quem senium occupasset, vel morbus, rogare is cogebatur propinquos, darent operam, ut quamprimum ex vivorum numero extû baretur. Illi pyra constructa ingenti, collocabant hominem in fastigio, & ad ipsum mittebant *Erulum* aliquem, instructum sica, non tamen ei conjunctum genere: nefas enim ducebant, a Consanguineo cædem fieri. Reverso, qui illorum propinquum interfecerat, protinus ligna omnia, facibus imo subiectis rogo, urebant. Postquam flamma resederat, legebant ossa, ac statim terræ insodiebant. Ubi vir quispiam *Erulus* fato concesserat, ut virtutem probaret uxor, ac relinqueret superstitem sibi gloriam, necesse habebat vitam paulo post ad mariti tumulum finire laqueo: ni faceret, in æternum dedecus, & propinquorum mariti offensionem incurrebat.

(2) Of the *Cantabri* see *SILIUS ITALICUS*, L. 3. Mirus amor populo, cum pigra incanuit ætas, Imbelles jam dudum annos prævertere saxo.

most

most remote *Northern Nations* (the *Hyperborei*) (3), and which the ancient heroick Songs of the *Danes*, relate, in particular, of some of their Kings (4). The *Thuringians*, while they were *Pagans*, even after they were conquer'd by the *Franks*, committed very near the same Cruelty, which *Procopius* relates of the *Heruli*; viz. that when sick Persons appear'd to be incurable, they caus'd their Heads to be cut off, and their Bodies to be burnt (5). Another Practice of the *Heruli*, mention'd by *Procopius*, must seem equally strange in these Days: He says, that Wives were oblig'd, at the Funeral of their Husbands, to submit to the Halter themselves, unless they chose rather to forfeit their Honour, and to incur the *Odium* of all the Relations of the Deceased. Funerals were not attended with so much Cruelty among the ancient *Germans* in general. A Horse was, at most, perhaps burnt (6). It was indeed customary among the *Gauls*, for Servants to accompany their Masters on the Funeral-Pile; but this was abolish'd in the Times of *J. Caesar* (7). This Barbarity of the *Heruli*, which is only us'd now-a-days, here and there, in the *East-Indies*, and that but very seldom (8), was likewise common to some neighbouring *Scythian Nations* (9). The same is related of the *Venedi*, and some other People, whose Confines join'd to those of the *Heruli* (10). Both Customs may serve to shew the Tyranny of Imagination, which was here of greater Force, than that natural Desire of Life, which is but too much indulg'd by most other Men.

§ XXV. THIS Kingdom of the *Heruli* receiv'd a terrible Shock, in A Revolution the Beginning of the sixth Century, in the Reign of *Anastasius*, the Emperor. in the King-
The Circumstances are differently related. *Procopius* says, that the dom of the
Heruli urg'd *Rudolph*, their King, so long, that he was oblig'd to make *Heruli*.

(3) This is related of the *Hyperborei*, by *MELA*, *PLINIUS*, *SOLINUS*.

(4) See *ARNKIEL's* *Cimbrische Heiden-Be-gräbnisse*, p. 52.

(5) This appears from a remarkable Passage in *ANONIMI Vita S. ARNULPHI Episcopi Metensis*, c. 12.

(6) *TACITUS de M. G. c. 27.* Funerum nulla ambitio. Id solum observatur ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis cremantur. Struem rogi nec vestibus, nec odoribus cumulant. Sua cuique arma, quorundam igni & equus adjicitur.

(7) *CÆSAR de B. G. 6. 19.* Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica, & sumtuosa omniaque quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia; ac paulo supra hanc memoriam, servi & clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, iustis funebribus confectis, una cremabantur.

(8) How this Custom is still retain'd in the *East-Indies*, is circumstantially related in the Dissertation sur les Mœurs, & sur la Religion des Bramines, c. 13, 14. p. 42. & sequ. Of the Custom of the ancient Indians, I shall here only add those excellent Verses of *PROPERT. L. 3. El. 7.*

Felix Eois lex funeris una maritis,

Quos aurora suis rubra colorat equis.

Namque ubi mortifero jacta est fax ultima lecto,

Uxorum fufis stat pia turba comis,

Et certamen habet lethi, quæ viva sequatur

Conjugium, pudor est, non licuisse mori.

For farther Instances, see *TIRAQUELLUS* ad *ALEXANDR.* ab *ALEXANDRO* *Dierum Genial. Lib. 3. c. 7.*

(9) This is related of the *Thracians*, and some other *Scythian Nations*, by *ALEXANDER* ab *ALEXANDRO*, l. c. p. 640.

(10) *ARNKIEL*, l. c. p. 98 and 99.

War with the *Longobards*, who were already tributary to them (1), in Order to reduce that Nation to an entire Subjection (2); but that they were defeated by the *Longobards*, and their King slain in the Attempt: That thereupon they were forc'd to leave their Country a Prey to the Conqueror, and to seek Refuge under the *Gepidae*, who assign'd them Habitations about and in their Dominions (3). From *Jornandes*, on the other Hand, we might conclude, that the *Danes* expell'd the *Heruli*, and that *Rudolph*, their King, took Refuge in *Italy*, under *Theoderick* (4). But, whatever the particular and more accurate Circumstances may be, it appears sufficiently, from the Sequel of History, that the Power of the *Heruli* was, about this Time, greatly reduced, and soon after totally subverted.

Nations beyond the *Vistula*; the *Æstii*, &c.

§ XXVI. THE *Æstii* are likewise met with, in the Accounts we have of the sixth Century, in the same Parts on the *East-Sea*, where *Tacitus* places them (1). Now, if we grant, that the *Heruli* extended their Dominion as far as the *Vistula*, after the *Goths* had quitted their ancient Habitations, then the *Æstii* were, after that Time, their Neighbours. They were likewise formerly conquer'd by the *Goths*; but soon after recover'd their Liberty, and, on the other Hand, now kept up a good Understanding with *Theoderick*, King of *Italy*; in whose History we read, that the *Æstii* sent an Ambassy to him (2), and made him a Present of their Amber, which was still in as high Esteem, as it was in the

§ XXV. (1) PROCOPIUS, p. 420. A. De-
mum Langobardos jam tum Christianos, & quas-
dam alias gentes sibi vestigales fecerunt, contra
Barbarorum, in illis partibus degentium, morem,
ad id cupiditate arrogantiaque inducti. Susceptis
ab Anastasio Romani habenis imperii, non habentes
Eruli, quos deinceps invaderent, armis dep-
ositis quiescere, ac triennio pax illa stetit: quam
graviter pertæsi, RUDOLFO, Regi suo impuden-
ter maledicebant, ipsumque aditantes, mollem
& effeminatum vocabant, aliisque id genus con-
vitiis per summum dedecus os ejus verberabant.
Permotus contumelia Rudolfus, in Langobardos
plane insontes expeditionem suscipit. He then
relates the Overthrow of the *Heruli*. Paulus Dia-
conus gives likewise an Account of this War; but
with many fabulous Circumstances.

(2) That this was transacted in Anastasius's
Reign, appears from Procopius's Words in the pre-
ceding Note.

(3) PROCOPIUS proceeds, p. 421. A. Quo
factum, ut in patria amplius manere nequiverint:
sed illa quamprimum egressi, iter porro continua-
runt, cum liberis & uxoribus peragrande oras

omnes, Istro fluvio ulteriores. Regionem ingressi
habitata olim a Rugis, qui in Italiam cum Go-
thorum exercitu concesserant, ibi consistere. Sed
cum inculta solitudo esset, paulo post exacti illinc
stimulis famis, ad Gepædum fines accedunt. Ac
primum quidem Gepædes illis supplicibus permi-
serunt, ut cum vicini sui essent, tum inquilini.

(4) JORNANDES de Rebus Geticis, cap. 3.
where he treats of the Inhabitants of Scanzia. Quam-
vis & Dani ex eorum stirpe progressi, Erulos pro-
priis sedibus expulerunt: qui inter omnes Scan-
ziæ nationes nomen sibi ob nimiam proceritatem
affectant præcipuum. Sunt quanquam & illorum
positura Grannii, Aganzix, Unixæ, Ethelrugi,
Arochiranni. Quibus non ante omnes, sed ante
multos annos Rodulf Rex fuit, qui contemto pro-
prio Regno ad Theoderici, Gothorum Regis, gre-
mium convolvit, & ut desiderabat invenit. That
a Party of *Heruli* fled to *Theoderick*, appears
from his Letter in CASSIOD. Var. 4. ep. 4, 5.

§ XXVI. (1) See Vol. 1. L. 6. § 43 n. 5, 6, 7.

(2) VARIAR. 5. 2. *Theoderick's Letter itself*
has been inserted in Book 6. § 43. n. 7.

Times

Times of the *Romans*. Thus was the Name of the *Æstii* (3), which yet subsists in the Province of *Estonia*, known over all the present *Livonia* (4), and over one Part, at least, of the present *Prussia*. Inasmuch that the People, who dwelt on the Right of the *Vistula*, on the Coasts of the *East-Sea*, were comprehended under the Name of *Heruli*, or of *Æstii*, among whom were the *Galindi* and *Sudeni* (5), who are acknowledg'd to have been the first Inhabitants of *Prussia*. Much in the same Manner as long afterwards, almost all who came from the *East-Sea*, were, in *England*, and in the Low-Countries, call'd *Esterlings*. The *Scirri* and *Hirri*, whom *Pliny* mentions on the *East-Sea*, beyond the *Vistula*, have been frequently mention'd before (6); and I related of them, in particular, that, in the Reign of *Theodosius*, they made Inroads on the *Roman* Provinces; that they served in *Attila's* Army, and that, after his Decease, they were rooted out by the *Gothick* Princes. But whether the whole Nation, or only some Colonies left their Country, on those Occasions, is uncertain. The *Scirri*, are at least supposed to have dwelt in *Courland*, which is said to have taken its Name from them; and so likewise we find some Footsteps of the *Hirri* in the present *Estonia* (7). The Origin and Antiquities of the People of *Poland*, *Russia*, *Lithuania*, *Livonia*, and *Prussia* (8), will be farther illustrated, when, in the Sequel, I shall relate the Revolutions, occasion'd by the *Venedi*, and other *Sarmatian* Nations, in the Countries betwixt the *Vistula*, the *Danube*, and the *East-Sea*.

§ XXVII. THE Ancients imagin'd the *Baltick* to be an open Sea, Of the *East-Sea* and its Islands: Of *Scandinavia*. and were neither sufficiently acquainted with the Countries that confined it *North-Eastwards*, nor with the Islands contain'd in it; nor even with its Coasts: And, indeed, how could it be otherwise? Their Ships were perhaps as seldom seen on this Sea, as their Armies on the Coasts of it, by Land. Commerce, which otherwise affords good Opportunities of gaining a Knowledge of distant Countries, was, perhaps, but very incon-

(3) That more than one Nation were comprehended under this Name, appears from these Words of *Tacitus*: *Dextro Suevici maris littore ÆSTIORUM GENTES alluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ proprior.* At the End of this Volume, I shall add a particular Annotation, concerning these People on the *Baltick*.

(4) That the *Livonians* are comprehended under the Name of *Æstii*, is taken for granted in the History of that Country. *V. KELCH. Hist. Liv. P. 1. p. 14.*

(5) See Vol. 1. L. 6. § 43. not. 3 and 7.

(6) This Irruption of the *Scirri*, is related, Vol.

1. L. 7. § 30. that they serv'd under *Attila*, L. 9. § 25. and, after his Death, fix'd their Abode on the other Side of the *Danube*, L. 10. § 7. and that there they were beat and extirpated, L. 10. § 10.

(7) In the Territory of *Harria* or *Wiria*, which is a Part of *Estonia*.

(8) *HARTKNOCH* in his *Altes und neues Preussen*, p. 71 and 73. derives the *Prussians* from the *Borufci* in *Ptolemy*. *BAYER* in *Diff. de vetere Inscriptione Prussica* is of a different Opinion, because the *Prussians*, in ancient Records, are never call'd *Borufci*, but *Prufsi* or *Pruschii*.

considerable with these People, and we find that their only exportable Commodities, were Amber and Furs. *Tacitus* calls this Sea *Mare Suevicum* (1); because the People, who dwelt along the Coasts, were suppos'd to be a Part of the principal Branch of the *Suevi*. *Pliny* (2) and *Pomponius Mela* (3), call it *Sinus Codanus*. Among the Islands, they mention one by the Name of *Scandinavia*, which was larger than all the Rest. *Ptolemy* (4), and *Jornandes* (5), who appeals to *Ptolemy*, call it *Scanzia*. *Procopius* (6) mentions it by the name of *Thule*. But the Relations of both the latter are as confused, as those, which we meet with in the most ancient *Roman* Writers, and in *Ptolemy*. It is nevertheless apparent, that *Jornandes* comprehends, under the Name of *Scanzia*, and *Procopius* under that of *Thule*, the present *Norway*, *Lapland*, *Sweden*, *Gothland*, *Finland*, and the *Danish* Islands; nay, it seems even the Island and Territory of *Rugen*. *Jornandes* names the *Danes* among the Inhabitants of *Scanzia* (7); and likewise the *Swedes* (8), (whom *Tacitus* * mentions by the Name of *Suiones*) and says of the latter, that they traded in Furs and Sables. He names moreover the *Fenni* (9), and *Gauti* (10), who are yet known in the *North*, by the Name of *Goths*. The present Languages of *Norway*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, which last is likewise spoken in *Gothland*, are, as it were, Daughters of the ancient *Norwegian* Mother-Tongue, which retain'd its Purity chiefly in *Iseland*, which Isle was, in the ninth Century, peopled from *Norway*. If we compare them with the *Anglo-Saxon*, and with the other Remains of the ancient *Swevian* Tongue, which we meet with, in what little we have left of that of the *Longo-*

§ XXVII. (1) *TACITUS de M. G. c. 45.* Ergo jam dextro SUEVICI MARIS littore, Æstiorum gentes adluuntur. The most ancient Geographers mention the Island of Balthia, from whence perhaps the Belt takes its Name. But the Name of *Mare Balthicum*, for the whole East-Sea, is not so very ancient, and as *CLUVER. Germ. Antiq. L. 3. c. 38.* asserts, took its Rise in the Times of *Adam Bremensis* and *Helmoldus*.

(2) *PLINY's Words are cited L. 1. § 11. n. 3.*

(3) See *POMPON. MELA's Words above, Lib. 1. §. 7. n. 3.*

(4) *PTOLOMÆUS names three Insulæ Scanzie.*

(5) *JORNANDES de Rebus Geticis, c. 3.*

(6) *PROCOPIUS de bello Goth. L. 2. c. 15.* He is herein greatly mistaken. *Pliny* and *Tacitus* knew how to distinguish the Island of *Thule* from *Scandinavia*. We need not doubt, but by the Name of *Thule*, which the Ancients, in general, place at the utmost Northern Point of the then known World, was meant the Island of *Iseland*. Conf. *CLUVERIUS, l. c. cap. 39.*

(7) *JORNANDES, cap. 3.* Quamvis & Dani ex ipsorum stirpe progressi Erulos propriis sedibus expulerunt, qui inter omnes Scanzie nationes nomen sibi ob nimiam proceritatem affectant præcipuum.

(8) *IDEM.* Alia vero gens ibi moratur Sue-thans, qui velut Thuringi, equis utuntur eximiis. Hi quoque sunt, qui in usus Romanorum Saphirinas pelles, commercio interveniente, per alias innumeras gentes transmittunt, famosi pellium decora nigredine. And afterwards he names the *Suetidi*.

* *TACITUS de M. G. cap. 44.* Suionum hinc civitates ipso in Oceano, præter viros armaque, classibus valent, &c. And cap. 45. he says: Suionibus Sitionum gentes continuantur.

(9) *JORNANDES, l. c.* Fenni nitissimi, Scanzie cultoribus omnibus mitiores. And soon after he names the *Scritofennæ*.

(10) *IDEM, l. c.* Gauti-goth acre hominum genus.

bards,

bards, as well as with *Ulphila's* Translation of the four Gospels, and the ancient Dialect of the *Franks*, we shall indeed find them different from all these; but so that the first Sources, from whence these Dialects, like so many Rivulets, took their Rise, were not far distant from each other. They have, in their Traditions, many Things in common with the *Anglo-Saxons*, the *Longobards*, and other People of *Germania*, and particularly the Memory of *Odinus*, who is said to have come from *Asia* to *Scandinavia*, and was ador'd as an Hero, and, at Length, as a Deity, in the Islands and Countries on both Sides of the *East-Sea* (11). And these Circumstances leave me no Room to doubt, but that the Nations that dwelt on each Side of the *East-Sea* frequently made Treaties, and wag'd War, one with another, alternatively, even as we find it in succeeding Times. The Sea was open for their Use, and both were experienc'd Navigators (12): But we meet with no certain Testimony of these Things, in ancient Historians. The *Danes*, *Norwegians*, and *Swedes*, have indeed ancient Monuments of their History: In particular many Inscriptions, which are still extant, in the ancient Letters or *Runen*. They boast of the Songs of their *Scalder*, or ancient Master-Singers, and of some Accounts, (which in their Language are call'd *Edda* or *Saga*) of the Acts of their Ancestors, which only so far differ from the Mythology of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they, in general, extol the Valour and Hospitality of their Heroes, whereas the *Greeks*, on the other Hand, attributed to their Gods and Goddeses, all those Frailties of their own, which Love prompted them to. But all these Remains either have not reach'd to these Times, or are liable to great Doubts and Uncertainties. It may therefore suffice, that we here follow the few Accounts we have, in the Historians of this Time. The Clouds, which yet hover over them, will by Degrees be moved, when, in succeeding Times, we begin to treat more largely of the *Northern* Nations. For, in the History of the *Franks*, we shall have but too frequent Occasion, to relate the Piracies and Irruptions of the *Normans*, which will serve to give us some Idea of what pass'd, in ancient Times, in the Navigation and Excursions of the *Franks*, *Saxons*, and *Heruli*.

§ XXVIII. To return to the History of the *Franks*, we find that every Thing continued, after *Clovis's* Death, notwithstanding the Partition, in a peaceable State. Nothing could be more advantageous to the Kingdom, than this Harmony of the Brothers. It produc'd, among others, this Effect, that the Dominion of the *Franks*, and the new Regulation

A Peace among the Kings of the *Franks*.
Broils in the *East*, &c.

(11) Conf. WACHTER's Preface to his Glossary.

(12) Of the Navigation of the ancient Germans, see CLUVERIUS, L. I. c. 18.

was thereby confirm'd, and the *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and other Neighbours, were, at least, the more obliged to stifle their Inclinations to make any Attempts : But then the King of the *Ostro-Goths*, to whose Motions the chiefest Regard was to be had, happen'd besides to be involv'd in other Difficulties with the *Grecian* Emperor, which were alone sufficient to keep him employ'd. In Order to give the Reader an Idea of this Affair, I must lead him to a different Subject, and just take Notice of the Controversies in Point of Religion, of these Times, and of the Influence they had on Temporal Matters. In the former Volume, I have already frequently made Mention of the fatal Differences, occasion'd by the Doctrine of *Arius*, that the Son of God was not of the same, nor even of a similar Essence with the Father ; I likewise observed what Ground this Error gain'd among the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Suevi*, *Burgundians*, and other *German* Nations. *Nestorius* gave Occasion to a new Dispute, by denying that the Divine Nature was personally united with the human Nature (1). His Doctrine was rejected in the Year 431, in the Council at *Ephesus*, where *Cyrril* of *Alexandria*, who had before zealously oppos'd him, presided. *Eutyches* fell, on the other Hand, into the Error, that no Distinction was to be made betwixt the two Natures in the Person of Christ, as if they were, in a Manner, confounded together ; for which he was condemned at the Council of *Chalcedon*, A. 451. The Canons of this Council rais'd fresh Difficulties, which were augmented by *Peter*, surnam'd *Fullo* (2), Bishop of *Antioch*. The Hymn, *O Holy Lord, O holy mighty God, &c.* had, at that Time, been already introduc'd in their publick Worship (3). The same *Peter* inserted into this Hymn, the Form : *Thou who wast crucified for us, have Mercy upon us.* How unexceptionable soever these Words are, if rightly interpreted, they now caus'd very great Uneasinesses, because the True-believers apprehended, that the false Tenet of our Saviour's having likewise suffer'd in his Divine Nature, (from which Error the *Theopaschitæ* took their Name) (4), would be thereby insensibly introduc'd. *Zeno*, the Emperor, thought he acted very prudently, when he publish'd, A. 482, that famous Edict, whereby Silence was enjoin'd to both Parties (5), concerning the Council of *Chalcedon* ; which Method has

§ XXVIII. (1) See the third Annotation at the End of this Volume.

(2) Conf. HENR. VALESIIUS in Observation. ad EVAGRIUM de Petro, Episcopo Antiocheno, & de Acacio.

(3) It appears from what Jobus Monachus, says in PHOTIUS in Bibliothec. Cod. CCXX. that the Beginning of this so famous Trisagium was : Sanctus Deus, Sanctus Fortis, Sanctus Immortalis.

(4) Conf. HENRICUS NORISIUS in Diff. de uno ex Trinitate passo.

(5) This is the famous Enoticon, of which Dr. Wensdorf, in a particular Dissertation, and Mr. Berger, in Diff. de Enoticis Orientis, treat more at large.

been used more than once in Differences on Account of Religion, when two Parties oppos'd each other too warmly. This Edict, as usual, was not, indeed, very agreeable to the Zealots on either Side; but *Acacius* (6), then Patriarch of *Constantinople*, was as mild and compliant, as the Emperor could desire.

§ XXIX. Now when *Anastasius* was rais'd to the Imperial Dignity, ^{*Vitalian rebels*} he renew'd the Mandate of Silence, and did not care to concern himself ^{*against Anastasius, &c.*} about the Council of *Chalcedon*, tho', at his Coronation, he had been oblig'd to promise strenuously to support it. Matters came, hereupon, to such a Height, that Pope *Symmachus* excommunicated all, that were of *Acacius's* Opinion, and consequently the Emperor himself, but without naming him (1). *Anastasius* inclin'd, in the mean Time, more and more to this Party, and caus'd the abovemention'd Form to be introduc'd into publick Worship. This immediately rais'd a horrid Tumult in the Church, which was soon spread all over the City. *Anastasius* narrowly escap'd being dethron'd on this Occasion. The rebellious Populace proclaim'd *Ariobindus* Emperor (2), who had married *Anicia Juliana*, the Daughter of Emperor *Olybrius*, who was, as well as he, of the *Orthodox* Party. *Vitalian*, a Grand-son of the famous *Aspar*, whom I mention'd in the former Volume (3), and Commander of the foreign Troops, set up for Emperor, in *Mysia*, against *Anastasius*, under the specious Pretence, of opposing the *Eutychian* Herefy, and defending the Council of *Chalcedon*. The Emperor indeed appeas'd the Fury of the People at *Constantinople*: But a dangerous War ensued with *Vitalian*. *Theoderick* (4), King of *Italy*, and *Hormisdas*, the Pope, assisted the latter to the utmost of their Power. The Doctrine of the *Eutychians* was, indeed, as much oppos'd by the *Arians*, as by the True-Believers: But we need not doubt, but *Theoderick* was prompted to it more by political Views, than his Zeal for Religion: For what could contribute more to the Security of his Throne in *Italy*, than to cut out Work for *Anastasius* in the *East*, and to support the Pope, as well as the Senat of *Rome*, in their Disaffection to him? The King of *Burgundy*, who seem'd, in every other Respect, a Friend to *Anastasius*, at this Juncture, likewise enjoin'd *Avitus*, Bishop of *Vienne*, to oppose the *Eutychian* Tenets. The two Letters are extant, which this Prelate wrote on that Head to the King himself; of which the Learned indeed observe (5), that the State of Affairs at *Constantinople*,

(6) VALESIIUS de *Acacio*.

§ XXIX. (1) Pope *Symmachus* says, in his *Apolegeticum adversus Anastasium* in *Baronius* ad A. 503. n. 26. Nos non Te excommunicavimus, Imperator, sed Acacium: Tu recede ab *Acacio*, & ab illius excommunicatione recedis.

(2) Vid. PAGIUS ad A. 512. n. 9.

(3) L. 10. § 29.

(4) THEOPHANES.

(5) Conf. PAGIUS ad A. 512. n. 11. seq.

had been misrepresented to him: But this is not our Concern here, and we find no farther Account, whether, and how far the King of *Burgundy* interfer'd in the War, which thereupon ensued. *Vitalian* came himself, with a large Army of *Huns* and *Bulgarians*, as far as *Constantinople*; and *Anastasius* was oblig'd to sue for Peace. It was accordingly concluded, *A. 514*, on Condition that the Emperor should recall all those Bishops, who had been banish'd on Account of their Constancy; that he should suffer a free Council to be held at *Heraclea*, in *Thrace*, and entreat the Pope to assist at it (6). Several Negotiations were thereupon set on Foot with the Pope and King *Theoderick*: But for the Council of *Heraclea*, and that Union of Churches, which *Hormisdas* so much desir'd, they were not brought to bear during *Anastasius's* Life.

A Party of
Danes sails up
the *Maes*.

§ XXX. ABOUT this Time it was, if we observe the same Order which *Gregory of Tours* keeps in his History, that *Theoderick*, King of the *Franks* in *Austrasia*, was embroil'd with the *Danes*, and this is the first Time we meet with the Name of that Nation in the History of the *Franks*. They sail'd by the Coasts of *Saxony* and *Friesland*, and so up the *Maes* (1), where they landed, and ravag'd the Country betwixt that River and the *Rhine*, and particularly the Dominions of the *Attuarii* (2), (the present *Guelders*.) *Gregory* calls their Leader *Chochilaic* (3), and styles him a King: But they were probably a Swarm of People, who had quitted their Country to seek their Fortune elsewhere; the like of which we find many Instances of, before and after these Times, in the History of the *Northern Nations*. They were just about to retreat, when King *Theoderick* attack'd them, both by Water and by Land. *Theudebert*, or *Thiebrecht*, his Son, kill'd their Prince, who had remain'd on Shoar, to cover their Imbarkation. The *Franks*, in the mean Time, with their Fleet, attack'd the *Danish* Ships, and took from them their Booty and Prisoners (4). The Name of the *Danes* appears again,

(6) THEOPHANES.

§ XXX. (1) Chronologers place it in the Year 517: See F. le COINTE, PAGIUS ad h. a. n. 12. and ECKARD de Rebus Franc. Orient. It is scarce credible, that *Theoderick* should, at that Time, have a Son, qualified to head an Army.

(2) *Gesta Francorum*.

(3) MEYERUS in Chron. Flandriæ, relates many Particulars of this Danish Prince, *Chochilaich*, on I know not what Foundation. Pontanus calls him *Godolacus*, but acknowledges that he meets with no Mention of him, in the domestick Accounts of the *Danes*.

(4) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. 3. c. 3.

His gestis, Dani cum Rege suo nomine Chochilacho, euestu navali, per mare Gallias appetunt. Egressique ad terras, pagum unum de Theoderici devastant, atque captivant: oneratisque navibus tam de captivis, quam de reliquis spoliis reverti ad patriam capiunt. Sed Rex eorum in littus residebat, donec naves altum mare comprehenderent, ipse deinceps secuturus. Quod cum Theoderico denunciatum fuisset, quod scilicet regio ejus fuerit ab extraneis devastata, Theodobertum filium suum in illas partes cum valido exercitu, ac magno armorum apparatu direxit. Qui interfecto Rege, hostes navali prælio superatos opprimit, omnemque rapinam terræ restituit.

in

in the History of *Sigebert*, King of *Austrasia* (5), and is, in the following Centuries, included under the Name of *Normans*, who made great Depredations on the *Franks*.

XXXI. *GUNDOBALD*, King of *Burgundy*, died *A. 516* *, *Gundobald's Death.* and left two Sons, *Sigismund* and *Godomar*: But *Sigismund*, who, in his Father's Life-time, bore the Title of King, and resided at *Geneva*, was his only Successor. He had quitted the *Arian* Sect, before his Father's Decease, and always bore a great Affection to *Avitus*, Bishop of *Vienne*, who had endeavour'd to instill into him, not only a Zeal for the *Catholick* Party, but, at the same Time, a particular Inclination to the Imperial Court. He left a Monument of his Zeal in that famous Monastery, which he either built, or at least renew'd, *A. 515*, on the *Rhone* (in the present Country of *Valais*) in the Place where, in ancient Times, the Capital of *Aganum* was; and where the *Legio Thebaea*, with *Mauritius*, their Commander, is said to have been massacred, on Account of the *Christian* Religion, by Command of *Maximinian*, the Emperor. This Monastery, from whence the Place itself took the Name of *S. Maurice*, was, ever after that Time, highly esteem'd by the *Burgundians*: The Veneration of *S. Maurice*, himself, descended from them to the *German* Emperors, and his Lance is to this Day preserv'd among the *Regalia* of the Empire. *Sigismund* had been dignified by the *Roman* Emperor, with the Title of *Comes*, and even with that of *Patricius*, after his Accession to the Throne. Two Letters are extant, which he sent to that Emperor, at his coming to the Crown. *Avitus*, Bishop of *Vienne*, who wrote them in the King's Name, and who was himself, not a little proud of the Title of *Senator Romanus*, us'd Terms so submissive, that the Reader may justly be surpriz'd, to find the *Burgundian* King treating the Emperor, with so much Deference **. Soon after the Beginning of *Sigismund's* Reign, *A. 517* †, † *M. Sept.* the Bishops held a Council at *Tenne*, a Place in the little Territory of *Bugey*, on the Banks of the *Rhone* (1), at which the afore-mention'd *Avitus* presided (2). If we form a Conjecture of the Extent of the *Burgundian* Kingdom, from the Cities of those Bishops, who assisted at this Council, it will appear to have contain'd the Countries, which were afterwards known by the Names of the Dukedom and County of *Burgundy*,

(5) *Venantius Fortunatus* speaking in Praise of Duke *Lupus*, who was particularly famous in *Sigebert's* Reign, says, among other Encomiums:

Quæ Tibi sit virtus, cum prosperitate superna, Saxonis, & Dani gens cito victa probat.

§ XXXI. * Of *Gundobald's* Death, and of his Queen, see the sixth Annotation, at the End of this Volume.

** The fifth Annotation will prove what is here related of *Sigismund*.

(1) We find this Account of *Epaona*, in *Pagius* ad *A. 509. n. 21.*

(2) The Decrees of this Council are met with in *Tom. 2. Conciliorum*. I shall give an Account of the Bishops that were present at it, in the sixth Annotation.

Dauphiny, and *Savoy*; the City and Dominion of *Lyons*; a Part of *Provence*; the Country of *Valois*, and a Part of those Countries, which are at present comprehended under the Name of *Swisserland*.

Of the Collection of the Burgundian Laws.

§ XXXII. MUCH about this Time, *A. 517*, he publish'd that Collection of the *Burgundian Laws*, which is still extant. *Gundobald* had before taken Care to prescribe to his Subjects a certain written Rule of Equity, and had himself enacted several Laws (1). *Sigismund* now resum'd the whole Work, at a Diet, held at *Lyons*, and order'd the *Burgundian Counts* then present, to subscribe to it. *Gundobald* and *Sigismund* were not, perhaps, the first Inventors of these Laws, for they contain, for the most Part, the original Customs of the *Germans*, which have been taken Notice of by the most ancient Historians, and are met with in the old Laws of the other German Nations (2).

Sigismund causes *Sigerick*, his Son, to be put to Death.

§ XXXIII. HOWEVER promising the Reign of *Sigismund* seem'd to be, the Event was by no Means answerable to the Hopes conceiv'd of it. By his first Consort, the Daughter of *Theoderick*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, he had two Children, a Son, nam'd *Sigerick*, and a Daughter, who was married to *Theoderick*, King of the *Franks*, in *Austrasia*. Both follow'd their Father's Example, and became Converts to the *Catholic Religion* (1). He had likewise Children by his second Wife; who rais'd Suspicions in their Father, of their half-Brother, and the King was prevail'd on to believe, that the Prince rely'd too confidently on being Grandson to the King of *Italy*. *Sigismund* was exasperated to such a Degree, that he caus'd the Prince to be put to Death, *A. 522* (2). But the greater was his Affliction, soon after, when he found the Accusations groundless, and was sensible of his own Rashness. He made open Profession of Repentance for his Crime; and, for some Time, retir'd into the Monastery of *S. Maurice*, where he founded an Establishment for singing of Hymns, Day and Night in the Choir (3). But in vain he withdrew from the Eyes of the Court; his own Conscience was a sufficient Reproach to him. In vain he enjoin'd the Monks to sing for the Sins of others. The Sound of their Psalms, ever renew'd in his Memory, the Occasion of that Institution. With his Son he had, at the same Time, sacrific'd the Peace of his Life. *Theoderick*, King of *Italy*, whose Friend-

§ XXXII. (1) See above, § 11. not. 4.

(2) Of the Collection of the Burgundian Laws, see the seventh Annot.

§ XXXIII. (1) Among the Remains of *Avitus's Writings*, the *Titulus VIII.* inter *Homilias deperditas*, runs thus: *Homilia dicta in conversione Domini Segesfrici, postmodum quam soror ipsius ex Ariana hæresi est recepta.*

(2) GREGOR. TURONENSIS. *The Year is observed by MARIUS ad A. 522.* Segericus, filius Sigismundi Regis, jussu patris sui, injuste occisus est. conf. *PAGIUS ad h. a. n. 10.*

(3) Conf. *PAGIUS ad A. 522. n. 10. seq.* Where he likewise gives an Account of the Synod, which *Sigismund* caus'd to be held at *Agaunum*.

ship would have been the strongest Bulwark against the *Franks*, was highly enraged. He lost, by Degrees, the Affection of his People, and the Disaster, which soon after befel him, was regarded as a Judgment from Heaven. Queen *Clotildis*, *Clovis's* Widow, excited her three Sons, *Chlodomir*, *Clotharius*, and *Childebert*, to invade *Burgundy*, under Pretence of a Right to it by their Mother. These Princes declar'd War against *Sigismund*, in the Year 523, and defeated him in an Engagement. *Sigismund* fled into the Monastery of *S. Maurice*; but was betray'd, by some of his own faithless Subjects, into the Hands of King *Clodomir* (4). and carried Prisoner to *Orleans*. *Godomar*, his Brother, in the mean Time, took upon him the Administration of the Government (5), and recover'd those Cities which the *Franks* had taken. *Clodomir* made Preparations, the following Year, 524, for a War with *Godomar*: But he first caus'd the Captive King *Sigismund*, his Consort, and two Princes, to be put to Death. Their Bodies were afterwards deposited in the before-mention'd Monastery of *S. Maurice*, and *Sigismund*, himself, was plac'd among the Saints (6).

§ XXXIV. *CLODOMIR*, after having perpetrated this cruel Deed, ^{His Death} set out for the Army. His Brother *Theuderick*, King of *Austrasia*, ^{reveng'd on} had sent him some auxiliary Troops, which he did perhaps with a View of ^{this Murderer.} obtaining a Part of the *Burgundian* Dominions, now *Sigismund*, his Father-in-Law, was dead. An Engagement ensued, in the Plain near the City of *Vienne* (1), where *Clodomir* lost his Life, at the very Beginning. His Head was fix'd on a Spear, and carried about in the *Burgundian* Army, as it were, to comfort them for the ignominious Death of their King. The *Franks*, indeed, soon reveng'd the Loss of their Sovereign; But it caus'd, nevertheless, a great Revolution in their own State, which prov'd advantageous to the *Burgundians*: For *Clotarius* married *Guntheuga*, his Widow, and shar'd *Clodomir's* Kingdom, with his two surviving Brothers. His three Sons, who were yet Minors, were totally excluded, and *Clotildis*, the Grand-mother, took them under her Care. Every one regarded *Clodomir's* unhappy Death, and the Exclusion of his

(4) *MARIUS Maximo Coss.* (523.) *Sigismundus Rex Burgundionum Francis traditus est, & in Franciam habitu Monachali perductus.*

(5) *MARIUS JUSTINO AUGUSTO ITER. & OPILIONE Coss.* (524.) *Godemarus, frater Sigismundi Rex Burgundionum ordinatus est. Eo anno contra Chlodomerem Regem Francorum Viferoncia præliavit, ibique interfectus est Chlodomeres. GREGORY relates this Burgundian War, L. 3. c. 6. and PROCOPIUS de B. Goth. L. 1. c. 12.*

(6) *His Name may be seen in the Martyrologium RABANI, ADONIS and USUARDI, in 1. Maj. Conf. Passio S. Sigismundi in actis SS. BOLLANDI ad diem 1. Maj.*

§ XXXIV. (1) *This Country is noted in History, by the Name of la Plaine de Veferonce, and is describ'd by Chorier, in his Histoire du Dauphiné, L. 9. c. 14.*

Children, as a just Judgment from GOD, for the Barbarity he had committed on *Sigismund* and his House. *Theoderick*, King of *Italy*, took Advantage of the Calamity of the *Burgundians*, and order'd *Tholuit*, his General, to take from them some Cities, which border'd on his Dominions in *Provence* (2): And the Bishops of *Cavaillon*, *Apt*, *Carpentras*, *Orenge*, *Gap*, and *Geneva*, who before assisted at the Convention of the *Burgundian* Church, at *Yenne*, were now present at the Council, which was held at *Arles*, in the Year 524, with *Theoderick's* Approbation. In this Situation, I shall now leave the *Burgundians*, 'till, in the Year 534, I shall have Occasion to relate, how that Kingdom was intirely subdu'd by the *Franks*.

The Roman
and Gothick
History re-
sum'd.
Justin be-
comes Em-
peror;

§ XXXV. IN the mean Time, happen'd another great Change in the Face of Affairs, to which the Revolution that broke out in the Empire, and in *Italy*, gave Occasion. *Anastasius* died in the Middle of *July*, A. 518. *Justinus* succeeded him, by the Assistance of that Party, which had oppos'd *Anastasius*. He was a Native of *Thrace* (1), and had rais'd himself from a common Soldier, to the Command of the Troops of the Imperial Household *, which were always esteem'd the very Choice of the Army. After his Accession to the Imperial Throne, he took the Names of *Flavius* and *Anicius*, perhaps because he was adopted by the *Anicii*, which was one of the greatest Families in the Empire, powerful in *Rome*, as well as *Constantinople*, and ally'd to the most noble Houses (2). *Lupicina*, his Consort, who had been his Slave, and now shar'd the Government with him, distinguish'd herself by the Names of *Ælia Marcia Euphemia*. *Justin* again declar'd for the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Communion between the *Roman* and *Greek* Churches was restor'd, A. 519, to which *Vitalian* and *John Cappadox*, then Patriarch, greatly contributed. The Emperor took *Justinian*, his Sister's Son, to Court; who soon after, viz. A. 520, made away with *Vitalian*, Commander in Chief of the Army, and *Consul* that very Year, in Order to have the Administration solely in his own Hands, and the better to secure his Succession to his Uncle. He was created *Magister Militum*, in *Vitalian's* Room; and, by Degrees, laid the Foundation to those great

(2) To this we must apply what the Ostro-Gothick King, *Athalarick*, says in Praise of this Thulm, or Tholuit; in CASSIODOR. VARIAR. L. 8. ep. 10. Mittitur igitur Franco & Burgundo decertantibus, rursus ad Gallias tuendas, ne quid adversa manus præsumeret, quod noster exercitus impensis laboribus vindicasset. Adquifivit Reipublicæ Romanæ, aliis contententibus, ab-

que ulla fatigatione provinciam, & factum est quietum commodum nostrum, ubi non habuimus bellica contentione periculum. He was mention'd above, § 15. not. 4.

§ XXXV. (1) He was a Native of Bederiana, on the Confines of Thrace and Illyricum.

* *Præfectus Prætorianis Militibus*.

(2) This is the Conjecture of Pagius, ad h. a. n. 3. Under-

Undertakings, which, after his Promotion to the Throne, he put in Execution.

§ XXXVI. A good Understanding subsisted, for a Time, betwixt *Justin* Who persecutes the Arians, &c. and *Theoderick*: He adopted (1) *Eutharick*, his Son-in-Law, who had been Consul with him, A. 519. The *Arians* liv'd unmolested in the *East*, and *Theoderick*, on the other Hand, allow'd the *Catholicks* in the *West*, the same Advantage: Nay, we meet with Tokens of his gracious Behaviour to them (2). But, in the Year 523, *Justin* publish'd a severe Edict against all who were not of the *Catholic* Church (3), and soon after depriv'd the *Arians* of their Churches. About the same Time, the King was informed, that some of the principal Members of the Senat, at *Rome*, had engag'd with the Emperor in dangerous Designs against his Government, and the *Goths* in general. *Cyprian*, who was then *Referendarius*, and afterwards attain'd to higher Dignities, accus'd *Albinus* the *Patricius*, of having written Letters of that Kind, to the Emperor *Justin* (4). *Boëtius*, one of the most considerable Senators, and, at the same Time, *Magister Officiorum* (which was the first Office at the King's Court) defended him vigorously; but was soon after charg'd with being himself one of the principal Conspirators. *Boëtius* had hitherto been renown'd, as well for his superior Talents, as his good Fortune; and, in the Year 522, had the uncommon Pleasure of seeing his two Sons, *Symmachus* and *Boëtius*, both, in their younger Years, at once promoted to the Consulship; an Honour which their Father and Ancestors could hardly attain to in their old Age. But now he experienc'd, that Merit proves, at some Junctures, dangerous, and that the Smiles of Fortune are as easily chang'd into Frowns, as in a sultry Day, Sun-shine gives place to Rain. Those very

§ XXXVI. (1) See the Quotation from *Athalaric's Letter to the Emperor* below. § 44. not.

(2) See below, § 62. not 6.

(3) To this relates, L. 12. C. de Hæret. & Manichæis, which according to the Computation of *Baronius* and *Pagius*, was decreed, A. 523. Reliqui autem hæretici (hæreticus est omnis non orthodoxus) & Græci (S. Pagani) & Judæi & Samaritæ prohibentur magistratum gerere, & dignitatem habere, aut jus dicere, aut defensores, aut patres civitatum fieri (ne habeant licentiam vexare, aut judicare Christianos, aut Episcopos) Item militare quoque prohibentur, præterquam si ex genere cohortalino-um sint, &c. Excipiuntur Gothi, qui sunt sederati, & aliter, prout visum fuerit Imperatori honorantur. *Baronius* and *Pagius* ad A. 524. n. 2. mention another Edict, which was soon after publish'd, against the *Arians* in particular.

(4) In the eighth Annot. I have added what occurs,

concerning the Execution of *Boëtius*, and of *Symmachus*, his Father-in-Law.

(4) ANONYMUS a *Valesio* editus. *Cyprianus*, qui tunc *Referendarius* erat, postea comes Sacrarum, & magister, actus cupiditate, insinuavit, de *Albino*, patricio, eo quod litteras adversus regnum ejus Imperatori *Justino* misisset. Quod factum dum vocatus negaret: tunc *Boëtius*, patricius, qui magister officiorum erat, in conspectu Regis dixit: Falsa est insinuatio *Cypriani*: Sed si *Albinus* fecit, & ego, & cunctus Senatus uno consilio fecimus. Falsum est, Domine Rex. Tunc *Cyprianus* hæsitans, non solum adversus *Albinum*, sed & adversus *Boetium*, ejus defensorem, deducit falsos testes adversus *Albinum*, &c. Sed Rex dolum Romanis tendebat, & quærebat, quomodo eos interficeret, plus credidit falsis testibus, quam Senatoribus. Tunc *Albinus*, & *Boetius* ducti in custodia ad baptisterium ecclesiæ.

Circum-

Circumstance, which had hitherto contributed to the Encrease of his Fame and Grandeur; that Zeal, wherewith he had oppos'd some eminent *Goths*, when they proceeded too far; his great Reputation at *Rome*; his Affinity, in particular with the *Anicii*, all render'd him but the more suspected. The King instantly caus'd *Albinus* and *Boëtius* to be imprison'd: The latter wrote, during this Captivity, his famous Treatise, *Of the Comfort of Philosophy*, in which he represented the Vanity of all sublunary Things, and demonstrated, according to *Plato's* Tenets, that Virtue only can bear the Test of all Trials; a Knowledge, which Mankind frequently does not attain to, 'till it is too late to turn it to any Advantage. The Accounts we have of these Matters are too slender for us to judge, whether the Suspicions of him were sufficiently ground'd; or whether he was not accus'd without any Foundation; whether it was not only a Combination, by Means of which one Party at Court endeavour'd to procure the Fall of the other; and the King was deluded by false Accusations and corrupt Testimonies, as *Boëtius* himself complains. It is certain, however, that *Boëtius* was not persecuted by the King on Account of Religion (5). *Boëtius* was put to Death, in his Prison, in the Year 524: and *Symmachus*, his Father-in-Law, underwent the same Fate, the next Year, at *Ravenna*.

Theoderick
sends Pope
John in Am-
bassy to
Justin.

§ XXXVII. THE King sent Pope *John*, with *Ecclesius*, Bishop of *Ravenna*, *Eusebius* of *Fano*, three other Bishops; and four Senators, as Ambassadors, to *Constantinople*. Their Commission, with Regard to Ecclesiastical Matters, was, to make Instances with the Emperor, to restore to the *Arians* their Churches, and a Liberty of Conscience, and to permit those, who had been compell'd to become Converts to the *Catholic* Faith, to return to their former Profession (1). *Latin* Historians boast very much of the Respect that was shewn to Pope *John*, at *Constantinople*, and particularly, that *Justin* caused him to place the Crown on his Head (2). Now tho' *Anastasius*, who wrote the Lives of the Popes, mentions, that, for the former Point, *Justin*, in Order

(5) H. GROTIUS *Proleg. in hist. Goth.* Ultima Theoderichi Ostrogothi facta in Symmachum, Boetiumque, non excuso: illud tamen video, actum ibi non de religione, quæ Boetio satis Platonica fuit, sed de Imperii statu.

§ XXXVII. (1) ANONYMUS VALESII.

(2) ANASTASIUS: Tunc Justinus Augustus, dans honorem Deo, humiliavit se pronus in terram, & adoravit beatissimum Joannem Papam: And lower: Justinus autem Imperator gaudio repletus est, quia meruit temporibus suis Vicarium B. Petri Apostoli videre in regno suo, de cujus manibus cum

gloria coronatus est Justinus Augustus. AIMONIUS says, Lib. 2. cap. 1. of this Pope John: Justino Augusto, ut Vicarius B. Petri Imperialem imposuit coronam. This Circumstance is not mention'd by the Greek Historians, Nicephorus and Theophanes. Justin had before been crowned by John, Patriarch of Constantinople, as appears by his Letter to Pope Hormisdas. Be that as it will, we must here observe what F. Franc. Pagius says, in Breviar. Pontif. Roman. in Vita Johannis, n. 7. Nec insolens fuit sub seculis Imperatores & Reges secundo, aut etiam tertio coronari.

to procure better Treatment for the *Catholicks* in *Italy*, promis'd not to molest the *Arians* (3); yet we find, on the other Hand, that *Theoderick* was dissatisfied with him at his Return, and, in a Manner, put him under Confinement at *Ravenna*, where he died not many Days after, viz. *A. 526*, on the 18th of *May* (4). At *Theoderick's* Recommendation, the *Romans* elected *Felix*; which Election was confirm'd by *Athalarick*, his Successor. This was the Manner of electing a Pope, as long as the *Ostro-Gothick* Kingdom subsisted, and was afterwards retain'd by *Justinian* (5).

§ XXXVIII. *THEODERICK* was just about to make Use of *Theoderick's* Reprisals against the *Catholicks*, when Death put an End to his Design †. *Death. His* Those who had been exasperated against him, on Account of the late *Monument at* Controversies in Point of Religion, gave various, and, in Part, contradictory Accounts of his Decease. One Writer says, that his Bowels *Ravenna.* gush'd out, in like Manner as had happen'd to *Arius* (1). Others relate, that the Head of a large Fish being serv'd up at Table, his evil Conscience got so much the Ascendant over his Imagination, that he fancy'd, he saw the Head of *Symmachus*, and was so terrified that he fell into a Fever, which hasten'd his End (2). Others even pretend to attribute his *A. 526. d.* *30. Aug.* Death

(3) *ANNASTASIUS*: Eodem tempore revertens Joannes, venerabilis Papa, & Senatores, cum gloria, cum omnia obtinuissent a *Justino Augusto*, Rex *Theodericus*, hæreticus, cum grandi dolo, & odio suscepit eosdem.

AUTOR CHRONICI VETERUM PONTIFICUM: Justinus autem Augustus omnem concessit petitionem, & propter sanguinem Romanorum, reddidit hæreticis ecclesias, secundum voluntatem *Theoderici Regis* hæretici: ne Christiani, maxime sacerdotes, ad gladium mitterentur.

AUT. HISTOR. MISCELLÆ. Qui pervenientes ad Augustum, cum ab eo, ut dignum erat, suscepti essent, magnis cum de sua suorumque salute solliciti fletibus postulant, ut suæ legationis feriem, quamquam esset injusta, libenter exciperet, Italæque perituræ confuleret. Quorum fletibus Justinus permotus, eis quod petebant concessit, Arianosque sui juris reliquit.

(4) *ANONYM. VALES.* Revertens igitur *Joannes Papa* a *Justino*, quem *Theodericus* cum dolo suscepit, & in offensa sua eum esse jubet: qui post paucos dies defunctus est. His Name is plac'd in the ancient Martyrologia, as *Papebrochius* observes in the History of his Life, among the *Acta Sanctorum*.

(5) See the ninth Annotation.

VOL. II.

§ XXXVIII. (1) *ANONYMUS a VALESIO editus*: Igitur *Symmachus* Scholasticus, Judæus, jubente non Rege, sed Tyranno, dictavit præcepta die quarta feria, septimo kal. Septembris Indictione IV. *OLYBRIO* Consule, ut die dominico adveniente *Ariani* Basilicas Catholicas invaderent. Sed qui non patitur fideles cultores suos ab alienigenis opprimi, mox intulit in eum sententiam *Arii*, auctoris religionis ejus. Fluxum ventris incurrit, & dum intra triduum evacuatus fuisset, eodem die, quo se gaudebat ecclesias invadere, simul regnum & animam amisit.

(2) *PROCOPIUS* de bello Gothico, L. I. c. 1. p. 310. *Symmachus*, ejusque gener *Boetius*, nobilissimo loco nati, iidemque viri consulares in Senatu eminebant. A Philosophia nemo illis erat instructior, nemo studiosior æquitatis, accedebat benignitas, qua inopiam cum civium, tum peregrinorum levabant. Hinc magnam adepti gloriam, sibi invidiam cumularunt apud homines acerbissimos: quorum calumniis inductus *Theodericus*, ambos studii novarum rerum insimulatos morte affecit, eorumque bona publicavit. Paucis post diebus cœnanti ipsi, cum piscis grandioris caput ministri apposuissent, visum est, id *Symmachii* caput esse, recens obtruncati, quod dentibus inferiori labro impressis, & oculis torve truculenterque tuentibus, graviter minantis haberet speciem. Ingenti prodigio

Death to a Divine Judgment. A Hermit, in the Island of *Lipari*, was said to have seen the following Vision, about the same Time that *Theoderick* expir'd; he dreamt that Pope *John* and *Symmachus*, loosen'd the King's Girdle, being bare-footed, tied his Hands, and, leading him between them, cast him into the *Vesuvius*, in that Island, call'd *Olla Vulcani* (3). A Vessel of *Porphyry* is to this Day shewn at *Ravenna*, fasten'd to the Wall of the Castle, and under it this Inscription in Marble: VAS HOC PORPHYRIACUM, OLIM THEODERICI GOTHORUM IMP. CINERES IN ROTUNDÆ APICE RECONDENS HUC, PETRO DONATO CÆSIO NARIEN. PRÆSULE FAVENTE TRANSLATUM. AD PARENEM MEMORIAM SAPIENTES REIP. RAV. P. P. C. MDLXIII. *Amalasuint* is said to have erected a splendid Monument, in Memory of him, half a Mile from the City, on the River *Mondove*, which was afterwards converted into a Church, now call'd *S. Maria Rotunda*, and to have placed this Vessel on the Top of the *Cupola*: It is said to have been shot off in the Year 1509, when the Duke of *Urbino* besieg'd the City; whereupon they endeavour'd to preserve the Remains of it in this Manner (4).

His Family.
Settlement of
the Succession.

§ XXXIX. As for his Family, we find, that he had two Daughters, when he came to *Italy*, the elder of which, nam'd *Theudegoth*, was married to *Alaric*, King of the *Wise-Goths*, as *Ostrogoth*, the younger, was to *Sigismund*, the *Burgundian* Prince (1). When he had establish'd his Throne in *Italy*, he married *Audofledis*, King *Clovis's* Sister (2): By this Queen (3), he perhaps had *Amalasuint*, the third Daughter, whom

digio territus, rigensque frigore extra modum, ad cubile properat, complures imponi sibi lacernas jubet, ac sub iis tenet sese: deinde exposita rei serie Elpidio Medico, commissum in Symmachum ac Boëtium scelus deflevit. Id lamentatus, et animi dolore pressus, quem calamitas afferebat, paula post obiit. In subditos hæc prima fuit eademque postrema ejus injuria, quam fecit, in utrumque virum sententiam ferens, causa, præter consuetudinem, non cognita diligenter.

(3) GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial. L. 4. c. 6.*

(4) LEANDER ALBERTUS in *Descr. Italiæ*, p. 474. and RUBI *Hist.* p. 107. and p. 424.

§ XXXIX. (1) JORNAND. c. 58. Antequam ergo de Audofleda sobolem haberet, naturales ex concubina, quas genuisset adhuc in *Mœsia*, filias habuit, unam nomine THEODICODO, & aliam OSTROGOTHO. Quas mox, ut in *Italiam* venit, Regibus vicinis in conjugio copulavit, id est, unam Alarico Vesegothorum, & aliam Sigismundo Burgundionum. We treated of these Nuptials in

the proper Place. Procopius calls *Alaric's Wife* Theudichusa. As for the Name of *Ostrogoth*, it is a Question whether that was rightly written by Jornandes.

(2) JORNANDES, *ibid.* Missa legatione ad LODOIN Francorum Regem, filiam ejus AUDEFLEDAM sibi in matrimonio petit. Quam ille grate libenterque concessit, suos filios ILDEBERTUM & CHELDEPERTUM, & THUIDEPERTUM credens hac societate cum gente Gothorum, inito sociare sociari. Sed non adeo pacis ad concordiam profuit ista conjunctio. Jornandes seems not to have been well inform'd of the Names of *Clovis's* Sons. He imagines *Audofledis* to be *Clovis's* Daughter. But we may more safely give Credit to Gregory, who says, that *Theoderick's Wife* was Sister to the King of the Franks. Conf. le Cointe ad A. 496. n. 2.

(3) Some Writers falsely affirm that he had a Spanish Wife. See the tenth Annos.

he

he married, *A. 515*, to *Eutharicus Cillaca*, who was likewise of the Family of the *Amali* (4). He was not bless'd with a Son, which his Subjects had so frequently wish'd (5): And therefore he may perhaps have design'd *Eutharick*, his Son-in-Law, for his Successor. This Prince enter'd upon the Consulate, *A. 519*, with such Magnificence, as had not, in a long Time, been seen at *Rome*. Among other Things, the King of the *Vandals* had sent the most uncommon wild Beasts from *Africa*, for the Diversions of the Amphitheater (6). But *Eutharick* died before his Father-in-Law, who, at last, found all his Hopes confin'd to his two Grand-sons, *Amalarick*, the *Wisi-Gothick* Prince, and *Athalarick*, *Eutharick's* Son: For the third, *Sigerick*, the *Burgundian* Prince, had been murder'd by his own Father. I have met with a Medal of *Theoderick*, where, in Honour to him, his two Grandsons are represented, in Imitation of a Medal of *Augustus*, on which we find *Cajus* and *Lucius*, his Daughter's Children (7). He therefore appointed *Amalarick* to succeed in his paternal Kingdom of the *Wisi-Goths*, and *Athalarick* to be King of *Italy*; and not long before his Death, he caused the Nobles of *Italy*, and the Chiefs of the *Goths*, to pay Homage to the latter (8) at *Ravenna*. *Amalafrid*, his Sister, who came with him to *Italy*, and was married a second Time, *A. 500*, to *Thrasamund*, King of the *Vandals*, is likewise famous in History; as are likewise both her Children by the first Marriage, viz.

(4) JORNANDES says of this: Comperit, Eutharicum, Viterichi filium, Beremundi, & Torefmundi nepotem, Amalorum de stirpe descendentem, in Hispania degere, juvenili ætate, prudentia, & virtute, corporisque integritate pollentem. Ad se eum facit venire, eique Amalafuintham filiam in matrimonium jungit.

CASSIODORUS in Chronico: FLORENTION & ANTHEMIO COSS. (515.) D. N. Rex Theodericus filiam suam, Dominam Amalafuntam, gloriosi viri D. N. Eutharici matrimonio, Deo auspice, copulavit.

(5) ENNODIUS with a Wish like this, concludes his Panegyrick, which I have already frequently made Use of: Utinam aurei bona seculi purpuratum ex Te germen amplifcet. Utinam hæres regni in Tuis finibus ludat! ut hæc quæ tibi offerimus verborum libamina, sacer parvulus a nobis exigit similitum adtestatione gaudiorum.

(6) CASSIODORUS concludes his Fasti Consulares at this Year 519. D. N. EUTHARICUS CILLACA, & JUSTINUS COSS. Eo anno multa vidit Roma miracula, editionibus singulis, stupente etiam Symmacho, Orientis Legato, &c. Muneribus (continues he) ampitheatralibus diversi generis feras, quas præfens ætas pro novitate miraretur, exhibuit. Cujus spectaculi voluptates etiam exquisitas

Africa sub devotione transmisit. Cunctis itaque eximia laude completis, tanto amore civibus Romanis infederat, ut ejus adhuc præsentiam desiderantibus, Ravennam ad gloriosi Patris remearet aspexus: ubi iteratis editionibus, tanta Gothi Romanisque dona largitus est, ut solus potuerit superare, quem Romæ celebraverat consulatum.

(7) Of this and other Medals of the Wisi-Gothick Kings, see the eleventh Annot. at the End of this Volume.

(8) See below, § 44. not. I.

CASSIODORUS VARIAR. L. 8. Ep. 2. ad Senatum Urbis Romæ: Nam cum Domini avi nostri pro beneficiorum quantitate dulcissima nobis recordatio urgeretur extremis, magnitudinem dominationis suæ tanta in nos celeritate transfudit, ut non tam regnum, quam vestem crederes esse mutatam. Tot proceres manu consilioque gloriosi, nullum murmur, ut assolet, miscuerunt: Sed ita cum magno gaudio secuti sunt Principis sui judicia, ut voluntatem ibi potius agnosceres confluisse divinam. Add. ep. 3, 4, 5, 6. And he says, in particular, Ep. 5. Cujus ordinationi adhuc eo superstitie in Regia Civitate ita Sacramenti interpositione cunctorum vota sociata sunt, ut unum crederes promittere, quod generalitas videbatur optare.

Theodebat, who afterwards became King of the *Ostro-Goths*, and *Amalaberg*, Wife of *Hermanfrid*, King of *Thuringia*. *Theoderick's* Kindred were, indeed, very famous in the World; but most of them were also very unfortunate, and of these many came at last to unhappy Ends.

The State of
Theoderick's
Kingdom.
Its Borders,
&c.

§ XL. BEFORE I proceed, I must here take Notice of the State and Constitution of the *Ostro-Gothick* Kingdom, in *Theoderick's* Reign; since it makes, beyond all Doubt, the most considerable Figure, in the History of these Times. To this Kingdom appertain'd all *Italy*, with the Island of *Sicily* (1): On this Side the *Alps*, it contain'd a Part of *Provence*, in *Gaul*; *Rætia* (2), *Vindelicia*, *Noricum* (3), and at least a considerable Part of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* (4). Among the Nations subject to him on this Side of the *Alps*, we find the *Swabians* particularly mention'd (5). *Italy* itself had greatly recover'd, during that long Peace, which it enjoy'd under him, and, in his Reign, acquir'd a Fame, it had long before been destitute of, under the *Roman* Government. He had united the Power of the *Wisi-Goths*, to that of the *Ostro-Goths*. The King of the *Vandals*, in *Africa*, was in Alliance with him, and had married his Sister. After *Clovis's* Decease, and the Division of the Monarchy among his four Sons, the *Franks* were not so dangerous Neighbours, as else perhaps they might have been. His Sister's Daughter had been married to *Hermanfrid*, King of *Thuringia*, who, with the Kings of the *Heruli* and *Guarni*, liv'd in so good an Understanding with him, that, in Case of Necessity, these Nations were in a Capacity to cut out Work enough on the *Rhine* or *Danube*, for the Enemies of the *Gothick* Kingdom. We need not therefore wonder that he so well maintain'd his Power against the Emperor of the *East*.

His Court;
Civil Officers,
&c.

§ XLI. *THEODERICK* kept his Court generally at *Ravenna*, as the *Roman* Emperors had done after the Times of *Honorius*. The Officers which were customary at the Imperial Court, were likewise kept here; such were the *Magister Officiorum*, *Domesticus*, *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, &c. But some Offices were likewise retain'd, which seem to have been deriv'd from the *German* Customs; for Instance, those of

§ XL. (1) *ENNODIUS's* Words have already been cited above, § 6. not. 4. *CASSIODORUS*, in *Chron. Olybrio Jun. Cos.* (a. 491.) *Tum etiam Vandali pace suppliciter postulata a Sicilia deprædatione cessarunt. He left to King Thrásamund, as it were, for his Sister's Dowry, the Promontory of Lilybæum (now Capo Morto.) To this we may apply the Inscription on that ancient Stone in Reinefius, I. 42, which was found thereabouts.*

FINES INTER GOTHOS
ET VANDALOS

(2) *VAR. Lib. I. ep. II. Add. Formula Ducis Rætiarum, Ibid. Lib. 5. ep. 4.*

(3) *VAR. 3. 50.*

(4) *VAR. L. 3. ep. 25. & L. 5. ep. 24. Add. Formula Principis Dalmatarum, Ibid. 6. 24.*

(5) See the twelfth Annot.

Major

Major Domus and *Armiger*. We find many excellent Men, even of the most noble Families, in *Italy*, who fill'd these Employments; and, by their personal Merits, gave a much greater Lustre to his Court, than a Crowd of Attendants; sumptuous Equipages, and splendid Liveries would have done (1). To what I mention'd before † of this King's Genius, † Above, § 6. I must here add, that he was not in his Youth much bred up to those Arts, which are generally the Ornaments of Peace; insomuch, that an ancient Author assures us, he was as incapable of writing his own Name, as the Emperor *Justin* (2). But he was fond of the liberal Arts and Sciences (3), which Disposition has always been accounted an excellent Part of the Character of the most renowned Heroes. His Family was, in this Respect, well educated, and *Amalasuint*, his Daughter, as well as his Sister and both her Children, were, among other Encomiums, extoll'd for their Improvements in Knowledge. The liberal Sciences, and especially the Mathematicks, flourish'd no less at Court, than at *Rome*; in which City the Academy, which had been founded by the former Emperors, was kept up (4); and *Boëtius*, of whom I made honourable Mention above, being himself a Man of great Learning, gave all possible Encouragement to Persons of Capacity. His Court was in short so famous, that the Kings of the *Franks* and *Burgundians* strove to come up to it. *Gundobald*, King of the *Burgundians*, begg'd he would send him a Sundial, and a Water Hour-glass, which he had seen at *Rome*. And *Clovis*, King of the *Franks*, had heard so much in Praise of his Table-Musick, that he entreated him, to send an able Musician to his Court (5). Be-

§ XLI. (1) See the thirteenth Annot.

(2) ANON. VALESII. *With him confer that Passage of Procopius, cited below, § 44. not. 6.*

(3) ENNODIUS, p. 312. extols his Love for the Sciences. Par fuit etiam, ut eloquentiam laudis præmiis incitares, ne adoras tuas silentio perderemus. Nullarum artium cessat industria. Solers, ubicunque latet, inquiritur. Magistratum, etiam si longe deguerit, exigit, qui meretur. Nunquam absconditur, quem prodiderit innocentia: dum subtilis arbiter non placaris voce, sed actibus. Parentum nostrorum, qui occubuerunt, apud te bene acta servantur. Cujus mansuetudini Tuæ fides innotuerit, hereditatis jure quod auctori debueris, soboli mox refundes. Habemus de majorum obsequiis fructum; & tamen de excessibus supplicia non timemus. Finitur indignatio moderata cum homine; cum propter retributio-

nem quærat Tua pietas successorem. Restant adhuc multa, quæ dicerem: sed inter plures actuum Tuorum præcones convenit illibatum aliquid reservari. Debent Tibi veneranda studia, quod loquuntur. Amaverunt præcessores Tui inficiam, quia nunquam laudanda gesserunt. Sordibat inter aratra facundissimus, & quod peritio dederat, vis negabat. Muto mœrebant auctore tribunalia; nec ulla concedebatur palma dicenti. In casum negotiorum nutabat eventus, quando literis genius non dabatur. Unus ubique ingenia mœror oppresserat; quia atterebant otia eloquentium facultates, pompam seniorum edax negligentia possidebat; nec accendebatur tyro æmulatione sectanda. Vide divitias seculi Tui: tunc vix fora habuere perfectos: nunc ecclesia dirigit laudatorem.

(4) VARIAR. L. 9. ep. 21.

(5) See the thirteenth Annot.

fides

sides the Edifices he rais'd in *Rome*, and more particularly at *Ravenna* (6). *Italy* was throughout embellish'd with magnificent Buildings in his Reign (7). In these Times we may perhaps place the first Invention of that Architecture, which is call'd the *Gothick*, and particularly that of the Churches. They endeavour'd likewise to distinguish them from the *Pagan* Temples; and imagin'd, that, if they were dark, they would still, in some Measure, represent the subterraneous Caverns, in which the primitive *Christians* assembled; and that the burning of Candles and Lamps, excited, at the same Time, a greater Devotion. They chose to build their Churches in the Form of a Cross, rather than that which the *Romans* observ'd in their *Basilica*: But the Ornaments of the ancient Architecture were, on Account of the *Pagan* Invention, as odious, as the Artists, by Degrees, became incapable of executing them.

The Constitution of his Kingdom, &c.

§ XLII. IT will be more difficult, exactly to describe the Government of this Kingdom, since, to all Appearance, more depended on the Ability of the Sovereign, than on any formal Constitution. *Theoderick*, himself, calls his Kingdom the Kingdom of *Italy* (1). By this Title, he was Monarch of the *Romans* as well as the *Goths* (2). Yet each Nation remain'd separate, and his Government was, in a Manner, a double Constitution, with Regard to *Italy* and its Inhabitants, on one Hand, and in Respect to the *Goths*, on the other. I shall only make two or three Observations on it, in this Place. He behaved himself towards the *Grecian* Emperors, as the *Western* Emperors were wont to do (3), and nominated the Consul in the *Western* Provinces, as the Emperor did the other in the *East* (4). But the good Understanding between them, was frequently interrupted; especially in the Times of *Anastasius*. In *Italy* itself, he made Use of all the Power belonging to an Emperor; inso-much, that he wanted only the Imperial Title, which he seems, by

(6) Of the Edifices which *Theoderick* rais'd at *Ravenna*, see *RUBEUS*, p. 106, 107.

(7) *CASSIODORUS's* Testimony was cited above, § 6. n. 6. *ENNODIUS* likewise praises the Buildings in *Italy*, p. 307. Video insperatum decorem urbium cineribus evenisse, & sub civilitatis plenitudine palatina ubique tecta rutilare. Video ante perfecta ædificia, quam videre contigisset disposita. Illa ipsa civitatum mater *Roma* juvenescit marcida senectutis membra ressecando, &c. The Castle of *Spoletto* is said to have been built by him.

§ XLII. (1) *VAR.* 4. ep. 41. ad *Clodoveum*: Toties Regnum *Italiæ* proficere judicamus, quoties de vobis læta cognoscimus.

(2) We find in *Athalarick's* Letters, *Var.* 8. ep. 7, that at his Accession to the Throne, the *Romans* and *Goths*, on Oath, promis'd a mutual Unity and Friendship to each other.

(3) The Senat of *Rome* files itself, in a Letter to *Anastasius*, in *Baronius*, ad A. 515. n. 41. Senatus Vester, which proceeds from the ancient Constitution, by which the *Roman* Empire was declar'd one State, tho' two Emperors should reign. But *Cassiodorus*, on the other Hand, says of *Theoderick*: SENATUM SUUM mira affabilitate tractans. Above, § 6. not. 6.

(4) *VAR.* 2. ep. 1 and 2.

some Passages in History, to have been inclin'd to assume, sooner or later (5). In Imitation of the Emperors of former Times, he extended his Prerogative to those Concerns, which regarded the external State of the Church, and even at the Election of a Pope †. The Metropolitans, under his Protection, visited the Bishops of their Provinces (6). On the other Hand, he likewise express'd his Care and Regard for the Church of *Rome*, tho' he was himself of a different Persuasion (7). The same Administration of the Common-Wealth, the same Offices and Honours, which were before in the Empire, were now retain'd, and we may perceive, by the Salaries annex't to these Posts, as related in *Cassiodorus*, how exact he was in observing Order and Decorum. The Senat of *Rome* preserv'd, at least to all Appearance, the same Authority, which it enjoy'd under the Emperors; an Indication of which we have in the remarkable *Senatus Consultum*, that was publish'd against the Bribery and Corruption, by which the Papal Elections began to be influenc'd †. The *Præfectus Urbis* was, as it were, the King's Vice-gerent at *Rome*, thro' whose Hands every Thing pass'd, that was to be laid before the Senat as well as the People. This *Præfectura Urbis*, the *Præfectura Prætorii*, and other Offices of the State, with the *Patriciat*, and all Posts of Honour, were in the King's Dispos'al (8), and, by Degrees, sometimes confer'd on *Goths* (9). He was likewise, not unmindful of assuming the Legislature to himself: This his Edict, in particular demonstrates (10), which consists of 154 short Articles. Besides the Laws which he probably enacted himself, the

† See the ix. Annot.

† Ibid.

(5) *This appears, among other Proofs, from his Letter to the King of Thuringia. VARIAR. 5. ep. 1. Desiderantes Vos nostris aggregare parentibus, neptis caro pignori, propitia Deitate, sociamus, ut qui de Regia stirpe descenditis, nunc etiam longius claritate Imperialis sanguinis fulgeatis.*

(6) *Exemplum in causa Episcopi Augustani est apud Cassiodorum in Var. 1. 9. Add. Athalarici epistol. ad Victorinum Episcopum. Variar. 8. 8.*

(7) *ANASTASIUS, in Vit. Hormisdæ Papæ: Eodem tempore Theodericus Rex obtulit B. Petro Apostolo cerostrata argentea duo, pensantia libras septuaginta. Of the Respect he shew'd to the Pope, see above, § 6, not. 6.*

(8) *So Athalarick, when he sent the Edict against the Simoniacs, to the Præfectus Urbis, wrote, Var. 9. ep. 16, as follows: Quod nos laudantes, & augentes inventum, ad Beatissimum Papam di-*

reximus constituta, quæ his antelata præfulgent: ut ab honestate S. Ecclesiæ profanus ambitus auferratur. Hoc vos ad notitiam Senatus, & Romani populi, volumus sine aliqua dilatione perducere: quatenus cunctorum figatur cordi, quod cupimus omnium studio custodire. Verum ut Principale beneficium & præsentibus hæreat, seculis, & futuris, tam definita nostra, quam Senatus consulta, tabulis marmoreis præcipimus decenter incidi, & ante atrium B. Petri Apostoli in testimonium publicum collocari.

(9) *An Instance of this was Theluit, the Gothick General, whom Athalarick created a Patriarch. VARIAR. 8. ep. 9, 10.*

(10) *Edictum Theoderici Regis, may be seen in LINDENBROGII Codex legum antiquarum, p. 239.*

Provin-

† See the ix.
Annot.

† See above,
§ 6. not. 6, 7.

† See the xi.
Annot.

Provincials retain'd their ancient *Roman* Statutes (11); and had their own Judges (12). Among the external Marks of his Sovereignty, the principal was, perhaps, that he caus'd his Image to be stamp'd on the Coin †. The City of *Rome*, in a great Measure, preserv'd her former Magnificence, and particularly those splendid Edifices, which were not wholly destroy'd, 'till the succeeding War. *Theoderick* took Care to have always a great Store of Provisions in the City, and expended considerable Sums in publick Spectacles, both which Articles were always esteem'd requisite, to preserve the Affection of a People, so fond of Novelty (13). When he came to *Rome* the first Time, he immediately order'd 12,000 Measures of Corn to be annually distributed †; assign'd a certain Sum of Money for the Support of Theatrical Entertainments, in the *Amphitheatrum Titi*, and caus'd *Pompey's* Theatre to be repair'd. He not only willingly indulg'd the *Romans* in these Diversions, in Order to render them the better affected to his Government (14), but it was almost necessary. Two Companies of Players, the *Veneti* and *Prasini* strove to outvy each other. The People, both of a superior and inferior Rank, were hereupon divided into two Parties, and the Factions, to which the *Circus* first gave Rise, had an Effect in the most momentous Affairs of State †. The Partition of the Lands, between the ancient Inhabitants and the *Goths*, was so regulated (15), that the *Goths* obtain'd the third Part of the cultivated Land; which was the more tolerable in the desolate State of *Italy*, at the Beginning of his Reign, if we consider, what the ancient Inhabitants of *Italy*, in former Times, had been oblig'd to part

(11) That the Roman Laws were retain'd by the Inhabitants of Italy, appears in particular from *Variar.* 6. ep. 12, where the King empowers *Marabodus*, *Comitius*, and *Gemellus*, a Senator, to terminate a certain Law-Suit: Ut omni incivilitate sumnota, mediis sacrosanctis evangelii, cum tribus honoratis, quos partium consensus elegerit, qui legum possint habere notitiam, quicquid prisce juris forma constituit inter eos, considerata disciplina nostri temporis, proferatis.

(12) *Athalarick* reproaches *Gildias*, Count of *Syracusa*, with having forc'd two Romans to have their Process determin'd by him. *Variar.* 9. 14. Duorum negotia Romanorum, etiam his invitis, ad tuum diceris vocare judicium: quæ si cognoscis facta, ulterius non præsumas — Gothorum laus est civilitas custodita — Vos armis jura defendite: Romanos finite legum pace litigare.

(13) *JUVENAL* says of the Roman People, even in his Times:

— Duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem & Circenses.

(14) What Prince could make a more kind and politick Declaration on this Head, than *Theoderick* did? *Variar.* 1. ep. 20. Licet inter gloriosas Reipublicæ curas, & Regalium sollicitudinum salutiferos fluctus pars minima videatur, Principem de spectaculis loqui; tamen pro amore Reipublicæ Romanæ non pigebit has quoque cogitationes intrare: quia undecunque præstare possumus, dignum nostris sensibus æstimamus: præsertim cum beatitudo sit temporum lætitia populorum. Illud enim propitiante Deo labores nostros asserit, quod se otiosam generalitas esse cognoscit.

(15) *VAR.* L. 2. ep. 16.

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with, when new Colonies were establish'd, or Soldiers worn out in Wars were quarter'd upon them. The King subsisted on certain Domains and other Revenues; and, in one of his Letters (16), expresses his being satisfied with these, without laying any Burthen on his Subjects.

§ XLIII. THE *Goths* retain'd their own Constitution, Language, Arms, ancient Customs, and Habit: They made the Art of War their principal Study. The King had very prudently reserv'd this for his own Nation; because the Security of his Government, and the Execution of his other Designs, depended thereon. They were moreover exempted from all Taxes and Villenage. They were subject to Dukes, who were stil'd *Viri Sublimes*. Next in Dignity to these, were the *Millenarii*, probably so call'd, because each commanded 1000 Men: We took Notice, in the former Volume, of the same Regulation among the *Vandals*. These Officers came annually to Court, for the Pension which the King settled on them. The *Goths*, in general, exercis'd themselves continually, even in Times of Peace, in the Use of the Spear and Bow, and in whatever else appertain'd to War. These Exercises are so describ'd by an ancient Writer, that we find some Resemblance in them with the Turnaments, which, in after Times, were so much in Vogue. They had their own Judges, like the *Romans*; and a particular Count was, for that Purpose, appointed over every District. In their Judicial Proceedings, we must observe, to *Theoderick's* Honour, that whereas some other *German* Nations, particularly the *Burgundians*, allow'd of Duels for the Decision of Causes, he not only abolish'd that Custom among the *Goths*, but endeavour'd likewise to abrogate it among his other Subjects out of *Italy*. The King indeed made Use of the *Latin* Tongue, in most Occurrences, and even in his Mandates to the *Goths*; but the *Gothick* Language was nevertheless retain'd in Use. Hence some eminent *Romans*, who accepted of Places at Court, caus'd their Children to learn it, in Order to their more speedy Advancement *. But how sollicitous soever *Theoderick* was to unite both Nations, yet we shall find, by the Event, that his Endeavours were fruitless, and that the private Animosity betwixt them, together with the Disparity of their Religion and Manners, occasion'd the Downfal of the *Gothick* Kingdom. Neither the *Romans* nor the *Goths*, seem to have been much inclin'd to an entire Union. The former Grandeur of the *Romans* was still fresh in their Memory, and the *Goths* were not a little proud of the Shock it had received from them. Had not *Theoderick* been

The *Gothick*
Constitution:
The Liberty,
State of War,
and Judiciary
Proceedings of
that Nation.

(16) VARIAR. L. I. ep. 19. Fisci volumus legale custodire compendium: quia nostra clementia rebus propriis videtur esse contenta. Et sic nullum gravare cupimus, ita debita nobis perdere non debemus.

* Of all this, see the fourteenth Annot.

so soon snatch'd away by Death, or had he had a worthy Successor, some Means or other would perhaps have been found to remove the Difficulties, and to establish a more lasting Constitution.

Athalarick,
King of the
Ostro-Goths;
His Mother's
Guardianship
&c.

§ XLIV. *ATHALARICK* was about ten Years of Age, when he succeeded to the Throne of his Grand-father, and his Mother, *Amalasuinth*, had probably, during the King's Minority, the principal Share in the Administration. *Theoderick*, on his Death Bed, had pressingly enjoin'd the *Gothick* Nobles then present, to observe the three following Articles, as fundamental Rules of the *Gothick* State; viz. to be loyal to their King; to be obliging to the Senat of *Rome*, and to the *Romans* in general; and, as much as possible, to preserve a good Understanding with the Emperors in the *East* (1). The young King immediately sent Count *Segismar* to *Rome*, to receive Homage of the *Romans*, and to give them the usual Assurances in his Name (2). The *Romans* and *Goths* renew'd their former Leagues, and laid themselves, with an equal Zeal, under mutual Obligations, to be loyal, faithful, and devoted to the new Government (3). The Court endeavour'd likewise to appease the Emperor *Justin*, with whom *Theoderick* was on the Point of a Rupture. *Athalarick* entreated him in a Letter, to forget what had latterly pass'd with his Grand-father, and rather to think of *Eutharick*, his Father, whom he had adopted for a Son (4). The Imperial Court seems to have given him a satisfactory Answer. *Justin's* advanc'd Age, and the *Persian* War, made him glad to preserve a Peace with the *Goths*, and, in all Events, it was easy to foresee, that the *Gothick* Kingdom, would, in the Sequel, afford him sufficient Opportunity to attempt, what the King's Minority seem'd now to render so convenient. *Amalasuinth* was for giving her Son the same Education which such a young Prince usually had among

§ XLIV. (1) JORNANDES, cap. 59. Eisque in mandatis dedit, ac si testamentali voce denunciatis, ut Regem colerent, senatum populumque Romanum amarent, Principemque Orientalem placatum semper propitiumque haberent.

(2) VARIAR. L. 8. ep. 2 & 3.

(3) IBIDEM, L. 8. ep. 7. ad universos Provinciales per Galliam: Unde vos quoque prædicta convenit imitari, ut Gothi Romanis præbeant jusjurandum, & Romani Gothis sacramento confirmant, se unanimiter regno nostro esse devotos.

(4) IBIDEM, L. 8. ep. 1. Claudantur odia cum sepultis: ira perire noverit cum protervis: gratia non debet occumbere cum delictis, sed magis affectuosius tractandus est, qui ad Regni cau-

sas innocens invenitur. Perpendite, quid a vobis mereatur successor bonorum. Vos avum nostrum in vestra civitate celsis curulibus extulistis: vos genitorem meum in Italia Palmatæ claritate decorastis. Desiderio quoque concordiae factus est per arma filius quamvis vobis pene videbatur æquævus. Hoc nomen adolescenti congruentius dabitis, qualia nostris Senioribus præstitistis. In parentelæ locum noster jam transire debet affectus; nam ex filio vestro genitus, naturæ legibus vobis non habetur extraneus. Atque ideo pacem non longinquus sed proximus peto: quia tunc mihi dedistis gratiam nepotis: quando meo parenti adoptionis gaudia præstitistis.

the

the *Romans*. She kept him to a close Application to his Studies, and made Choice of three *Goths*, Men of Merit, advanc'd in Years, and of a superior Judgement and great Moderation, under whose Tuition he was plac'd : But the *Goths* in general dislik'd this (5). *Procopius* relates, that when *Amalasuinth* once found the young King, in his Apartment, doing something unbecoming him ; and gave him a Box on the Ear for it, he ran crying into the Anti-Chamber, which immediately alarm'd the discontented Party, who thereupon took Occasion to accuse the Queen openly of Mismanagement in his Education. They remonstrated to her, that Study weaken'd that Spirit, which was requisite in War, and that those to whom the King's Education had till then been entrusted, would infuse into him a Timidity, natural to Persons of their Age : That *Theoderick* was a great Monarch, tho' he never studied, and would not suffer the *Goths* to send their Children to School ; imagining that those who had once been accusom'd to fear a Scourge, would not afterwards so easily bid Defiance to the Sword and Spear : They begg'd, therefore, that she would place young Noblemen about the King's Person, by whose Vivacity, that Temper of Mind, which was necessary in a *Gothick* Prince, might be rais'd and preserved (6). The Mother thought it necessary

(5) *PROCOPIUS de bello Gothico, L. 1. c. 2.* Filium autem ad Romanorum Principum vitam & mores institui voluit, adegitque ludum literarium frequentare. Eundem ad tres viros applicuit, e senibus Gothis delectos, quos omnium intelligentissimos ac moderatissimos noverat. Hæc Gothis minime placebant, more magis barbaro gubernari volentibus ab Atalarico, quo licentius injurias imposerent subditis.

(6) *IDEM, Ibidem.* Aliquando mater cum in cubiculo peccantem aliquid deprehendisset, colaphum illi infligit ; is vero flens, se inde proripuit in andronitidem. Tum Gothi, in quos incidit, excandescere, in Amalasuntham convitia jacere, & affirmare, eo spectare ejus consilia, ut morte quam primum deleter filium, & alteri, viro nupta, cum eo Gothis atque Italis imperaret. Subinde collecti spectatissimi quique, Amalasuntham adeunt, & queruntur, nec honeste Regem, nec commode sibi educari ; literas a fortitudine longe esse disjunctas, traditamque a senibus institutionem in timiditatem & animi humilitatem plerumque verti ; itaque oportere, ut in re bellica futurus animosus gloriaeque insignis, amoto doc-

torum metu, armis exerceatur. Theodericum allegant, nunquam passum Gothorum liberos ad ludimagistros mitti ; cum diceret omnibus, eos nunquam hastam aut gladium despecturos mente intrepida, si scuticam tremuissent. Subjiciunt debere ipsam reputare cum animo, ereptum sibi fato Theodericum, postquam tot potitus provinciis, regnumque alienum adeptus esset, quamvis literas ne tantillum quidem auribus admisisset. Ergo inquit, hos, Domina, pædagogos in præsens valere jube, & Athalarico victores aliquot æquales adhibe, qui ætate cum ipso florentes ad generose & more barbaro regnandum impellant. Quæ cum audisset Amalasuntha, etsi parum probabat, tamen verita ne quid Barbari moverent, sibi, quæ dixissent, grata accidere simulavit, & quicquid postulabant, concessit. Amotis ab Atalarici latere senibus, aggregantur in ipsius convictum pueri nondum puberes, nec longe ætate eum præcurrentes. Simul ut pubertatem attigit, eorum impulsu præceps in temulentiam & foeminarum concubitus, evasit insigniter nequam, atque in matrem cum tanta recordia contumax, ut de illa nil laboraret.

to comply with the Circumstances of the Times; tho' to the Prejudice of her Son. For, as the Inclinations of Youth are the more irregular, when they are intirely left to their own Liberty, and when the Gratification of their inorderedly Appetites is a Means of advancing at Court, the new Favorites now wholly diverted the King from his filial Duty, and accusom'd him early to Wine and Women, whereby he quite broke his bodily Constitution.

*Amalarick,
King of the
Wisi-Goths.*

§ XLV. THODERICK's other Grand-son, *Amalarick*, Son of King *Alaric*, now succeeded in the Government of the *Wisi-Goths*. The Confines of the two Kingdoms, which join'd in *Gaul*, were so regulated, that *Athalarick* retain'd all the Country from the *Alps* to the *Rhône*; and the Rest, which reach'd from the *Rhône*, as far as the *Pyrenean* Mountains, remain'd in the Dominion of the *Wisi-Gothick* King. The new King had married *Clotildis*, *Clovis*'s Daughter, with the View of providing the better for the Safety of his Kingdom, by a good Understanding with the Kings of the *Franks*. But he treated his new Consort but very badly, which was attributed to the Difference in their Religions, he being an *Arian*. He is even charged with having abus'd her Person. The Queen complain'd of this ill Usage to *Childebert*, her Brother, King of *Paris*, and begg'd he would relieve her. This Prince was at that very Time in *Auvergne*, and from thence made War against his Brother-in Law, who then kept his Court at *Narbonne*: But the Circumstances are differently related by Historians. It is certain that *Amalarick* was murder'd in the Year 501, but somewhat dubious, whether he fell by the Hands of the Enemy, or, as *Isidorus*, with more Probability, affirms, of some disloyal Subject. After his Death, his Throne was seiz'd by *Theudis*, of whom I before observ'd, that, in *Theoderick*'s Life-time, he was his Lieutenant in the *Wisi-Gothick* Kingdom *.

*The History
of Thuringia
resum'd.*

§ XLVI. THE Conquest of *Thuringia*, which Kingdom was, 'till now, very famous in *Magna Germania*, is the most remarkable Occurrence in the *Franconian* History of these Times. *Hermanfrid*, *Baldrich*, and *Bertharius*, three Brothers, at Length shared the Kingdom among them. *Hermanfrid* sought the Friendship of the King of the *Ostro-Goths*, and was join'd in Marriage to *Amalaberg*, his Sister's Daughter. This Princess is highly extoll'd in the Letter which *Theoderick* wrote to him, on Occasion of these Nuptials. This Marriage, and the Alliance with the *Goths*, prov'd indeed so far serviceable to the *Thuringians*, that they were the more secure from the Molestations of the *Franks*; but the Queen, on the other Hand, was the Author of another Misfortune, which was at

§ XLV. * Of all this see the fifteenth Annot. at the End of this Volume.

last

last follow'd by the Downfal of the whole Kingdom. She is accus'd of having, out of Pride, prompted her Consort, to make away with his Brothers, and then to make himself Master of all *Thuringia*; and, in all Probability, she found it no very difficult Matter to persuade him thereto: *Bertharius* was put to Death, without much Ceremony: But *Baldrich* was better prepar'd. *Hermanfrid* therefore apply'd for Assistance to *Theoderick*, King of *Austrasia*, and promis'd him, in Return, a Part of his Brother's Dominions. This Prince join'd *Hermanfrid* in Person, and *Baldrich* was slain in a Battle. However *Hermanfrid* did not perform his Promise, but seiz'd the whole Sovereignty of *Thuringia* for himself *. From his perfect good Understanding with the King of the *Ostro-Goths*, and with the Kings of the *Heruli* and *Guarni*, we may conclude, that he made a considerable Figure in *Germany*.

§ XLVII. BUT now *Theoderick* was dead in *Italy*, the King of *Aus-*
trasia ventur'd to make War against *Thuringia*, under the Pretence, that *Hermanfrid* had violated his former Promise. *Thiebrecht*, his Son, and *Clotarius*, King of *Soissons*, accompany'd him to the Field. Both Sides exerted their utmost Force, but we find very few Circumstances related in History. When the *Franks* and *Thuringians* came to a general Engagement, the latter were defeated, and the *Franks* pursued them beyond the *Unstrut*. *Hermanfrid* escaped by Flight, and the *Franks* were then oblig'd to put up with what Booty they could make (1). *Theoderick*, some Time after, executed his Design by Deceit and Stratagem, it being no difficult Task to him, to make Use of such Means (2). He so far gain'd *Hermanfrid*'s Confidence, that he came to him to *Zülpick*; but when he least suspected it, *Theoderick* caus'd him to be murder'd. He immediately invaded his Country, which having lost its King, could now no longer resist the *Franks*. *Thuringia*, after that, appertain'd to the Kingdom of *Austrasia* (3), and the Sequel of History will shew, that this was the Foundation of fixing the Dominion of the *Franks*, in *Magna Germania*, from the *Danube* to the Sea. The *Thuringian* Kingdom extended much farther than the Country which still retains that Name: Partly *Northwards*, where, for Instance, the Cities of *Magdeburg*, *Helmstadt*, and several other Places, which fell to the Share of the *Saxons* afterwards, were, for a long Time, after this Revolution, included in *North-*

Theoderick,
 King of *Aus-*
trasia, subdues
Thuringia.

§ XLVI. * GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. 3. cap. 4. See the sixteenth Annot.

§ XLVII. (1) GREGOR. TURONENSIS, L. 3. cap. 7. See the sixteenth Annot.

(2) GREGOR. says of *Theoderick*, l. c. In talibus enim dolis *Theodericus* callidus erat.

(3) Of the Constitution and Government of *Thuringia*, under the *Franks*, see *SAGITARIUS* in Antiquit. Ducatus *Thuringici*, Lib. 4. Add. *ECARDUS* Rer. Franc. Orientalis, Lib. 4. § 14.

Thuringia: Partly likewise *Southwards*, where it contain'd a great Part of the Country, that is now included in the Circle of *Franconia*. The *Bavarians* had, very probably, likewise a Share in the *Burgundian War*, and, after the *Franks* had conquer'd *Thuringia*, were oblig'd to submit to their Dominion; of which I shall treat more largely in the Sequel.

Of the *Thuringian* Royal Family, &c.

§ XLVIII. QUEEN *Amalaberg* was the more sensible of this Misfortune, as she had, in some Measure, been the Cause of it; and as the Fate of her Mother in *Africa*, after the Death of *Thrasamund*, her Consort, was still fresh in her Memory. She could hope for no other Relief from the *Goths*, than that she and her Children might take Refuge in *Italy*, under King *Theodehat*, her Brother. His Murder, which follow'd soon after, and the Downfal of the *Gothick* Kingdom itself, plung'd the unfortunate Remains of the *Thuringian* Family, into a fresh Misery. When King *Vitiges*, in the Year 539, surrender'd to *Belisarius*, and was carried to *Constantinople*, with *Matasuinth*, his Consort, *Hermanfrid's* Children were forc'd to follow him thither. One Daughter was married to *Alboin*, King of the *Longobards*. *Amalafrid*, his Son, distinguish'd himself bravely in the Field, and gave the World Reason to think, that, had Heaven reserv'd his paternal Kingdom for him, he would have been a valiant Monarch. He assisted *Alboin*, his Brother-in-Law, in conquering the *Gepidae*, and the Emperor *Justinian* created him *Magister Militiae*. *Justinian* had Reason to bestow his Favours on a Prince, who had so just a Pretence against the *Franks*, and, without Doubt, was still much belov'd by the *Thuringians*. He spent the Remainder of his Days in the Emperor's Service, and left a Son, nam'd *Artarchis*, of whom we find no farther Mention in History. *Bertharius*, *Hermanfrid's* Brother, had a Son, and a Daughter nam'd *Radegundis*, whom King *Clotarius* took Prisoners, when he assisted their Uncle. The Princess was, at that Time, very young; and the King took her afterwards in Marriage, for the sake of her Beauty and Virtue: But this prov'd not the most happy Alliance, and, a few Years after, a Storm broke out, which was fatal to the Queen, as well as her Brother. The King caus'd the latter to be put to Death, and sent his Consort to *Noyon*. Historians make no mention of the Crime, which the *Thuringian* Prince was accus'd of, but only take Notice of his Innocence. The Queen prevail'd upon *Medardus*, Bishop of *Noyon*, to consecrate her a Deaconess. She repair'd afterwards to *Poitiers*, where, with the King's Consent, she founded the famous Nunnery of the *Holy-Cross*, according to the Order of *Casarius*, Bishop of *Arles*. Here she spent the Remainder of her Life, even to a great Age, in the diligent Exercise of all *Christian* Virtues, insomuch, that the Church canoniz'd

canoniz'd her after her Decease. She had perhaps sufficient Reason to be dissatisfied at Court, especially as *Clotarius* set no Bounds to his Passion for the fair Sex. Her Example will nevertheless be always edifying. We have hitherto met with so many Persons, who sacrific'd their All to a temporal Grandeur: Therefore the more glorious was the Conduct of a Queen, who, in Contempt of this, knew where to find a much more lasting Peace *.

§ XLIX. As the Kingdom of *Thuringia* declin'd, so the *Longobards* again made their Appearance about this Time. I cannot here omit mentioning them, because we shall find, in the following Book, that they founded that famous Kingdom in *Italy*, whose Name and Constitution subsisted long after the Nation had been conquer'd by the *Franks*. *Paulus Varnefridus*, generally call'd *Paulus Diaconus*, who wrote the History of the *Longobards*, is very fabulous in his Account of their Arrival, and their most ancient Deeds; which is very evident, when we compare it with the Relations of the most credible ancient Writers (1). *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, and *Ptolemy* agree herein, that the *Longobards* were a *Suevian* Nation, which the Traces we find of their Language (2), and of the Customs they brought with them to *Italy*, sufficiently testify. In the Times of *Tacitus* they dwelt next the *Chauci*, on the *Elb* (3), where, according to the Conjecture of some learned Men, the Country of *Bardingou*, and *Bardewick*, the Capital of it, retain their Name from them (4). I observ'd before, in its proper Place, that they were attack'd by *Tiberius*, in his Expedition (5); that in the ensuing Wars, in *Germany*, they and their Neighbours, the *Semnones*, revolted from *Maroboduus* to *Arminius* (6); that they afterwards took the Part of *Italus*, King of the *Cherusci* (7); and that, at the Time of the *Marcoman* War, an Army of *Longobards* pass'd the *Danube*, and invaded the *Roman* Provinces (8). Since that Time, we find no more certain Accounts of them, than are

The Migrations of the Longobards:

§ XLVIII. * Of these Persons of the Royal Thuringian Line, see the seventeenth Annot.

§ XLIX. (1) *Paulus* says, that they came from the *Scanzia Insula*: But his Relation of the ancient History of the *Longobards* is so absurd, that it cannot possibly gain Credit. See the eighteenth Annot. at the End of this Volume.

(2) Of the Language of the *Longobards*, see the nineteenth Annot.

(3) See Vol. I. B. 2. § 23.

(4) *LEIBNITIUS* in not. ad *TACITI* Germ. Add. *ECKARDI Rerum Francicarum*, Lib. I. § 10.

(5) See Vol. I. B. 3. § 23.

(6) *Ibid.* 4. 18.

(7) *Ibid.* 4. 27.

(8) *Ibid.* 5. 14.

extant

extant of so many other Revolutions, which happen'd, during this Time, in the *Northern Part of Germany*. *Procopius* mentions now, at the Beginning of the sixth Century, a War betwixt them and the *Heruli*, and places them on the *Danube* (9). At the Beginning of *Justinian's* Reign, *A. 527* (10), they fix'd their Habitations in *Pannonia*, under the Command of *Andoin*, their King. Here the History of the *Longobards* begins again to be on a Certainty, and we may, upon applying to the Writers who liv'd in those Times, come at the Accounts appertaining to them.

The History
of the Vandals
resum'd.

§ L. I MUST now return to the History of the *Vandalick* Kingdom, which *Genseric*, or, as he is properly call'd, *Geiseric* left, *A. 477*, in a flourishing Condition, to *Humoric*, his Son (1). This Kingdom comprehended all that Part of *Africa*, from the *Atlantick* Sea to *Cyrene*, which formerly belong'd to the *Romans*. If we will describe these Countries, according to their Situation, and begin from the *Atlantick* Ocean, we shall first meet with *Mauritania*, which Country was divided into three Provinces: viz. *Tingitana*, so call'd from the City *Tingis*, (afterwards *Tangier*;) *Casariensis*, in which was *Casarea*, in ancient Times, the Residence of King *Juba*; and *Sitifensis*, of which *Sitifi* was the Capital. Next to these, lay *Numidia*, and then *Africa*, properly so call'd, or the former Dominions of the *Carthaginians*, which the *Romans*, after having conquer'd *Carthage*, made themselves Masters of, and afterwards divided into two Provinces; one of which, wherein was *Carthage* the Capital, was in particular call'd *Proconsularis*, the other *Byzacena*, from the City of *Byzacia*. From thence the *Provincia Tripolitana* reach'd quite as far as the Confines of *Cyrene*. The Inhabitants of these Countries were of three Sorts; viz. first, the ancient *Mauritanians* and *Numidians*, and the Descendants of the *Phœnician* Colonies, who had their own Rulers, and are, by *Procopius*, in general, nam'd *Mauri*; the *Roman Provincials*; and lastly the *Vandals*. To the *Vandalick* Kingdom appertain'd, besides the Continent, the Islands of *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Ivica*. *Humoric* had many Differences with the *Mauri* (2), who revolted

(9) Of this War we treated above, § 25.

(10) PAGIUS places the Irruption of the Longobards into Pannonia, in the Year 527. Ad A. 527. n. 8. Conf. the eighteenth Annot.

§ L. (1) See the History of the Vandals, Vol. 1. B. 10. § 35 & 36.

(2) PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico, L. 1. c. 9. p. 196. B. Quam diu Vandalis præfuit Honorichus, cum nulla gente bellum gesserunt, exceptis Mauris: qui quidem antea Gizerici metu coerciti nihil moverant, at statim ut ille excessit, detrimenta plurima attulere Vandalis, & ab his rursus accipere.

from

from the *Vandals*, and plac'd themselves so securely on the Mountain call'd *Aurasus* (3), that neither *Hunoric*, nor his Successors, could ever reduce them to their Subjection. His Name is transmitted to us as infamous, on Account of that cruel Persecution of the True-Believers, of which it would be difficult to decide, who tyranniz'd most, the King or the *Arian* Clergy (4)? *Eudoxia*, his Consort, Daughter of the Emperor *Valentinian III* (5), left him, in the Year 472, and took Refuge at *Jerusalem*, where she ended her Days (6). He died (7) himself in the Year 484. The Kingdom did not descend to his Children, for *Gundamund*, the Son of *Genzo*, his elder Brother, succeeded, by Virtue of a Regulation made by *Geiseric*, that the Government should always devolve to the Eldest of the Royal Blood (8). We meet with a Medal of *Gundamund* (9), on one Side of which are the Words DN. REX CUNTAMUND, on the other, a Crown of Laurels, and in it the Letters D. N. His Reign was, at the same Time, when *Odoacer* govern'd in *Italy*, and was afterwards conquer'd by *Theoderick*, but it is chiefly memorable, on Account of the Stop he put, in the Year 494, to the Prosecution of the True-Believers, when he restor'd to them their Churches, and recall'd the banish'd Bishops (10). He was succeeded, A. 496, by *Thrasamund*, his Brother, who is extoll'd by the Historians of this Time, on Account of the Excellencies both of his Person and Mind; among other Things, he is said to have lov'd the Sciences, especially those which had any Relation to Morals, and to have been a Master of them. As he kept up a Friendship with *Theoderick*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, whose Sister he had married, so, on the other Hand, he likewise maintain'd a singular good Understanding with the Emperor *Anastasius*. The *Orthodox Christians* might reasonably form great Hopes of his Reign: He made, at least, no Use of Compulsion, at first, but tried other Methods. Whoever turn'd from the *Catholic* Party to *Arianism*, might be assur'd of making his Fortune; and

(3) *De Aurasio monte*, v. PROCOPI. l. c. cap. 9.

(6) PAGIUS ad A. 471. n. 11.

(4) This Persecution is related by Victor Viten-
sis. In his fourth Book we likewise find the Edit, which the King caus'd to be publish'd against the Orthodox. He says, among other Observations, L. 5. c. 11. Crudelius Arianorum Episcopi, Presbyteri, & Clerici, quam Rex, & Vandali, saviebant.

(7) IDEM ad A. 414. n. 23.

(8) See this Regulation of King Geiseric, Vol. I. B. 10. § 35. not. 4.

(9) ANTON. AUGUSTIN. Dial. sopra le Medaglie, 6. p. 118.

(5) See Vol. I. B. 10. §. 3.
VOL. II.

(10) V. RUYNART, p. 550.

whoever had committed any Crime, might, by the same Means, securely evade the Punishment. Conferences on religious Matters were likewise frequent; and three Books are still extant, written against the *Arians* by *Fulgentius*, one of the most famous Teachers in *Africa*, and dedicated to the King himself. But when some Prelates, contrary to the King's Orders, appointed new Bishops in the Churches here and there, in the Room of others deceased, he caus'd the Churches to be shut up, in the Year 503, and banish'd a large Number of Bishops into *Sardinia*, which was the Fate of the before-mention'd *Fulgentius*, who had been consecrated Bishop of *Ruspa*. The Bishops are said to have taken, on this Voyage, the Corpse of *S. Austin* with them, into *Sardinia* (11), in which Island Pope *Symmachus* gave them all possible Relief. *Thrasamund* died in the Year 523 (12), soon after a fatal Overthrow, which the *Vandals* suffer'd from the *Mauri*, who had rebell'd in the Country of *Tripolis* (13)

Hilderick,
King of the
Vandals:
Gelimer sets
up for King
against him.

§ LI. HE was succeeded by *Hilderick*, his Cousin, the Son of *Humoric*, who had been a long Time at *Constantinople*, among his Mother's Kindred, and, in particular, cultivated an Intimacy with *Justinian*, who then begun to bear the greatest Sway in the Empire (1). A Silver Medal of him is extant, on one Side of which is his Image, with the Title: DN. HILDERIK REX, and, on the other, the usual Device of *Africa*, viz. a Woman, with Ears of Corn in both Hands, with these Words: FELIX KART (2). He either publicly profess'd the *Catholic* Faith †, or at least treated the *Catholics* with so much Lenity, that they enjoy'd all the Liberty they could desire. A Circumstance like this could not but produce a great Change in the *Vandalick* Kingdom. *Thrasamund*, who knew his Disposition, had exacted an Oath from him, that when, after his Decease, he should ascend the Throne, he would make no Alteration in Ecclesiastical Matters (3): But *Hilderick* nevertheless re-

† See the 21st
Annot.

(11) IDEM, p. 551.

(12) What I have here said of *Thrasamund*, is prov'd more at large in the twenty-first Annot.

(13) PROCOPIUS. de bello Vandal. Lib. I. c. 9.

§ LI. (1) Of *Hilderick*, see the twenty-first Annotation.

(2) BANDURI Numism. T. II.

(3) VICTOR. TURONENSIS in Chron. Hic ergo sacramento a decessore suo *Thrasamundo* obstrictus, ne Catholicis in regno suo aut ecclesias aperiret, aut privilegia restitueret, priusquam regnaret, ne sacramenti terminos præteriret, præcipit sacerdotes Catholicos ab exilio redire, & ecclesias aperire; & Bonifacium in dogmatibus divinis satis strenuum, ad postulationem totius Urbis, Carthaginensis ecclesiæ episcopum consecrav.

call'd

call'd the banish'd Bishops (4), who, in several Councils, soon restor'd the almost ruin'd State of their Churches (5). *Amalafried*, the Queen Dowager, intended probably to raise another Faction, with those *Ostro-Goths*, who had follow'd her to *Africa*. She had gain'd Adherents among the *Mauri*, and an Engagement actually ensued near *Capsa*, formerly a famous City in the *Provincia Byzacena*: But she was defeated. Most of the *Goths* were kill'd on the Spot, and she was herself taken Prisoner, in which Condition she died. We find, indeed, a Letter from King *Athalarick* to King *Hilderick*, wherein he charges him with having caus'd the Queen to be put to Death, and threatens to revenge her Murder †. *Hilderick* was already † See *Ibid.* pretty much advanc'd in Years, and so averse to War, that he could hardly bear to hear it mention'd; he therefore left the Management of it to *Hoamer*, his Brother's Son; but the *Vandals* were beat by the *Mauri*, in *Byzacena*. With these Circumstances, the King had a dangerous Enemy, in *Gelimer*, his Kinsman. *Gelaris*, this Prince's Father, was the Son of *Genzo*, and Brother of *Gunthamund* and *Thrasamund*; and, after *Hilderick's* Decease, would have been the next Successor. He was of a turbulent and ambitious Disposition, and is indeed extoll'd for his Valour and Cunning; but he gave afterwards very slender Proofs of both. He caus'd it to be insinuated to the Chiefs of the Nation, that *Hilderick* intended to put *Africa* into the Hands of the *Grecian* Emperor, in Order to keep his own Family on the Throne, and to exclude him, to whom it of Right appertain'd, after *Hilderick's* Death, being the eldest of the Royal Blood. Whether this was really *Hilderick's* Design, or only a Pretence to cover *Gelimer's* Impatience, is uncertain. The good Understanding, however, betwixt the King and *Justinian*, to whom he had just before sent a splendid Ambassy; his Lenity with Regard to the *Catholicks*; and the great Confidence he repos'd in *Hoamer*, his Nephew, serv'd to support the Probability of this Pretence; especially as he was besides despis'd by the Nation, on Account of his Effeminacy, and the Overthrow they had suffer'd from the *Mauri*. *Gelimer* was therefore proclaim'd King by his Faction †: Whereupon he seiz'd the Capital, † A. 530. *Carthage*, and took King *Hilderick* Prisoner, with his two Nephews, *Hoamer*, and *Edemer*, his Brother, the former of whom he caus'd immediately to have his Eyes put out.

(4) VITA FULGENTII ad diem 1. Januar.

gentii. The Acta Concilii Carthaginienfis sub Bonifacio de A. 525. are related, T. II. Concilior. p. 1071.

(5) These Councils are mention'd in Vita Ful-

The Begin-
ning of Jus-
tinian's Reign,
&c.

§ LII. WE now draw near to the Time, in which all those Circumstances met, that were destin'd for the Overthrow of the *Vandalick* Kingdom. The Emperor *Justin* died, *A.* 527, on the first Day of *August*; and *Justinian*, with whom he had four Months before divided the Government, remain'd now, with *Theodora*, his Consort, sole Master of the Empire. Historians give various Accounts of the personal Qualifications of this Emperor; especially as *Procopius*, who extols him so much, throughout all his other Writings, afterwards represents him very differently in his *Anecdota* (1). But we find, in Reality, that the *Roman* Empire had not been govern'd by so great Prince, after the Times of *Constantine*. He demonstrated, during his Reign, how much he had been conversant with the Sciences (2), for he not only digested the *Roman* Laws, into a new Order; but interposed likewise, as many imagine, too far into Ecclesiastical Matters; he moreover generally drew the Draughts himself, of those great and splendid Edifices, which he caused to be erected in all Parts of the Empire, (and of which *Procopius* wrote a separate Work.) He never went to the Field; but his Generals were successful, in those great Wars, which he carried on in the *East*, in *Africa*, and in *Italy*. His Consort, *Theodora*, had actually a Share in the Government with him, not alone by his private Consultations with her, such as *Augustus* held with his *Livia*; but likewise, in such Manner, that, in the Laws, publick Records, and other Monuments of this Time, she is mention'd as Co-Administrator. As much as Authors differ, concerning her Education; as ambiguous some are likewise, in the Account they give, how she pass'd her youthful Days; but they unanimously extoll her Understanding and Beauty, to which she first ow'd her Marriage, and afterwards her Promotion to the Imperial Throne. Notwithstanding *Justinian* found the Empire involv'd in a War with the *Persians*, yet he, at the very Beginning of his Reign, form'd two important Designs. He caus'd the ancient *Roman* Laws to be brought into Order, which seem'd, as it were, an Omen of the Restoration of that Empire in the *West*, for whose Laws, the People who were formerly govern'd thereby, still retain'd a great Veneration, even under their new Lords. He caus'd the new *Codex* to be first publish'd, *A.* 529, which was follow'd by the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*; and, at Length, by another Edition of the *Codex*, which had, in the mean Time, been revised. And

§. LII. (1) PROCOPIUS's Anecdots were publish'd by Alemannus, and afterwards by Eichelius, with a Consutation: which is likewise the Tendency of RAVII Apologia Justiniani, TRIVORII Ob-

servatio Apologetica and Ludwig's Vita Justiniani.

(2) Of Justinian's Studies see PAGIUS ad A. 528. n. 2, 3.

these Things have perpetuated the Memory of his Reign, even after the Decay of so many fine Buildings, of the Fruits of so many Wars, and even almost of the Empire itself. He resolv'd, in the second Place, to extirpate, in the *Roman* Empire, the Residue of *Pagans*, and the Sects, that separated from the national Religion (3), which latter was impracticable, unless he conquer'd those Nations, that profess'd *Arianism*. The Churches, he seiz'd upon, were possess'd of immense Riches (4); which contributed to the Execution of his Design, and enabled him to wage War with the Enemy at their own Expence. The Commotions in *Africa*, afforded him a convenient Opportunity, to make a successful Beginning. The *Vandals* were involv'd in civil Discords, and, which was yet worse, had very much deviated from their ancient Valour, and rigid Discipline. For as formerly *Hannibal's* Soldiers, in *Campania*, gave themselves up to Luxury, so did now the *Vandals* in *Africa*. During their long Peace with the *Romans* and *Goths*, they had neglected the Arts of Navigation and War, and, instead thereof, spent their Time in Hunting; erecting splendid Villas; on publick Shews, Baths, Banquets, and other Diversions, which abounded in *Africa* (5). Their Tye of Friendship with the *Ostro-Goths* was dissolved; but they, indeed, were themselves not very formidable, after the Death of *Theoderick*. *Justinian* therefore took the Part of the imprison'd King *Hilderick*, in Pursuance of that Amity which had subsisted between them. He sent Ambassadors to *Gelimer*, and requir'd of him, to set his Uncle and lawful King, at Liberty. When this Mediation, as is easy to conceive, prov'd fruitless, he made Use of this Refusal for a Pretence to a War (6), and, in the Year 533, made a

(3) THEOPHANES: Imperator Justinianus abstulit omnes hæreticorum ecclesias, easque Orthodoxis concessit, exceptis iis, quæ Arianorum Hexacionitarum essent. *I have explain'd the Words Ariani Hexacionitæ, in the third Annot.*

(4) ПОСОР. *Anecd. cap. 2.* In horum, quos vocant, hæreticorum, fanis, ac iis præsertim in quibus Arianæ secta celebraretur, opes recondebantur, plane supra quam credibile cuiquam sit, &c. Horum ergo templorum publicata bona prædæ fuerunt Justiniano Augusto,

tidianis omnes balneis, & mensæ, conquestis terrarumque suavissimis cibis extractæ, insueverant. Aureo plerique cultu, & veste Medica (sericam adpellant hodie) splendidi, ac spectaculis ac ludis Circensibus, ceterisque deliciis; præsertim in venatione toti erant, saltatoribus ac mimis instructissimi, aurium oculorumque voluptatibus affluebant, quas homines e concentibus Musicis, & rebus ad spectu præclarissimis capiunt. Multi in pomariis benignissimis, riguis, atque optime confitis habitabant. Crebra inter illos convivia, & in omni re venerea accuratissima exercitatio.

(5) IDEM *de Bello Vandal.* L. 2. c. 6. p. 248. D. Nam illi ex quo Africam occupaverant, quo-

(6) IDEM, L. 1. c. 10. p. 203. B.

Peace with the *Persians*, in Order to be the better able to pursue his Design against the *Vandals*.

He sends out
Belisarius,
with a Fleet,
&c.
† A. 468.

§ LIII. MANY of his Nobles, and particularly the *Præfectus Prætorii*, were averſe to this War, and related to him the fatal Event of a Project of the ſame Kind, form'd by the Emperor *Leo* †: But the True-Believers excited him the more, and a certain Biſhop told the Emperor, that God had declar'd to him in a Viſion, that the Emperor would conquer the *Arians*, and recover the Dominion of *Africa* (1). The Emperor's Subjects were unexperienc'd in Naval-Matters, and *Italy* and *Sicily*, with the Coaſts of *Gaul* and *Spain*, on the *Mediterranean*, were under the Dominion of the *Goths*. But *Amalaſuinth* had made a Treaty with the Emperor (2), by Virtue of which the Ports of *Sicily* were to be open to the Imperial Fleet. The Circumſtances that induc'd her to enter into an Alliance with the Emperor, occaſion'd her not to conſider, how dangerous a Situation the *Gothick* State would be in, if *Africa* ſhould fall into the Hands of the *Romans*, inſtead of the *Vandals*: Or ſhe did not perhaps foreſee the Extent of the Emperor's Views: For he at firſt made Uſe of another Pretence. One *Pudentius* had rais'd a Revolt in *Tripolis*, and deſir'd the Emperor's Aid. Immediately after, a *Goth*, nam'd *Godas*, to whom *Gelimer* had granted *Sardinia*, in Conſideration of the Payment of an annual Tribute, revolted. This *Godas*, at the ſame Time, aſſum'd the Title of King in *Sardinia*, and begg'd *Juſtinian's* Aſſiſtance, to be the ſooner deliver'd from the *Vandalick* Dominion (3). *Juſtinian* gave the Command of this War to *Belisarius*, *Magiſter Militiæ Orientis*, whom, in the Sequel, we ſhall have Cauſe to regard as the greateſt General of this Age. He was, in a Manner, the King's Countryman, a Native of the City of *Germania* (4), on the Borders of *Thrace* and *Mœſia*, and had before fill'd the Poſt of Armour-Bearer to the Emperor *.

§ LIII. (1) PROCOPIUS. L. I. cap. 10.

(2) IDEM, L. I. cap. 14. p. 211. C.

(3) IDEM, L. I. cap. 10. Quidam erat inter ſubditos Gelimeris, Godas, natione Gothus: animoſus Vir, ſtrenuus, & robore ſingulari præditus: qui rebus domini impenſe ſtudere videbatur. Propterea Gelimer Sardiniam ei commiſerat, cum annui tributi onere. Is vero cum infirmioris eſſet animi, quam ut fortunæ gratiam, difficili cibo ſimilem, concoqueret, ac ſalubriter ferret; in ty-

rannidem incubuit, nec ſolum tributo, ſed ipſa etiam inſula Vandalos ſpoliavit, &c. He continues thus: In Sardiniam perveſtus Eulogius Godam offendit Regio jam nomine, habituque inſignem, & ſatellitio ſtipatum.

(4) IDEM, L. I. cap. 11. Originem autem ducebat Belisarius ex Germania, quæ inter Thracas, & Illyricos ſita eſt.

* DORYPHORUS.

Antonina

Antonina, his Wife, a Confident of the Empress *Theodora*, had as great an Influence over her Husband, as her Mistress had over the Emperor. The Fleet set Sail in the Year 533, in the Middle of Summer. The Army that was imbarc'd, consisted of 10,000 Foot-Soldiers, and 5000 Horse, some of which came from the *Roman* Provinces, others were Foreigners. The Fleet consisted of 300 Vessels, which together requir'd 20,000 Seamen. There were besides these, 92 Ships, call'd *Dromones*, made Use of in those Times, at Sea-Fights, which were furnish'd with 2000 Rowers, all enlisted at *Byzantz* (5). *Justinian* had given to *Belisarius* a Kind of *Manifesto*, address'd to the Nation of the *Vandals*, the Import of which was, that he did not intend to break the Peace, concluded with the Emperor *Zeno*, but to support their lawful King (6): However the Event sufficiently shew'd what his real Design was.

§ LIV. WHEN the Fleet had reach'd the *Eastern* Coasts of *Sicily*, not far from Mount *Ætna*, *Belisarius* sent *Procopius*, who accompanied him in this Expedition, as well as on those into *Italy*, to *Syracusa*, to enquire into the State of the *Vandals*, whilst he, with the Fleet, put into the Haven of *Camarina* (1). *Procopius* brought Intelligence, that the King of the *Vandals* was apprehensive of nothing less than to be attack'd in *Africa*, whereupon he immediately set Sail; touch'd at the Islands of *Gozzo* and *Malta*, and, the next Day (2) landed in *Africa*, at *Capatuada*, which Place was situate in the *Provincia Byzacena* five Days Journey Eastward from *Carthage* (3). *Belisarius* here disembark'd his Men without Molestation, a Circumstance, on which the Success of an Expedition almost wholly depends. *Gelimer* had just before dispatch'd *Tzazo*, his Brother, with a select Army of *Vandals*, to *Sardinia*. He was himself at that Time at *Hermione*, a City in the District of *Byzacena*.

(5) PROCOPIUS. L. 1. cap. 11, 12.

tite, ut pace & libertate fruamini. Nos enim vobis hæc præstituros, teste Deo, pollicemur.

(6) PROCOPIUS cites this Manifesto in the following Words: Nec Vandalis bellum indicimus, nec pacem solvimus a Gizerico factam, sed vestrum tollere Tyrannum aggredimur, qui testamento Gizerici spreto, Regem vestrum asservat in vinculis, atque e propinquis quos quidem maxime oderat, ipso statim initio interfecit; reliquos vero luminibus orbatos custodia detinet, ærumnas letho finire vetans. Igitur juvate nos, & conjuncta opera tam impiæ tyrannidis jugum excu-

§ LIV. (1) *Caucana*: now *Scamari*.

(2) He landed Sept. 15. Conf. PAGIUS, ad A. 533. 6.

(3) PROCOPIUS. L. 1. c. 14, 15. Justinian afterwards caus'd a City to be built in this Place, as Procopius relates, de Ædific. 6. 6.

He

He sent Ambassadors to *Theudis*, King of the *Wist-Goths*, to establish a Friendship, and conclude an Alliance with him. But this Prince was appriz'd of the Landing of the *Greeks* before the Ambassadors could arrive at his Court (4). *Belisarius* march'd thro' *Leptis* and *Adrumetum*, directly to *Carthage*. *Gelimer* sent an Order to *Ammatas*, his Brother, whom he had left in that Capital, to cause the Captive King *Hilderick*, and his principal Adherents, to be instantly put to Death. He himself made Preparations to fall upon *Belisarius*, on his March to *Carthage*; and *Ammatas* was order'd, with his *Vandals*, to sally out of that City, and attack the *Greeks* in the Van. *Gelimer* was on their Rear; and, by the Way, dispatch'd *Gibamund*, his Brother's Son, to annoy them on the Flank. The Attack was to be made, as soon as the Imperialists arriv'd near *Decimum*, not far from *Carthage*, where there was a *Defilee*: But *Ammatas* advanc'd too far, before the Troops could be got together that were to follow him from *Carthage*; and paid his too great Forwardness with his Life. *Gibamund* fell in with a Detachment of *Huns*, by whom he was defeated. *Gelimer*, who was on his March with the main Army, fell, hereupon, into such Confusion, that he turn'd aside, and went to *Bulla*, towards the Borders of *Numidia*, notwithstanding that, according to the Opinion of *Procopius*, he must certainly have gain'd the Victory, if he had even alone attack'd the Imperialists, who were under great Apprehensions. *Belisarius* came therefore unmolested to *Carthage*: The Inhabitants open'd the Gates to him, with great Joy, and the *Vandals*, who were in the City, took Refuge in the Churches. *Belisarius* made his Entry the next Day, and din'd in the Palace, on the very Provisions that had been prepar'd for King *Gelimer*, whose Servants were oblig'd to attend him. The *Carthaginians*, at the same Time, remov'd the Chain they had laid across the Entrance into their Port, that the Fleet might enter. *Belisarius* offer'd no other Violence to the *Vandals*, who were fled into the Churches, than to oblige them to lay down their Arms, and to surrender themselves Prisoners: He then caus'd the Walls of the City, which were, in some Places, pretty much decay'd, to be repaired (5). He spar'd those Inhabitants, who were descended from the *Roman Provincials*, as much as possible, and endeavour'd to draw the Chiefs of the *Mauri*, who dwelt in *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, and *Byzacena*, over to his Party. These had been accusom'd, in former Times, when *Africa* was in the Hands of the *Romans*, to receive of the Emperor those *Insignia*, which, with them, constituted the

(4) PROCOPIUS, Lib. 1. cap.

(5) PROCOPIUS, Lib. 9. cap. 20.

Royal Dignity: They were likewise afterwards honour'd with the same, by the Kings of the *Vandals*; and now *Belisarius* sent them the like Tokens of Royalty, in the Emperor's Name, with a considerable Sum of Mony (6), by which Means, at least, he kept them from interrupting his Conquests.

§ LV. *TZAZO* had, in the mean Time, soon quell'd the Insurrection at *Sardinia*, and hasten'd back to *Africa*. He join'd his Brother at *Bulla* (1), on the Borders of *Numidia*. Here they rallied all the Forces they could, and *Gelimer* undertook to besiege the Enemy in *Carthage*. He depended on a good Understanding with the *Arians*, who were in the City, and had likewise gain'd the *Hunns*, that serv'd in the *Roman Army*, who promis'd him to come over to the *Vandals*: But *Belisarius* detected and frustrated these Designs, and march'd out to meet *Gelimer*, whereupon an Engagement ensued, at *Tricamaro*, not far from *Carthage* (2). The Imperial Cavalry begun the Attack, and *Tzazo* himself lost his Life, at the Beginning of the Battle. *Gelimer* thereupon retreated into his Camp, and fled, the ensuing Night, with some few of his Household, in the greatest Privacy, to *Numidia*, without so much as leaving any Orders behind him. The *Vandals* were no sooner appriz'd of his Escape, than they dispers'd, in the utmost Consternation, and left their

An Engagement near
Tricamaro:
Gelimer's
Flight.

(6) PROCOPIUS. *Lib. 1. cap. 25. p. 232. A.* Nam quotquot in Mauritania, Numidia, Byzacio Mauris imperabant, Belisarium per legatos de suo in Augustum obsequio fecerant certiore, sociaque arma promiserant. Quidam liberos obfides dederant, & principatus insignia petierant, more antiquo. Hæc enim vetus erat consuetudo, ut nemo, quamvis Romanorum hostis, pro Maurorum rege se ante gereret, quam ab imperatore Romano insignia regia accepisset: quibus donati solum a Vandalis, male fundatam regni possessionem putabant. Ea porro insignia sunt hujusmodi, Virga argentea, auro oblita: argenteus item pileus, qui non totum caput obtegit, sed coronæ instar eminet, argenteis circumdatus vitiis: alba insuper lacerna, quam ad humerum dextrum aurea fibula colligit, morfuque nectit, in modum Thessalicæ chlamydis. Accedit alba itidem tunica, figuris variata; denique illud auro calceamentum. Hæc ad unumquemque Belisarius misit, adjectis pecuniæ donis amplissimis. Nec tamen arma ei junxerunt,

sicuti nec Vandalis ausi sunt suppetias ferre; verum sese integros servantes, belli exitum intentis animis expectabant. *The Ensigns of Royalty which Scipio presented to the Numidian Prince, Masinissa, are somewhat differently describ'd in Livy, 30. 15. Ibi Masinissam primum Regem appellatum, eximiusque ornatum laudibus, aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli, & Scipione eburneo, toga picta, & palmata tunica donat. Addit verbis honorem, neque magnificentius quicquam triumpho apud Romanos, neque triumphantibus ampliorem eo ornatu esse, quo unum omnium externorum dignum Masinissam populus Romanus ducat.*

§ LV. (1) *Bulla Regia, now Beje, in the Kingdom of Tunis.*

(2) PROCOPIUS describes this Battle, *Lib. 2. cap. 3. It was fought about the Middle of December, A. 533.*

Camp a Prey to the Enemy. The Romans found immense Riches in it: They cut to Pieces all the Men they met with in their Pursuit, and made the Women and Children Prisoners. By this Defeat, *Gelimer* lost all his Hopes, in *Africa*. He could have no Dependence on Fortresses: For *Geiserick* had caused the Walls of all the Cities, excepting *Carthage*, to be razed; that he might have the less to apprehend from them. *Gelimer* escaped to Mount *Papia*, in *Numidia*, inhabited by a Nation of *Mauri*, then in League with him; where there was a City call'd *Medenus*, on the Top of a steep and inaccessible Hill. *Belisarius* remain'd at *Hippon* †, and order'd *Pharas* (3), General of the *Heruli*, to block up this mountainous Fortress of the King of the *Vandals*. He himself took, in the mean Time, Possession of *Cesarea* (4), *Centa*, and the other Places along the Coasts, and made some Detachments, which, without any Difficulty, subdu'd the Islands of *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, *Ebusa*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca*.

† *Gelimer* surrenders.

§ LVI. *GELIMER* hoping he should be able to escape to *Spain*, when reduc'd to the greatest Streights in *Africa*, had already embark'd the most valuable of his Treasures, in a Ship, which he entrusted to a faithful Servant, with Order to make the best of his Way thither before-hand: But this Ship fell into the Hands of *Belisarius*, and *Pharas* block'd up the King so closely, that no Provision could be convey'd to him, nor any one come from him. *Gelimer*, with his Adherents, suffer'd, during this Siege, which lasted three Months, not only all the Miseries of Hunger and Want; but was, in a more particular Manner, burthen'd with the much greater Affliction of seeing his Nation dispers'd; his Treasures lost, and himself destitute of Friends, without any Hopes of escaping †. *Procopius*, on this Occasion, relates, that *Gelimer* once entreated *Pharas* to grant him three Things, some Bread, a Sponge, and a Harp; the first to satiate his Hunger; the second to wipe off his Tears, and the third to dispel his Melancholy; but I leave it undetermin'd, whether the King of the *Vandals* entertain'd any such Thoughts, or whether the Historian invented this Letter, as he did the other Letters and Speeches, which are interspers'd in his History. *Pharas* offer'd him, that if he would surrender, the Emperor

(3) *PROCOPIUS* *ibid.* cap. 4. He mentions the *Eruli*, on this Occasion, but little to their Honour: *Rarum sane est maximaque dignum commendatione, si quis Erulus nec perfidus, nec ebrius, sed virtutis sit compos.* giers, but this, upon a more narrow Enquiry, proves to be false.

(4) Some imagine *Cæsarea* to be the present *Al-*

§ LVI. † *SALUST.* *Jug.* 10. Non exercitus, neque thesauri, præsidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: officio, & fide pariuntur.

would

would create him a *Patricius*, and grant him a competent Estate somewhere else, which would be always more eligible, than to be a Slave among the wild Inhabitants of *Numidia*. Necessity at last compell'd him to accept of this Offer, and *Belisarius* sent *Cyprian*, and some other Commanders, to swear, in his Name, to the Articles agreed on; after which they accompanied *Gelimer* to *Carthage*. *Procopius* relates, that, when he appear'd before the General, he began to laugh aloud, which, it is pretended, arose from his Magnanimity, and a Desire to shew that he was not dejected at his unhappy Fate *.

§ LVII. *BELISARIUS* return'd hereupon to *Constantinople*, *Belisarius's*
Triumph.
Subversion of
the Kingdom
of the *Vandals*. with the greater Expedition, because he had intercepted Letters, wherein the Writers insinuated to the Emperor, that he intended himself to assume the Government of *Africa*. He made a splendid Entry there, which might renew the Memory of the Triumphs ancient *Rome* had admir'd, when *Scipio* conquer'd *Carthage*, and *Jugurtha*, King of *Numidia*, was led a Prisoner by *Marius* (1). *Gelimer* himself appear'd at it, cloath'd in Purple, with all that were related to the Royal House, and a long Train of the most eminent Persons of his Nation. *Procopius* is very lavish in his Account of the costly Spoils that were carried about for a Show. Those Riches were in particular distinguish'd, which *Geiseric*, when he sack'd *Rome*, carried away from that City, and from the Palace of the former Emperors. Among these were likewise the Vessels of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, which *Titus* found among the Spoils, when he took the Capital of *Judea* (2). The conquer'd *Vandals* drew likewise, by their comely Appearance and Stature (3), the Eyes of the Spectators on them. When *Gelimer* enter'd the *Circus*, where *Justinian* and *Theodora* sat, and saw the Splendor of the Court and City, which was assembled there, he several Times drop'd these Words of *Solomon*: *Vanitas Vanitatum, & omnia Vanitas*. This he could say by Experience, having, for about a Year, reign'd over so powerful a Nation: But both himself and his People would have been much more happy, had he con-

* *PROCOPIUS*. Lib. 2. cap. 6, 7.

Templi Hierosolymitani treats at large of these Vessels.

§ LVII. (1) *PROCOPIUS*. describes this Triumph, Lib. 2. cap. 9. with which compare what he says thereof, Lib. 1, *Æde dificiis*.

(3) *PROCOPIUS*. de *Bello Vandalico*, Lib. 2. c. 4. *Milites enim, ut erant omnes oppido homines, & affectionibus humanis obnoxii, cum & ingentes divitias, & corpora singulari forma prædita, in suam repente potestatem redacta cernerent, animum nec tenere, nec oblati explere poterant.*

(2) *PROCOPIUS's* Words are cited, Vol. 1. L. 10. § 3. n. 8. *Hadrianus Relandus* de *Spoliis*

sider'd this Vanity of human Things, before he suffer'd his boundless Ambition to prompt him to usurp the Kingdom by Force and Injustice. When he approach'd the Imperial Throne, he was oblig'd to lay aside the Purple, to throw himself at the Emperor's Feet, and to bow his Face to the Ground, which was at that Time the usual Reverence, given even from the *Consuls* to the Emperor (4), and which was paid by the victorious *Belisarius*, as well as by the subdued *Gelimer*. For such was the Pride of the Emperors, that they assum'd Divine Titles and Honours, and *Justinian*, that zealous Defender of Christianity, requir'd a Veneration, which *Trajan*, and other worthy Emperors, tho' *Pagans*, refus'd to accept of (5). When *Belisarius*, at the Beginning of the ensuing Year, 535, enter'd, with a publick Procession, upon his *Consulate*, he triumph'd, in a Manner, a second Time. He caus'd himself to be carried about the City by Prisoners, and dispos'd of Part of the Booty of the *Vandals*, in such Liberalities, as the *Consuls* generally exercis'd at their Accession to that Dignity. The Emperor gave *Gelimer* considerable Estates in *Galatia*, for the Support of himself and Family. He would likewise have nominated him *Patricius*, which had been promis'd him in *Africa*; but *Gelimer*, would not quit the *Arian* Sect, and *Justinian* refus'd to break thro' the Law, which he himself had made, by Virtue of which, that Honour could be confer'd on none but a *Catholick*. *Hilderick's* Daughters were provided for at Court, in a Manner suitable to their Station; because *Eudoxia*, his Mother, was a Daughter of the Emperor *Valentinian*, and she was consequently related to the *Anicii*. The King caus'd the Captive *Vandals* to be sent into the Cities in the *East*. They were call'd *Vandali Justiniani*, and *Procopius* commends the Services they did the *Romans*, on those Confines, against the *Persians*. About four Hundred, who were to follow *Belisarius* to *Constantinople*, had forc'd their Mariners, by the Way, to return to *Africa*, where they associated themselves to the *Mauri*, and, together with those who had been here and there left behind, gave the *Romans* fresh Trouble (6); but they were at last so intermix'd with the other Inhabitants, that the Name of *Vandals* was no longer heard of. *Procopius* relates, that those *Vandals*, who remain'd in their Country, in the foregoing Century, when *Godegisil* abandon'd it,

(4) *Conf. L. 4. Cod. de Conf. this Ceremony is* Non tu civium amplexus ad pedes tuos deprimis, there call'd: adorare purpuram. nec osculum manu reddis.

(5) *PLINY says in Praise of Trajan, in Paneg.*

(6) *PROTOP. Lib. 2. cap. 14.*

were

were likewise, in the mean Time, extirpated by other Nations (7), whereby those who were conquer'd in *Africa*, were also depriv'd of this Refuge. Such was the Downfall of the Kingdom of the *Vandals*. If the Foundation of it, by *Geiserick*, appears wonderful; it seems no less extraordinary, that *Belisarius*, who, when he set Sail, knew not where he was to land, should now, with so small a Number of Troops (for he could only make Use of his Cavalry) and in so short a Time, dethrone the King of the *Vandals*; disarm, take Captive; and, together with their King, carry off the whole Nation (8). Thus severely does God exercise his Judgments, over crown'd Heads and Nations, who, having no Judge in this World, ought to be the more mindful of him, who rules over them in Heaven.

§ LVIII. *JUSTINIAN*, who, for his Part, was very ready to assume the pompous Titles of *Alanicus*, *Vandalicus*, & *Africanus*, appointed, *A. 534*, a *Præfectus Prætorii*, in *Africa* (1). According to the ancient Division of the Kingdom, one Part of *Africa*, namely, *Mauritania Tingitana*, was, as belonging to *Spain*, included in the *Prætorium Galliarum*, and the Rest, in the *Prætorium Italie*: But now the *Goths* possess'd *Italy* and *Spain*, and the *Franks* were Masters of *Gaul*, it was thought more proper to appoint a particular *Præfectus Prætorii* over *Africa*. He caus'd several Cities to be rebuilt, some to be fortified, among which was *Ceuta*, and others to be adorn'd with new Edifices (2). *Carthage* and *Adrumetus*, the Capital of *Byzacena*, were, in Honour of him, call'd *Justiniana*, and the City of *Baga*, in the *Provincia Consularis*, was, from the Empress, nam'd *Theodorias*. All the *Roman* Laws and Customs were restor'd (3). The Church, and especially that of *Carthage*, (4) had

Justinian's
Surnames of
Alanicus, Vandi-
calicus, &c.

(7) PROCOPIUS. Lib. 1. c. 22.

(8) PROCOPIUS concludes his Account of the Vandalick War, with the following Observation, Lib. 2. cap. 7. Quantum est, quod quina advenarum millia (tot enim equites, qui soli bellum gessere cum Vandalis, secum advexerat Belisarius) cum portum, in quem appellerent, non haberent, Gizerici abnepotem, ejusque regnum, divitiis, ac militibus pollens, everterint tam brevi tempore? Mirandum profecto seu fortunæ, seu virtutis opus.

§ LVIII. (1) We find this Institute in Justinian's Codex, under the Title: de Officio Præfecti Prætorio Africae. F. PAGIUS indeed affirms, ad A. 534. n. 4. that it was made, A. 533: But from the Institute itself, it appears to have been made in the Year 534, Indictione 12. Emissa lex Idib. Aprilis C. P. D. N. Justiniano P. P. A. IV. & Paulino V. C. Coss.

(2) PROCOPIUS. de ædific. L. 6. cap. 5, 6. seq.

(3) Nov. 36. Ut Africa quæ Vandalorum temporibus vel ipsis, vel propriis parentibus, vel

(4), had most Cause to rejoice at this Revolution. A numerous Council was held in that City, *A. 535*(5), and the Churches obtain'd many of the Spoils, that had been taken from the *Arians*. These suffer'd now, with the greatest Rigour, for that Misery they had before reduc'd the *Catholicks* to. The Exercise of their Religion was prohibited, as was that of all other Sects, rejected by the national Church, and they were excluded from all publick Offices (6). *Justinian* was indeed, immediately after, forc'd to carry on a much more bloody War, in *Africa*, against his own mutinous Soldiers, and against the *Mauri*, who had almost shaken off their Yoke, and taken to themselves the Dominion of these Provinces: But this is foreign to our Subject.

§ LIX. I SHALL only add one Observation on the Political Views, both of the *Catholicks* and *Arians*, which, about this Time, had so great an Influence on State Affairs. The Populace were perhaps ignorant, with

Political
Views of the
Catholicks and
Arians.

avis utriusque sexus, vel ex transverso cognatis, usque ad tertium gradum erepta sunt; intra quinque annorum spatium vindicent, nisi legitimis excludantur præscriptionibus, &c. and lower: Ut omnes Afri Romanis legibus subditi sint.

Point, whether the Church in Africa could appeal to the Pope at Rome? which is maintain'd by CHRISTIAN LUPUS, in Op. de appellationibus ad sedem Romanam, and MARC. ANTON. CAPELLUS, in a particular Treatise.

(4) There is a remarkable Passage in Justinian's Laws, concerning the Jus Metropoliticum of the Bishop of Carthage, Nov. 131. c. 4. Simili quoque modo jus Pontificis, quod Episcopo Justinianæ Carthaginis, Africanæ civitatis, dedimus, ex quo Deus hanc nobis restituit, servari jubemus. Sed & aliæ civitates, & earum episcopi, quibus in diversis locis metropoliticum jus præstitum est, hujusmodi privilegio in perpetuum potiantur. Some Learned Men imagin'd, that the Bishop of Carthage was declared Head of all the Churches in Africa: But two Institutes of this Emperor are extant, wherein he confirms the ancient Constitution of the Churches in Africa: Ed. Pith. p. 238. Si quæ igitur metropolitano Carthaginis, vel Primatibus Numidiæ, vel Vifatii, Conciliorum autoritas præstitit, & inoffensa Consuetudo servavit, hoc sibi quisque optet, sibi vindicet, hoc nostra speret sanctione firmari. But this is not the proper Place to enquire farther into this, nor to discuss the other

(5) Of this See BARONIUS ad b. a.

(6) Nov. 37. Ab Arianis ablata capiunto, sibi que habent, ecclesiæ Africanæ: ut tamen publicas pro illis pensiones conferant: ab iisdem acceptis immobilibus a nemine lædendis. Hæreticus non baptizato, ad Rempublicam non accedito, catechumenum non circumcidito. Nulla omnino hæresis domum aut locum orationis habeto. This latter is explain'd by a remarkable Passage in Procopius, L. 2. cap. 14. His maxime ad seditionem faciem Vandali sacerdotes subdebant, frementes ereptam sibi facultatem vacandi, ut soliti erant rei divinæ, & ad mysteria, sacraque omnia præclusum aditum. Etenim Justinianus Aug. Christianis, qui non recte sentirent, baptisinate, mysteriisque omnibus interdixerat. Inprimis festum Paschale eos urebat, quo infantes suos divino lavacro mergere, cæterisque ad festum hoc pertinentibus operari prohibebantur.

Regard

Regard to those subtle Queries, on which their Teachers were divided (1): But were no less zealous for that Party, to which they had once adher'd. The *Arians* were greatly increas'd, after the *Northern Nations* had founded such mighty Kingdoms. They were likewise conniv'd at in the *Roman Empire*; and could even arrive at the *Consulate*, and other Posts of Honour. The True-Believers, besides their Zeal for the Purity of their Faith, maintain'd the Infallibility of that Church, which had condemn'd *Arius*, at the Council of *Nice*. The *Arians*, on the other Hand, had likewise a Church Government, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and we find the Title of Patriarch among them. They were zealous for their Churches, and a rigid Discipline: And those in *Africa*, persecuted the *Orthodox* Bishops and Teachers, with great Cruelty. Thus were the spiritual and temporal Views of both Parties different. What Wars, what Controversies did they not occasion? What Projects have not been form'd by one, to weaken the other? The Cloak of Religion was often made Use of, to palliate an Inclination for another's Property. What Revolutions in the State, have there not been stir'd up or promoted by these Factions? In *Gaul*, the Disposition of the *Catholicks* prov'd advantageous to *Clovis*, in his Wars with the *Burgundians* and *Wisi-Goths*. In *Africa*, *Hunoric* offer'd a more favourable Treatment to the True-Believers, if they would second *Hilderick*, his Son, in his Pretensions to the *Vandalick* Throne, which, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, was settled on the eldest of the Family (2). The *Orthodox Christians* sometimes proceeded with Lenity. Conferences were held; Conversion was made easy to the *Arians*; and as their Baptism was, besides, allow'd to be valid †, so neither were their Clergy, if they became Converts, so absolutely rejected*.

§ LIX. (1) In the Times nearest after the Nicene Council, an explicit Confession τῆς ὁμολογίας was not insisted on in the Creed, as Petavius observes in Animadvers. ad Epiphanium, ad hæresin 72. and Pagius ad A. 341. n. 25.

(2) VICTOR VITENSIS, L. 4. p. 70. Jurate, inquit, si post obitum Domini nostri Regis, ejus filium Hilderich desideretis esse Regem, vel si nullus vestrum ad regiones transmarinas epistolas diriget: quia si sacramentum hujus rei dederitis, restituet vos Ecclesiis vestris.

† Those Arians who became Converts to the Catholic Church, needed not to be re-baptiz'd: For

after the Confession of their Faith, they only laid their Hands on them, and gave them the Chrisma. Of this see F. le Cointe, ad A. 496. n. 81-90.

* Can. 10. CONC. AURELIANENSIS de A. 511. De hæreticis clericis, qui ad fidem Catholicam plena fide ac voluntate venerint, vel de basilicis, quas in perversitate sua Gothi hæctenus habuerunt, id sensuimus observari, ut si clerici fideliter convertuntur, & fidem Catholicam integre profitentur, vel ita dignam vitam morum & ædium probitate custodiunt, officium quo eos Episcopus dignos censuerit, cum impositæ manus benedictione suscipiant, & Ecclesias simili, quo nostræ innovari solent, placuit ordine consecrari.

They

They endeavour'd to gain young Princes, and by Marriages to promote the Wellfare of the Church. Sometimes they had Recourses to Compulsion: But then the Heads of the opposite Community made Use of Reprials (3); insomuch that they kept each other in Awe. The Conversion of the *Franks* was, in the *West*, the greatest Support of the *Catholick* Party: But their Church was very much weaken'd in the *East*, especially in the Reign of *Anastasius*, by the Controversies of the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*: However, it no sooner gain'd the Superiority under *Justin*, than it began to encrease in *Italy* and *Africa*. *Justinian* undertook, by Force, to recover the Provinces, and, at the same Time, to restore the true Religion in them. The Success of his Arms in *Africa* pay'd the Way for him into *Italy*, against the *Goths*.

(3) AVITUS in *Ep. de Hæreticorum Oratoriis non recipiendis*, inter *Opera*, p. 43. Quid tamen si nunc quisquam de vicinis Regibus Legis alienæ

ulcisci in Regione sua similiter velit, quod hic sacerdotibus suis doluerit irrogari?

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K XII.

To the YEAR DL.

SECT. I. **T**HEODEBERT, *King of Austrasia.* II. *The Kings of the Franks wholly reduce Burgundy under their Power.* III. *The Reign and Death of Athalaric, King of the Wisi-Goths.* IV. *Amalfrin makes Theodehat her Partner in the Gothick Throne; and is murder'd by him.* V. *Justinian takes, from thence, a Pretence for a War with the Ostro-Goths.* VI. *Makes a League with the Kings of the Franks, for this Purpose.* VII. *Theodehat's Negotiations with Justinian.* Belisarius conquers Sicily, and goes into Italy. VIII. *The Goths revolt from Theodehat. Vitiges is made King. He causes Theodehat to be murder'd.* IX. *He gives up Provence, and a Part of Rætia, to the Franks.* X. *Rome surrenders to Belisarius.* XI. *Vitiges lays Siege to Rome.* XII. *Belisarius deposes Pope Sylverius, and appoints Vigilius to succeed him.* XIII. *He receives Succours. Vitiges sends Ambassadors to the Emperor.* XIV. *The Imperialists take Rimini. Ravenna is in Danger, on which Account Vitiges raises the Siege of Rome.* XV. *Milan revolts from the Goths. Theodebert sends some Thousands of Burgundian Auxiliaries to the Goths.* XVI. *Belisarius pursues Vitiges. The Goths reduce Milan and the other Cities in Liguria, to their Allegiance.* XVII. *Vitiges in vain demands the Aid of the Longobards. He prevails on the King of the Persians to*
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declare War against the Emperor. XVIII. Theodebert's Expedition into Italy. Why Justinian stil'd himself Franciscus? XIX. Belisarius besieges Ravenna. Vitiges refuses an Alliance with the Franks. XX. Justinian's Proposals for a Peace. The Goths offer the Kingdom to Belisarius. He dissembles with them. The Goths surrender Ravenna. XXI. Justinian recalls Belisarius. A Part of the Goths choose Ildebad for their King. XXII. Belisarius's Departure from Constantinople. XXIII. Ildebad assembles the Residue of the Goths. Beats Vitalius near Trevigo. XXIV. Ildebad is murder'd. XXV. The Rugi set up Eraricus for King: Totilas is elected by the Goths. Eraricus is murder'd. XXVI. Childebert and Clotarius, Kings of the Franks, go into Spain against the Wisi-Goths. XXVII. Continuation of the Gothick War in Italy. The Design of the Imperialists on Verona. Totilas defeats them near Foenza. XXVIII. He sends Troops into Tuscany. The Siege of Florence. The Goths beat the Imperialists near Mugello. XXIX. Totilas passes the Tyber. Takes Benevento. Lays Siege to Naples. Recovers Apulia and Calabria. XXX. Justinian constitutes Maximinus Præfectus Prætorii Italiæ. His Expedition is fruitless. Totilas takes Naples. XXXI. The Emperor sends Belisarius a second Time into Italy. XXXII. Totilas besieges Rome. Belisarius retreats to Durazzo, to be the sooner re-inforc'd. A Famine in Rome. XXXIII. Belisarius's Projects to relieve Rome. John, in the mean Time, conquers Apulia, &c. XXXIV. Belisarius endeavours in vain to convey Provisions into the City. XXXV. Totilas takes Rome. His Speech to the Senat. XXXVI. He proposes an Accomodation to Justinian: Pulls down the Walls of Rome. Re-takes Apulia. Marches to Ravenna. XXXVII. Belisarius enters Rome, and causes the Walls to be rebuilt. Totilas is forc'd to retreat. XXXVIII. Belisarius recall'd from Italy. His farther Adventures. XXXIX. Totilas takes Rome a second Time. XL. Theodebert, in the mean Time, takes some Places in Italy. XLI. His Design against the Emperor. Particular Medals of him. His Death. He is succeeded by his Son Theodebald. XLII. The Bavarians extend themselves in Noricum. Of their Descent, and when they became subject to the Franks?

Theodebert,
King of Au-
strasia.

§ I. **I**N the mean Time, Theoderic, King of *Austrasia*, died about the Year 534 (1). To what I mention'd before of his successful Wars, I must here add, that he reduc'd a Part of those Saxons, who border'd on the Dominions of the Franks, to be tributary to him (*). He was suc-

(1) This Computation is confirm'd by Pagius ad A. 530. n. 16. See, towards the Conclusion, Annot. XXIII.

(*) This is concluded from a Passage in Gregory: Lib. 4. c. 14.

ceeded by *Theodebert*, his only Son by his first Wife. His Kinsmen *Childebert* and *Clotarius* immediately took to Arms, in Hopes of excluding him from the Succession, and dividing *Austrasia* betwixt themselves: But the People adher'd firmly to *Theodebert*, and when he march'd against them, with a powerful Army, they left him in the uninterrupted Possession of his Father's Kingdom. *Childebert*, in particular, express'd soon after so tender a Regard for him, that, having no Children himself, he promis'd to adopt him as his Son (2). *Theodebert's* Reign in *Austrasia* was as glorious, as that of his Father, and he abundantly recompens'd the Fidelity of his Subjects. The most ancient Historian of the *Franks* speaks as much in Praise of his Lenity, and Love of Justice (3), as the Wars, he carried on, bear Testimony of his Valour.

§ II. CHILDEBERT, *Clotarius*, and *Theodebert* made, the same Year †, an entire Conquest of *Burgundy* (1). King *Godomar* himself was taken Prisoner, and oblig'd to end his Days in that Condition. The Kings of the *Franks* shar'd *Burgundy* among them, but suffer'd the *Burgundians* to enjoy their Properties, their Laws and Customs, on Condition, that they should assist them, for the future, in their Wars, and pay a certain Contribution (2): And indeed the Name, as well as the ancient Customs, of the *Burgundians* were retain'd in those Countries. The Death of *Athalaric*, King of *Italy*, gave the *Franks*, soon after, Occasion to employ their Arms elsewhere.

The Kings of the *Franks* wholly reduce *Burgundy*, under their Power.
† 534.

(2) GREGOR. *Lib. 3. cap. 23.* Confurgentes Childebertus & Chlotarius, contra Theodebertum regnum ei auferre voluerunt. Sed ille muneribus placatis, a LEUDIBUS suis defensus est, & in regnum stabilitus. Videns autem Childebertus, quod ei prævalere non potuisset, legationem ad eum misit, & ad se venire præcipit, dicens: Filios non habeo, te tanquam filium habere desidero. Quo veniente tantis eum muneribus ditavit, ut ab omnibus miraretur. Nam de rebus bonis, tam de armis, quam de vestibus, vel reliquis ornamentis, quod Regem habere decet, trina ei paria condonavit, similiter & de equis, atque catinis.

relevans, & multa multis beneficia, pia ac dulcissima accommodans voluntate.

§ II. (1) MARIUS in *chron.* PAULINO JUN. *Coss. (534)* Reges Francorum Childebertus, Clotarius & Theodebertus Burgundiam obtinuerunt, fugato Godomaro Rege, regnum ipsius diviserunt. *Marius's Computation is confirm'd by Pagius ad A. 532. n. 17.*

(2) PROCOPIUS, *de Bello Goth. Lib. 1. cap. 13.* Deinde Germani cum Burgundionibus, qui supererant armis congressi, adeptique victoriam, eorum Regem, in castellum quoddam regionis illius coniectum, asservarunt custodiis: ipsos vero ad obsequium redactos, secum in posterum militare coegerunt, ut bello captorum conditio postulabat, & locis omnibus quæ Burgundiones ante coluerant, vestigal imposuerunt.

(3) GREGORIUS, *L. 3. cap. 25.* *Speaks thus in Praise of Theodebert:* At ille in Regno firmatus, magnum se atque in omni bonitate præcipuum reddidit. Erat enim Regnum cum justitia regens, sacerdotes venerans, Ecclesias munerans, pauperes

The Reign
and Death of
Athalaric.

§ III. ATHALARIC'S Mother had administred the Government to the best of her Power. Pope *Boniface* II, attempted to free the Church of *Rome* from the Necessity of obtaining the Consent of the *Gothick* Kings, at the Papal Elections; and, at a Synod, nominated *Vigilius*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, for his Successor: But the Court asserted its Prerogative; *Boniface* was oblig'd to ask Pardon; and his Nomination was annull'd at another Synod (1). *Amalaswinth* was greatly perplex'd, when she plainly perceiv'd her Son would not be long liv'd; and that a powerful Faction, among the *Goths*, were disaffected to her. *Procopius* relates, that she enter'd into a Treaty with *Justinian*, in Order to retire into the Imperial Dominions (2). The Emperor treated, at the same Time, with *Theodebat*, a Son of *Amalaberg*, *Theoderic's* Sister, who possess'd great Estates in *Tuscany*, to assist him in his Design of possessing that Province: For this Prince was disaffected to the Court, because the Queen-Regent insisted upon his restoring certain Lands, which he had, by Oppression, taken from his Neighbours. *Athalaric* died during these Negotiations, A, 534. His Memory is preserv'd by the following Inscription in *Pavia* (3):

† DN. ATALARICUS REX †
GLORIOSISSIMUS HAS
SEDIS SPECTACULI ANNO
REGNI SUI TERTIO FIERI
FELICITER PRÆCEPIT.

Amalaswinth
makes *Theode-*
bat her Part-
ner in the *Go-*
thick Throne.

§ IV. AMALASWINTH was now accustom'd to rule, and desirous of keeping the Helm in her Hands. She was qualify'd for it, in every Respect, and, among other Commendations, is said to have been a perfect Mistress of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues. She was, nevertheless, diffident of her Capacity to sway the Scepter alone: She fear'd, the disaffected Party might find it easy to render a female Government odious to the *Goths*, and resolv'd to admit her Kinsman *Theodebat*, whom I have just mention'd, to be her Assistant in the Government; hoping, he would be satisfisd with that Honour, and leave her the Sovereign Power. He was advanc'd in Years, and had Children at their full Growth. His natural Temper was more bent on Study, than War: And he was not only acquainted with the *Platonick* Philosophy, but even conversant in Theology. But how expert soever he may perhaps have been in discoursing on the Duty of a Man, and the Art of governing; yet his Philosophy

§ III (1) See the 9th Annot.

(3) *Ap* GRUTER. p. 168. n. 9.

(2) PROCOP. de Bel. Gotb. Lib. 1. cap. 3.

must have been but weakly grounded in his own Heart. It was but a very bad Prefage of it, that he was several Times, in the Reign of *Theoderic*, and afterwards in that of *Athalaric*, oblig'd to restore the Properties of others, which he had unjustly appropriated to his own Use. She sent for him to *Ravenna*, and bound him under an Oath, that, tho' he bore the Title of King, he should do nothing without her. Both *Amalaswinth* and *Theodebat* notified this Election to the Emperor and Senat at *Rome*: But many, even among the *Goths*, were dissatisfied with it. The Queen herself had soonest Cause to repent of her Error, in thinking, by her Benefactions, to amend an evil Disposition. *Theodebat* gain'd all the *Goths*, who had been discontented in the late Reign, and made himself sole Master of the Administration, caus'd his Benefactress to be imprison'd, to be carried to an Isle in the *Lago di Bolsena*, and there, some Time after, to be strangled, in her Bath. He sent *Liberius* and *Opilio*, two Senators, to the Emperor, to justify his Proceeding: Tho' *Procopius* says, in another Place, that the Empress *Theodora* privately instigated *Theodebat* to this cruel Act, because the Excellencies, this *Gothick* Princess possess'd, both in Body and Mind, her Extraction, and Design of coming to the *East*, awak'd in her too great a Jealousy with Regard to her Husband (*).

And is murder'd by him.

§ V. JUSTINIAN, who had long form'd a Design of recovering *Italy* for the Empire, and had now concluded his War with the *Vandals*, was resolv'd not to lose so fair an Opportunity. He pretended, that he was oblig'd to revenge the Death of Queen *Amalaswinth*. *Mundus*, *Magister Militiæ per Illyricum*, was order'd to invade *Dalmatia*, and immediately took *Salona* (1): And *Belisarius*, who was *Consul*, the same Year, set Sail with a Fleet. On this Fleet, were no more than seven thousand Men (2): And almost three thousand of these were enlisted in *Isauria*, two hundred were *Hunns*, and three hundred *Mauri*. It was reported, that he was sent to *Carthage*: But his Orders were to land in *Sicily*, and,

Justinian takes, from thence, a Pretext for a War with the *Goths*.

§ IV. (*) See, towards the Conclusion, the 22d Annot.

§ V. (1) The Beginning of the Gothick War must be plac'd in the Year 535, which *Pagius* demonstrates against *Baronius* ad A. 535. n. 15.

(2) *PROCOPIUS* describes *Belisarius's* Army, *loc. cit.* L. 1. cap. 5. *Belisarium* quoque *Augustus* cum classe misit, agentem secum quatuor militum mil-

lia ex numeris militaribus & fœderatis, & *Isauros* ter fere mille. Præcipui Duces erant *Constantinus* & *Bessas* Thraces; *Peranias* in *Iberia*, quæ *Medis* vicina est, e domo Regis *Iberum* ortus, & ad *Romanos* jam pridem transfuga, propter invisos *Persarum* mores. Equestribus numeris præerant *Valentinus*, *Magnus*, & *Innocentius*: pedestribus, *Herodianus*, *Paulus*, *Demetrius*, & *Ursicinus*: *Isauros* ducebat *Ennis*: *Hunni* socii sequebantur bis centum, *Mauri* trecenti.

if.

if he met with a suitable Opportunity, to conquer that Isle; but if not, to conceal the Design; and continue his Voyage actually to *Africa*.

For this Purpose, he enters into a League with the Kings of the *Franks*.

§ VI. JUSTINIAN sent, at the same Time, an Ambassy to the Kings of the *Franks*. He intimated to them, that the *Goths* not only took *Italy* by Force from the Empire, but had likewise again dealt so injuriously by him, that he was necessitated to take up Arms against them: He hop'd, the Kings of the *Franks*, being Princes of the *Orthodox* Church, would not refuse to join their Force with his, against the *Arians*. The Ambassadors paid them, at the same Time, a Subsidy in Money, and promis'd to second it with another (1). The Kings of the *Franks* actually declar'd War against *Theodehat*, and made Use of the same Pretence, that they were oblig'd to revenge the Death of *Amalaswinth*, their near Relation (she being the Daughter of *Clovis's* Sister) (2). They might have been apprehensive, that the Extirpation of the *Goths* would pave a Way for the Emperor into *Gaul*, as the Conquest of *Africa* had excited him to an Attempt on *Italy*: But by the Event we shall find, that their principal View was to make the best Advantage to themselves of the War they were going to engage in.

Theodehat's
Negociations
with *Fustli-*
man.

§ VII. THEODEHAT endeavour'd, at first, to avoid the War, by proposing amicable Treaties. Pope *Agapetus* was even sent to *Constantinople*

§ VI. (1) PROCOPIUS L. I. cap. 5. p. 319. D. Tum quoque ad Francorum Principes legationem his literis misit: Quoniam Gothi non modo Italiam, quam habent, ditioni nostræ ereptam vi, restituere nolunt, sed injurias etiam nobis nec tolerabiles, imposuerunt, non laceffiti; ipsis bellum inferre coacti sumus. Nobiscum vos id suscipere convenit, quod commune facit cum germana religio, erroris Ariani expultrix, tum odium, quo æque ut nos dissidetis a Gothis. Hæc scripsit Imperator, quibus amplum pecuniæ munus addidit, plura pollicitus daturum se, rem aggressis. Illi fortia arma lubentissime promiserunt.

(2) GREGORIUS says, Lib. 3. cap. 31. that the Kings of the *Franks* only threaten'd a War with *Theodehat*. Quod cognoscentes hi Reges *Childebertus* & *Chlotarius*, consobrini ejus, nec non &

Theodebertus, quod scilicet tam turpi fuerat interfecta supplicio, ad *Theodehatum* legationem dirigunt, exprobantes de morte ejus, atque dicentes: Si hæc, quæ egisti, nobiscum non composueris, Regnum Tuum auferemus, & simili pœna te damnabimus. But it actually ensued. *Vitiges*, immediately after his Election, speaks thus, Procopius L. I. cap. 2. Certe scitis, Gothorum quam plurimos, ac fere omnem armorum apparatus, in *Galliis*, *Venetiis*, & regionibus remotissimis esse. Præterea cum *Francis* non levius isto susceptum habemus bellum: quo non bene composito extremæ dementiæ fuerit aliud inchoare. The Hostilities probably began in *Provence*. A Letter in *Cassiodori* Var. XII. 28, which seems to have been written A. 537, intimates, that likewise some Troops of *Burgundians* and *Alemanni* invaded *Liguria*, but were beaten by the *Goths*.

§ VIII.

for

for that Purpose (1), who to defray the Expences of his Journey, pawn'd some of the Plate belonging to St. *Peter's* Church (2). The Senat wrote likewise to the Emperor, and begg'd he would not distress *Italy* with a War. *Theodehat* himself made advantageous Proposals to the Emperor's Ambassador at his Court (3), and had almost resolv'd to resign his Throne voluntarily †: But the *Goths* being in the mean Time, successful in *Dalmatia*, he took Heart, and refus'd to give any farther Ear to his own Proposals. *Belisarius* landed, on the other Hand, at *Catanea*, and the Cities of that Island open'd their Gates to him, with joyful Acclamations: For *Theoderic*, to oblige the *Romans*, had station'd but few *Goths* in *Sicily*, which was still regarded as the Granary of *Italy* (4). The *Goths*, in *Palermo*, attempted to oppose him; but were soon oblig'd to surrender. *Theodehat* had sent *Ebremuth*, his Son in Law, to *Reggio*, on the Streight of *Sicily*, to keep *Belisarius* from landing in *Italy*. He likewise offer'd to the Kings of the *Franks* that Country

§ VII. (1) *LIBERATUS DIACONUS in Breviario, cap. 21.* Quo tempore Theodatus Rex Gothorum scribens ipsi Papæ, & Senatui Romano interminatus non solum Senatores, sed & uxores, & filios, filiasque, se gladio interemturos, nisi egissent apud Imperatorem, ut destinatum exercitum suum de Italia submoveret. Sed Papa pro eadem causa Constantinopolin profectus est. In *Cassiodori Var. L. 11. cap. 13.* we find a Memorial, which was about this Time sent to the Emperor, in the Name of the Roman Senat, about obtaining a Peace with the *Goths*, and was, it seems, sent by the Hands of Pope Agapetus.

(2) *VAR. Lib. 12. ep. 20.*

(3) It may be worth while to quote from *Procopius l. c. the Offers* *Theodehat* at first made. Tandem convenit, ut omni *Sicilia* *Theodatus Justiniano Aug.* cederet: ad ipsum quotannis, coronam mitteret auream, trecentum pondo, ac ter mille bellatores *Gothos*, quando collibitum eidem esset: ne liceret *Theodato* Sacerdotum quemquam, aut Senatorum, privare vita, vel ejus bona publicare, nisi de Imperatoris sententia: Si quos e subditi, ad Patriciatum provehere vel in Senatum legere vellet: id illis ne daret ipse; verum peteret ab Imperatore: in spectaculis ac ludis *Circensibus*, & ubicunque faustis populi *Romani* acclamationibus locus est, primum *Justiniano Aug.* semper acclamaretur, deinde *Theodato*; huic nunquam soli

statua ex ære aliave materia poneretur, at utrique semper, & eo quidem ordine, ut quæ exprimeret Imperatorem, dexteram; quæ *Theodatum*, sinistram obtineret.

† *IDEM L. c.* Among *Cassiodorus's Letters*, we likewise find many, which were wrote to the Emperor and Empreß by *Theodehat* and *Gudelinda*, his Consort.

(4) *Totilas* afterwards reproaches the *Romans* with this; in *Procopius loc. cit. Lib. 3. 16.* Quamobrem *Romani* *Theodericum* ipso initio rogarunt, insulæ frequens Gothorum præsidium imponere nollet, ne ipsorum libertati felicitatique officeret. Eò loci res erat, quando hostilis exercitus in *Siciliam* appulit numero rebusque omnibus nobis impar. *Siculi*, conspecta classe, non id *Gothis* renunciarunt, non se commiserunt munitionibus, non hostem repellere decreverunt: sed promptissime, patefactis urbium portis, inimicas nobis copias porrectis manibus acceperunt; jamdiu, infidelissimorum mancipiorum ritu, aucupati, ut opinor, occasionem, evadendi fuga ex herili manu, & novos ignotosque sibi *Dominos* nanciscendi. Inde hostes, tanquam ex propugnaculo erumpentes, universam labore nullo occuparunt *Italiam*, & hac potiti urbe, tantum ex *Sicilia* advexerunt frumenti numerum, ut *Romanis* omnibus anno integro, quo obsessi fuere, suffecerit.

which

A. 536.

which the *Goths* possess'd in *Gaul*, together with a considerable Sum of Money, if they would quit the *Imperial* Party and enter into Alliance with him (5): But his Son-in-Law himself join'd the *Græcians*, and was created *Patricius* by the Emperor (6). *Belisarius* therefore landed in *Italy* without Resistance †, after having left a Garrison in *Palermo* and *Syracusa*; and boasted, in every Place, that he came to free *Italy* (7). He met with good Success in *Calabria* and *Apulia*, where the *Goths* had no Garrison: Upon which he march'd into *Campania*. The *Goths* were pretty numerous in *Naples*, and had many Adherents among the Citizens. They depended therefore on a Siege: But *Belisarius* took the Place by Storm, and gave it a Prey to the Soldiers, the more to terrify those Cities which perhaps intended to adhere firmly to the *Goths*.

The *Goths* revolt from *Theodebat*, &c.

§ VIII. THEODEHAT had before incurr'd the Odium of the People, and, now that his Son-in-Law had associated himself to the *Greeks*, was suspected of carrying on a private Intelligence with the Enemy. The Chiefs of the Army assembled near *Terracina*, declar'd him unworthy of the Throne, and, in his Room, elected *Vitiges* (1), their principal Field-Officer, who had formerly acquir'd great Renown in War. They immediately plac'd him, according to ancient Custom, on a Shield, and proclaim'd him King (2). *Theodebat* no sooner heard this News, than he fled from *Rome* towards *Ravenna*; but was overtaken and kill'd by some of

(5) PROCOPIUS. *Lib. I. c. 13. p. 345. C.*

(6) IDEM, *Lib. I. c. 8. p. 326. D.* E. Gothis Ehrimuth, gener Theodati, cujus filiam Theodenantham uxorem duxerat, cum omni suo comitatu ad Belisarium transfugit, & statim ad Imperatorem profectus, præter honores alios, Patritii dignitatem obtinuit.

(7) IDEM, *Lib. I. c. 8. p. 327. D.* Ergo missum ad vos, ceterosque Italos in libertatem vindicandos, exercitum Imperatoris accipite.

§ VIII (1) Of this see Annot. 22.

(2) In CASSIODORI VARIAR. *Lib. 10. ep. 31.* We find the Manifesto, wherein Vitiges notifies to the Gothick Nation his Promotion to the Throne. The Comparison he makes of his Promotion with the Proceedings, when Athalaric and Theodehat were nominated Kings, sufficiently shews, that he disap-

proved thereof. Unde auctori nostro Christo gratias humillima satisfactione referentes, indicamus, parentes nostros. Gothos inter procinctuales gladios, more majorum scuto supposito, regalem nobis contulisse, præstante Deo, dignitatem; ut honorem arma darent, cujus opinionem bella pepererant. Non enim in cubilis angustiis, sed in campis late patentibus electum me esse noveritis: nec inter blandientium delicata colloquia, sed tubis concrepantibus sum quæsitus: ut tali fremitu concitatus, desiderio virtutis ingenitæ, Regem sibi Martium Geticus populus inveniret. Quamdiu enim fortes viri, inter bella ferventia nutriti, Principem ferre poterant non probatum, ut de ejus fama laborarent, quamvis de propria virtute præsumerent? Neceffe est enim, talem de cunctis opinionem currere, qualem gens meruit habere rectorem. Nam sicut audire potuistis, parentum periculis evocatus adveneram, communem cum omnibus subire fortunam: Sed illi ducem me sibi esse

of *Vitiges's* Men (3). The new King hastned to *Rome*, where *Theodegiscus*, *Theodehat's* Son, fell into his Hands: He then went to *Ravenna*, to regulate the new Government. He left *Leuderis*, a valiant Commander, in whose Experience he greatly confided, with four thousand *Goths*, in Garrison at *Rome*. Pope *Sylverius*, the Senat and Citizens were oblig'd to swear Allegiance to him (4), and many Senators were forc'd to attend him, as Hostages, to *Ravenna*. Here he put away his former Wife, and oblig'd the Princess *Mataswinth*, *Amalaswinth's* Daughter, to supply her Place (5), that, by this Alliance to *Theoderic's* Family, he might render his Government more agreeable to the *Goths* in general: But the Princess herself, for what Reason does not appear, shew'd a perpetual Aversion to him. The Treasures, which *Theoderic* had amass'd in the Isle in the *Lago di Bolsena*, and in *Orvieto*, were by him expended in putting his Nation into a vigorous Posture of Defence: But he, however, sent an Ambassy to *Justinian*, with whom he had been well acquainted, before his Accession to the Imperial Throne. He entreated him, since *Amalaswinth's* Death was reveng'd on *Theodehat*, and her Daughter was plac'd on the *Gothick* Throne, to lay down his Arms, and to restore the good Understanding, that had before subsisted betwixt the two States (6).

§ IX.

esse non passi sunt, qui exercitatum Regem quære-
re videbantur. Quapropter primum divinæ gra-
tia, deinde Gothorum favete judiciis: qui me
Regem omnes facitis, qui unanimiter vota con-
fertis.

(3) *Theodehat was murder'd*, A. 536, and, at
soonest, after the Expiration of June. *PAGIUS* ad n. 11.
Of the Place see *Cont. Marcellini*, ad *A. Post Con-*
sul. Belisarii: (536) In loco, qui dicitur *Quin-*
tus, juxta *Santernum* fluvium.

(4) *PROCOPIUS*. L. 1. cap. 11. p. 339. Deinde
Sylverium, urbis antistitem, Senatū populumque
Romanum multis idem commonefecit, reductoque
in memoriam regno *Theoderici* omnes hortatus
est, ut Gothorum genti præstarent, benevolentiam
sibi que eorum fidem gravissimo Sacramento de-
vinxit.

(5) *IDEM* Lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 339. Eo cum
pervenisset, *Mathasuntham*, *Amalasunthæ* filiam,
maturam jam viro virginem, invitam duxit in

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matrimonium, ut certius sibi regnum assereret hoc
intimo nexu cum stirpe *Theoderici*.

(6) *This the Letter directed to Justinian*, in *Cas-*
fiodor. Var. X. 22. shews: Nam si vindicta Regis
Theobaldi quæritur, mereor diligi: si commen-
datio divæ memoriæ *Amalasuenthæ* Reginæ præ-
oculis habetur, ejus debet filia cogitari, quam nisi
vestrorum omnium perducere decuisset ad regnum;
ut cunctæ gentes potuissent agnoscere, vicissitudi-
nem vos gratiæ tanto pignori reddidisse. Illud
etiam vos debuit permovere, quod distributione
mirabili ante regni fastigia invicem nos divinitas
vestra fecit habere notitiam, ut amoris causam
tribueret, quibus aspectus gratia contulisset. Quali
enim reverentia Principem colere potui, quem
adhuc in illa fortuna positum suspexi?

And to the Magister officiorum at the Imperial
Court, he writes in the following Letter: Refugere
vos enim potuisset ignotus: ego autem, qui or-
natum Reipublicæ vestræ vidi, qui tot nobilium
corda procerum cognovi, non me desidero a piissi-
simi

He resigns, to the Franks, the Country, which the Ostro-Goths possess'd in Gaul, &c.

§ IX. AND as he found, that the *Goths* in *Provence* would be of no Service to him in *Italy*, and unable to resist the *Franks*, he concluded the Treaty, begun by *Theodebat*; and, besides the Payment of the Sum stipulated, resign'd to the *Franks* whatever the *Ostro-Goths* had till then possess'd in *Gaul*, between the *Alps*, the *Rhone*, and the *Mediterranean* (1), together with that Part of *Rætia* (2), which *Theoderic*, King of the *Goths*, had granted to those *Alemanni*, who, after having been defeated by *Clovis*, took their Refuge to him (3). The three Kings, *Theoderic*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius*, divided these Countries among themselves: and promis'd, in Return, to send him Auxiliaries of the *German Nations* under their Dominion, since they could not themselves appear publicly in the Field, by Reason of their Alliance with the Emperor. *Procopius* relates, that *Justinian* confirm'd this Grant to the Kings of the *Franks*; and adds several other Circumstances, that require farther Examination (4). We may, with most Probability, conclude; that *Childebert* and *Clotharius* had their Share in *Provence*. Medals are extant of *Clotharius*, which were struck at *Arles*, and others of *Childebert*, coin'd

fimi Principis gratia dividere, si me velit, quæ sunt iusta cogitare. Nam si alter offensam meruit, ego debeo gratissimus haberi, qui odio cum vindicta successi. Vestros amicos sum secutus, præmia mihi fuerant reddenda, non læsio. Ep. 24. and 25. relate likewise to this Ambassy.

§ IX. (1) PROCOPI. Lib. 1. c. 13. p. 346. C. Ergo mittuntur statim ad Germanos Legati, qui illis Gallia cedant, datoque auro componant societatem. Tunc Reges Francorum erant Childebertus, Theodebertus, & Chlotharius: qui traditam sibi Galliam, ac pecuniam, inter se pro cuiuscunque Regni proportionem dividerunt, promiseruntque, se Gothis amicissimos fore, & auxilia missuros clam, non Francorum, sed nationum quibus imperarent. Nec vero poterant adversus Romanos societatem coire palam, Imperatori in hoc bello operam paulo ante polliciti.

(2) To Procopius's Account we must add a Passage in Agathias, relating to the giving up of *Rætia*, and the Surrender made to the *Alemanni*: He says, Lib. 1. p. 17. D. Gothi Francorum captantes gratiam, ut quorum amicitiam summe ex peterent, tum alia loca deservere, tum etiam *Alemanni* abstiterunt. &c. And soon after: Hunc in modum desertam gentem *Alemannorum* sibi sub-

didit Theodebertus, eoque mortuo ad filium ejus cum cæteris populis hi quoque pervenerunt. This Passage of Agathias is illustrated by F. Daniel, T. 1. p. 90.

(3) See above L. 11, § VIII. not. 6.

(4) PROCOPI. Lib. 3. cap. 33. D. Belli hujus initio, Gothi, ut in libris dixi superioribus, tota Gallia parte sibi subdita, Germanis cesserant, illis ac Romanis resistere, si simul non posse rati. Quod ne fieret, adeo non impedire Romani potuerunt; ut Justinianus Augustus id confirmaverit; ne ab his Barbaris, si hostiles animos induerent, turbaretur. Nec vero Franci Galliarum possessionem sibi certam ac stabilem fore putabant, nisi illam Imperator suis literis comprobavisset. Ex eo tempore Germanorum Reges Massiliam, Phocensium coloniam, ac maritima loca omnia, adeoque illius maris imperium, obtinuerunt. Jamque Arelate Circensibus præfident, & nummos cudunt ex auro Gallico, non Imperatoris, ut fieri solet, sed sua impressos effigie. Monetam quidem argenteam Persarum Rex arbitrato suo cudere consuevit: auream vero, neque ipsi, neque alii cuiquam Barbarorum Regi, quamvis auri domino, vultu proprio signare licet: quippe ejusmodi moneta commercio vel ipsorum Barbarorum excluditur.

at

at *Marseilles*. *Theodebert* obtain'd that Part of *Retia* which the *Goths* resign'd. Thus the *Franks* became Masters of the whole Nation of the *Alemanni*. The two valiant Commanders and Brothers, *Leutharis* and *Bucelinus* soon after reviv'd the Name of their warlike Country-Men in *Italy* (5). *Leutharis*, in particular, merits our Notice; as the succeeding Dukes of *Alemannia*, who gave Rise to the illustrious House of *Habsburg-Austria* (6), were descended from him.

§ X. BELISARIUS left Garrisons in *Naples* and *Cuma*, the two only fortified Places in *Campania* (1), and march'd directly towards *Rome*. The *Romans* perhaps fear'd the same Fate with the Inhabitants of *Naples*, or many might be disgusted with the *Gothick* Dominion, and therefore resolv'd to surrender to the *Imperialists*. To this the urgent Persuasions of *Sylverius* greatly contributed. A Deputation was therefore sent to meet *Belisarius*, and to treat about the Surrender (2). The *Goths*, whom *Vitiges* had left at *Rome*, could not, under these Circumstances, pretend to defend the City, and so capitulated only for a safe Retreat. Thus *Belisarius* enter'd *Rome*, on the 9th of *December*, A. 536, at the *Porta-Asinaria*, and the *Goths* march'd out, the same Day, at the *Porta Flaminia* (3). *Leuderis*, their Commander, imagining the *Gothick* State to be totally subverted, remain'd there, and was oblig'd to go to *Constantinople*, when *Belisarius* sent the Keys of the City to the Emperor. This General now sent *Constantinus* to *Toscana*: But *Bessas*, one of those *Goths* (4) who

Rome surrenders to Belisarius.

(5) AGATHIAS: Fratres hi erant gente Alemanni, sed apud Francos eximie honorati, quippe & suæ nationis Duces pridem facti, Theodeberto volente.

(6) ECKARD. *Hist. Fr. Or.* p. 68. & in *Originibus Habsburgo-Austriacis*.

§ X. (1) PROCOPIUS. *L. I. c. 14. p. 347. A.* Dum hæc agit Vitigis, interea Belisarius, Romanæ cogitans, professionem parat. Itaque trecentis militibus, e peditatu delectis, præfectoque Herodiano, Neapolim credidit. Quot etiam Cumanæ arcis custodiendæ suffecturos putavit, tot eo misit: cum in Campania, præter Cumas & Neapolim, nullus esset munitus locus.

(2) PROCOPIUS, *L. I. c. 14. p. 347. B.* In exercitum Belisario, Romani, calamita-

tem Neapolitanæ similem veriti, re perpensa, fatius esse judicarunt Imperatoris copias in urbem accipere: eos ad id maxime impellente Sylverio, Civitatis Pontifice. Mox Fidelium, Mediolano, urbe Liguriæ oriundum, qui prius Atalarici Affessor fuerat, (hæc dignitas lingua Romana dicitur Quæstor) ad Belisarium legant, eumque Romam hoc invitant promisso, citra pugnam se urbem se dedituros.

(3) IDEM, p. 348. M. Gothi vero, qui Romæ præsidium agitabant, cum adventare hostem audissent; nec lateret eos Romanorum consilium, ex eo valde erant solliciti, quod urbem tueri, & accedentibus repugnare minime poterant. Inde postmodum, cum bona Romanorum venia, profecti, concesserunt omnes Ravennam; excepto Leuderi ipsorum Duce; quem, ut opinor, præsentis fortunæ timor ibi tenuit. Illa die evenit,

(4) who remain'd in *Thrace* when *Theoderic* went to *Italy*, took *Narni*. The *Goths* were likewise overcome in a Battle near *Perusia*. *Vitiges* now repented his Departure from *Rome*: He dispatch'd *Asinarius*, and *Uligisalus* to *Dalmatia*, to oppose the *Imperialists* there, and with the whole Remainder of his Force, which, according to *Procopius*, consisted of 150,000 Men, march'd thro' the Country of *Sabina* towards *Rome*.

*Vitiges be-
sieges Rome.*

† *Ponte mole.*

§ XI. THE Soldiers, who were to cover the Bridge over the *Tyber*, were so terrified, that they fled, and suffer'd the *Goths* to pass unmolested over the River. *Vitiges* could not invest the whole City, and therefore divided his Army into six Bodies, and encamp'd them (1) round that Part of it which reaches from the *Porta Prænestina* to the *Porta Flaminia*; and likewise block'd up the Bridge, which is there laid over the *Tyber* †; so that the *Goths* could send out Parties, unmolested, as far as the *Porta Aurelia*, now *St. Peter's* (2). They had Recourse to all the Arts, then made Use of in Sieges; they cut off the Aqueducts, and erected Towers and battering Rams against the Walls: But *Belisarius*, on his Part, had provided every Instrument of Defence, such as Cross-Bows, Slings, and whatever could resist a Storm: When the *Goths* approach'd with their Towers, the Bullocks, which drew them, were kill'd with Arrows, and those Preparations thereby render'd useless. The *Goths* tried all possible Stratagems and Force, to scale sometimes one Gate, sometimes another. *Procopius* relates, that the *Imperialists* and *Goths* encounter'd 69 several Times during this Siege (3); chiefly, indeed, only in Skirmishes, but sometimes in capital Engagements. The *Imperialists* had this great Advantage, that as well *Belisarius's* Cavalry, as the *Hunns*, were excellent Archers: Whereas the *Gothick* Archers were all Infantry, and the Troopers bore only a Spear and Sword, and were consequently of no Service, unless they came to a close Engagement (4): But a Want of Provisions, on the

ut quo tempore Romam Belisarius cum Imperatoris exercitu per portam, quam Asinariam vocant, intrabat, eodem inde Gothi per aliam, quæ Flaminia appellatur, excesserint. Atque ita recepta est Roma die IX Decembris, anno postquam capta fuerat sexagesimo, qui fuit XI imperii Iustiniani. Tum Leuderin, Gothorum Ducem, & portarum claves, ad Imperatorem Belisarius misit.

(4) IDEM L. I. c. 16. p. 351. C. Erat hic Belisarius natione Gothus, ex eorum stirpe, qui in Thracia jam diu habitabant, nec Theodoricum secuti

fuerunt, inde Gothos in Italiam ducentem. Animo impigro ac bellica virtute præditus, optime ductabat milites, & res dextere per se ipse agebat.

§ XI. (1) The Siege was begun in March 537. Conf. PAGIUS ad A. 538. n. 2. seq.

(2) PROCOPIUS, L. I. c. 19. p. 358.

(3) IDEM L. 2. c. 2. p. 393. A. Sunt autem patrata in hac obsidione certamina LXVII. aliaque postrema duo, de quibus dicam postea.

(4) PROCOPIUS L. I. c. 27. A. Hoc demum differre, quod Romani ferme omnes, Hunnique, eorum

the other Hand, was a great Discouragement to the *Romans*, especially after the *Goths* were Masters of *Porto*. The People, and many of the Senators, made publick Complaints of the Emperor's Neglect (5), in making no better Preparations.

§ XII. ABOUT the same Time, an odd Revolution happen'd at *Rome*. *Belisarius* deposes Pope *Sylverius*. *Vigilius*, a *Roman* by Birth, who had already, in the Time of *Boniface*, discover'd his Ambition for the Papal Chair, was at the Imperial Court at *Constantinople*, in the Quality of *Sylverius's* Surrogate. He offer'd the Empress, *Theodora*, two hundred Pounds of Gold, if she would assist in raising him to that Dignity; and promis'd, with Regard to the religious Controversies of those Times, to enter into Measures with the Court for bringing them to an immediate Determination. *Theodora* employ'd *Belisarius* in this Affair, who under the Pretence, that *Sylverius* sided with the *Goths*, depos'd and banish'd him into the Isle of *Patara*: And *Vigilius* was nominated his Successor (1). *Antonina*, *Belisarius's* Wife, not only receiv'd the promis'd Sum of Mony, but likewise engag'd *Vigilius* to grant a Brief to the Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Constantinople*, and *Antioch*, in such Terms as the Empress required (2). It is uncertain, whether *Sylverius* really bore an Affection to the *Goths*: He gave at least no Proofs of it at first, when, as *Procopius* relates, he was the Chief to excite the *Romans* to open their Gates to the *Imperialists*. Several Senators were likewise banish'd the City, on Suspicion of holding a secret Intelli-

rum focii, equites, sagittarii sint peritissimi; huic autem arti Gothorum nemo operam dederit. Sed horum equites hastis tantum & gladiis uti solent: sagittarii vero pedibus pugnant, ordinibus pro-
fecti militum gravioris armaturæ. Quamobrem equites, nisi pugnetur cominus, quoniam armis carent, quæ adversus hostes sagittarios valeant, facile confixi cadunt: nec pedites unquam in equites incursiones facere possunt. Propterea Belisarius a Romanis victos in his congressibus Barbaros affirmabat.

cæteraque omnia vastari videbat; graviter commotus indignabatur, quod immerens obsideretur, & in tantum discrimen veniret. Quare collecti cives, aperte Belisario maledicebant; quod ab Imperatore minoribus, quam per esset, copiis instructus, non dubitasset bellum suscipere Gothicum, &c.

(5) IDEM, L. I. c. 19. p. 365. D. Populus vero Romanus, incommodorum belli obsidionisque omnino insolens, cum & illuvie & annonæ penuria premeretur, atque in muris cogeretur excubare pervigil, ac venturam brevi urbem putaret in potestate hostium, a quibus interea agros

§ XII. (1) *Vigilius* was ordain'd, Nov. 22. A. 537. Pagius ad A. 538. n. 6. And *Sylverius* died thereupon June 20. 538. Idem ad A. 539. n. 3. What I have here observ'd concerning him, is more circumstantially related by Card. Norisius in Hist. Synodi, &c; and by F. Pagius.

(2) This Brief is met with in *Liberatus*. Baro-
nius imagines it to be fictitious; which Pagius re-
futes, ad A. 538. n. 7. seq.

gence with the *Goths* (3). *Vigilius* found his new Pontificat a very arduous Office, as well with Regard to the Church, as to the State of *Italy*, and of the City of *Rome*, in particular.

He receives
Succours, &c.

§ XIII. SOME Succours arriv'd, at length, at *Naples*: And *Belisarius* manag'd Matters so well, that he got them safely into *Rome*, partly by the Way of *Ostia*, on the *Tyber*, and partly by Land (1). The *Goths*, on the contrary, were distress'd by Famine, which soon produc'd various Diseases. That Year prov'd a barren one, throughout all *Italy* †: And the *Goths* had besides no Force at Sea, so that when the Fleet arriv'd at *Naples*, the *Imperialists* became Masters of the Gulph, and cut off all the Avenues to their Camp (2). *Vitiges* enter'd into Negotiations with *Belisarius*. The Death of the Queen *Amalaswinth* was now no longer mention'd on the Imperial Part; they only pleaded, that the *Goths* had, by unjust Means, obtain'd the Possession of *Italy*. *Vitiges* offer'd to leave *Sicily*, the *Bruttii* and *Napoli* to the Emperor, and even to pay a Tribute: But *Belisarius* rejected all Proposals, unless the *Goths* entirely quited *Italy*. They concluded, at Length, that *Vitiges* might send Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to negotiate with the Emperor himself, and a Truce of three Months was, for that Purpose, agreed on. During this Time, the Famine encreas'd among the *Goths*, insomuch that, for Want of Provisions, they were oblig'd to quit *Porto*, *Centum Cellæ* (now *Civita Vecchia*) and *Alba*. The three Months expir'd, without any Answer from *Constantinople*. Now *Vitiges* indeed redoubled his Vigour and Cunning, to make himself at last Master of *Rome*: But an unexpected Diversion oblig'd him even to raise the Siege (*).

The Imperialists
take Rimini, &c.

§ XIV. *BELISARIUS* had sent an Order to General *John*, a Sister's Son of *Vitalian*, who, in former Times, had been in great Renown, to make an Incurfion into *Picenum*, with two thousand select Horsemen,

(3) PROCOPIUS. L. 1. c. 25. p. 374. C. Cum autem esset suspicio, Sylverium, Urbis Antistitem, cum Gothis prodicionem moliri; confestim eum relegavit in Græciam, ac Vigilium paulo post ad Pontificatum provexit. Quosdam etiam Senatores eandem ob causam in exilium missos, deinde post solutam obsidionem, discessumque hostium, restituit. In eo fuit numero Maximus, cujus progenitor Maximus, Valentiniano Aug. interitum attulit. The Fidelity of this Maximus to the

Goths is commended by Theodehat, VAR. L. 10. ep. 2.

§ XIII. (1) PROCOPIUS. L. 2. c. 5. and 7.

† This is confirm'd, by some Letters in Cassiodori VAR. L. 12. ep. 26, 27, 28.

(2) PROCOPIUS. L. 2. c. 7. p. 405. A. Barbaros ad victus penuriam redegerunt maxime Romani, qui sic mari dominabantur, ut nihil annonæ ad ipsos inferri sinerent.

* PROCOPIUS. L. 2. c. 4. & 7.

after

after the Expiration of the Truce. Now when the Hostilities before *Rome* were renew'd, *John* defeated *Ulitheus*, the *Gothick* General, a Kinsman of *Vitiges*, who attempted to oppose his March, and proceeded, without making any Stay at *Osimo* or *Urbino*, in both which Cities were Garrisons of *Goths*, directly for *Rimini*, but a Day's Journey distant from *Ravenna*: Foreseeing that, when the *Goths* should find the Capital of their Kingdom in Danger, they would soon be glad to quit *Rome*. The *Goths*, who were at *Rimini*, found the ancient Inhabitants to be of the *Imperial* Party, and therefore retreated to *Ravenna*; whereupon the latter very readily submitted to *John*. Even Queen *Mathaswinth*, who yet bore a great ill Will to her Husband, enter'd privately into very remarkable Negotiations with him (1). *Vitiges*, in this Extremity, having no Answer from the Ambassadors in the *East*, and the Famine becoming daily more and more insupportable, rais'd the Siege, in the Month of *March*, A. 538, after it had lasted a Year and nine Days. *Belisarius* made a Sally upon them on their Retreat, in which many were cut in Pieces, and many driven into the *Tyber*. *Vitiges* was now solicitous how to prevent *Belisarius* and *John* from joining: And in Order thereto, he plac'd Garrisons in *Orvieto*, *Chiusi*, *Cesena*, *Monteferetro*, and other Places, re-inforc'd those of *Osimo* and *Urbino*, and went himself to *Rimini* (2).

§ XV. But a fresh Flame arose, at the same Time, on the other Side of the *Po*: *Datius*, Bishop of *Milan*, and some of the most eminent Persons of that City, had, during the Truce, been at *Rome*, and intimated to *Belisarius*, that at the first Appearance of the *Imperial* Arms they could not only cause the Capital, but likewise all *Liguria* to submit to the Emperor (1). The *Goths* had no sooner quitted *Rome*, than *Belisarius* sent *Mundila*, a valiant Officer, with about 1000 Men, thither. They went by Sea from *Porto* to *Genua*; and from thence to *Parvia*, which Place being fortified by Nature, many of the *Goths* had deposited their best Effects there. This City they did not venture to attack: But *Milan* readily surrender'd, and was follow'd by *Bergamo*, *Como*, *Novara* and other Cities. *Vitiges* sent *Uraja*, his Sister's Son, with a consider-

*Milan revolts
from the
Goths.*

§ XIV. (1) PROCOPI. L. 2. c. 10. p. 411. B. Mathasuntha vero Vitigis uxor, cum graviter esset marito infensa, quod principio per vim ei juncti tori consortio fuisset, ut Joannem Ariminum venisse rescit, gaudio cumulata, per occultum internuntium de nuptiis & prodicione colloqui cum eo cepit.

§ XV. (1) PROCOPI. L. 2. c. 7. p. 406. B. Sub idem tempus Mediolanensis Antistes Datius, ac cives primarii, cum Romam venissent, a Belisario modicum petiere præsidium, satis virium sibi fore asseverantes ad eripiendum Gothi nullo negotio, vindicandumque Imperatori non modo Mediolanum, sed Liguriam quoque universam. Pagius ad A. 538. n. 22. endeavours to fix the Time when Datius went to Rome.

able

(2) IDEM, L. 2. c. 10 & 11.

able Number of Troops to *Liguria*. The *Franks* could likewise no longer behold the Success of the *Imperial* Arms, with Indifference, but began to think, at last, of performing their Engagements with *Vitiges*. *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasia* (2), suffer'd therefore 10,000 *Burgundians* to march into *Italy* *, (as it were of their own Accord, for he was still unwilling to come to a Rupture) where they assisted the *Goths* in besieging *Milan*.

Belisarius pursues *Vitiges*.
† A. 538.

§ XVI. *BELISARIUS* had left *Rome*, about the End of *June* †, with the Resolution of pursuing *Vitiges* and relieving *Rimini*. *Todi* and *Chiusi* surrender'd without Opposition; and the *Gothick* Garrisons were transported to *Sicily* and *Napoli* (1). He was join'd at *Firmo* by an Eunuch, nam'd *Narses*, who, by his Magnanimity and Valour, acquir'd a Renown, equal to that of the most famous Heroes. He was the Emperor's Chief-Treasurer and particular Confident. He had brought 5000 Men to *Italy*, 2000 of which were *Heruli*. *Vitiges* did not, however, wait for *Belisarius*, but retreated to *Ravenna*. *Belisarius* thereupon besieg'd *Urbino*. The Garrison was oblig'd, towards the Conclusion of the Year, to capitulate, and enter into the *Imperial* Service (2). *John* took *Forum Cornelii*, (now *Imole*), and reduc'd the whole Province of *Æmilia* *, as far as *Cesena*, to the Emperor's Dominion. But *Uraja* was more successful in *Liguria*. *Belisarius* had, indeed, order'd the General *Martin* to relieve *Milan*: But, when he found the *Burgundians* and *Goths* so numerous, he durst not venture to pass the *Po*; and could not be re-inforc'd in due Time: For *Belisarius* and *Narses* were at Variance; the latter was unwilling to allow the supreme Command to *Belisarius*, who on the other Hand refus'd to let him have any Share in it: Which Difference produc'd likewise its Effect on the rest of the Officers. The Garrison of *Milan* was, at Length, oblig'd, by a violent Famine, to surrender, at the Beginning of the Year 539, and were made Prisoners of War. The *Goths* exerted their Fury, in a terrible Manner, on that City, which was, next to *Rome*, the greatest and most populous in *Italy*. They pillag'd and dismantled it, and cut to Pieces all the Males that were in

(2) IDEM, L. 2. c. 12. p. 417. A. A Theodeberto, Francorum Rege, decem millia auxiliorum impetraverat, Burgundionum utique, non Francorum, ne videretur Augusti rebus injuriam facere.

§ XVI. (1) PROCOPIUS, L. 2. c. 13. p. 417. D. Tum ipse Gothos inde omnes in Siciliam ac Neapolin migrare jussit.

(2) PROCOPIUS, L. 2. c. 19. Gothi Belisario ea lege se permiserunt, ut retenta incolumitate, in ditionem Imperatoris, & militiam Romanam, jure cæteris communi, & æquali conditione, transferrent.

* The Province *Æmilia* suppos'd to have contain'd the following Cities, *Rimini*, *Bononia*, *Faenza*, *Forli*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Placentia*, and *Ravenna*.
it.

it (3). The Greek Historian observes in particular, that *Reparatus*, the Brother of Pope *Vigilius*, whom the Emperor had created *Præfectus Prætorio Italia*, was cut to Pieces, and thrown to the Dogs. They gave the Women to the *Burgundians*, as a Reward for their Assistance, who carried them into Captivity. Most of the Cities of *Liguria* were now obliged again to submit to the *Gothick* Dominion.

§ XVII. WHEN *Vitiges* found, that the *Goths* of themselves were unable to resist the Emperor, and that the Aid of the *Franks* was very precarious, he sent Ambassadors to *Vaces*, King of the *Longobards*, and offer'd him a large Sum of Money, to enter into a Treaty with him, and declare War against the Emperor (1). The *Longobards* dwelt, at that Time, on the *Danube*, and might easily have rais'd a Commotion in *Illyricum*: But they were in a strict Alliance with the Emperor, and stood themselves in Need of his Friendship and Assistance, against their Neighbours, the *Gepidæ*. Necessity directed him, at last, to *Cosroes*, King of the *Persians*, who was the most dangerous Neighbour of the *Grecian* Empire. *Vitiges* employed two *Italian* Divines in this Ambassy, who were so far successful, that *Cosroes* broke the Peace with *Justinian*, at the Conclusion of the Year 539. The Emperor, who was besides engaged in a vexatious War with the *Mauri* in *Africa*, was in a great Consternation at this Rupture. The Ambassadors which *Vitiges* had sent from the Camp before *Rome*, had till then been detain'd in vain: But the Emperor now dispatch'd them, with this Comfort, that he would himself send an Ambassy to *Ravenna*, with sufficient Power, to conclude an equitable Peace. Thus he gain'd Time, and open'd a Way for an Accommodation, if Fortune should happen to forsake his Arms; or even if he should be oblig'd to recall his Troops from *Italy*, to employ them elsewhere (2).

Vitiges in vain demands the Aid of the *Longobards*.

§ XVIII. WHILST the *Goths* were reduced to these Streights, the Emperor likewise, by that Means, sustained great Losses, and was also

Theodebert's Expedition to Italy.

(3) PROCOPIUS describes the Siege of Milan L. 2. c. 2. and says, of the Destruction of that City: Urbem solo æquarunt, viris omnibus, sine ullo ætatis discrimine, ad trecenta minimum millia, peremit, & multatis libertate feminis, quas Burgundionibus donarunt, præstitum auxilium remunerantes. The Continuator Chron. Marcellini mentions these Circumstances ad Cos: Appionis (539) Gothi Mediolanum ingressi muros diruunt, prædamque potiti, omnes Romanos interficiunt. According to this Account, the *Goths* did not demolish the whole City, but only raz'd the Walls. As for

the Time; Pagius ad h. a. n. 7. proves this City to have been taken in the Beginning of the Year 539.

§ XVII. (1) PROCOPIUS L. 2. c. 22. Tum ad Vacin, Longobardorum regem, Legatione missa, grandique oblata pecunia, ad societatem invitant. Ubi vero illum arcto amicitiae & fœderis vinculo Imperatori conjunctum esse perspexerunt legati, re infecta redierunt.

(2) IBID. He treats in particular of *Vitiges's* Ambassy to *Cosroës*, de Bell. Pers. L. 2. c. 2.

P

sufficiently

sufficiently embroil'd in other Places: And *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasia*, thereupon form'd the Resolution of making some Attempt in *Italy*. He pass'd the *Alps* with a large Army; *Procopius* says of 100,000 Men; but *Jornandes* and *Freculphus* mention even 200,000: And how little we can depend on the Historians of this Time, when so large Numbers are treated on, is very well known. He kept his Men in good Discipline in *Liguria*, that the *Goths* might suffer him to pass unmolested over the *Po*: And they even rejoic'd, at first, at his Arrival, imagining that he was come to their Assistance. *Belisarius* besieg'd, at that very Time, *Osimo*, the Capital of *Picenum*, with 11,000 Men. *Justin* and *Cyprian* lay before *Fesoli*, in *Toscana*; and the two Imperial Generals, *Murim* and *John*, were encamp'd near *Dertona*, to prevent *Uraja* from attempting to relieve *Fesoli*. This General was at a small Distance from them, with all the Soldiers he could raise in *Liguria*, and one Party waited for the other to begin Hostilities, when *Theodebert* cross'd the *Po*. He now, by Degrees, discover'd his Design. He begun to treat the *Goths* like Enemies, which so surpriz'd them, that they left their Camp and fled to *Ravenna*: But, at the same Time, he likewise attack'd the *Imperialists*, near *Dertona*, who retreated into *Toscana*. *Theodebert* almost conquer'd the Province of *Æmilia*: But the Country was laid waste, and a great Part of his Army was destroy'd by Diseases, occasion'd for Want of Provisions. *Belisarius*, who was still employ'd in the Siege of *Csimo*, wrote a very warm Letter to the King of the *Franks*, about this Procedure, which he threaten'd to revenge. The *Franks* themselves begun to murmur at this Expedition into *Italy*: insomuch that *Theodebert* found it most adviseable to hasten home (1). It appears, that, in this Expedition, he took and pillag'd *Genua*, which must have been done on his Return (2). Now as the *Franks* thus made a fruitless Attempt against *Justinian*, *Theodebert*'s Retreat may be ascrib'd as a Victory to the Emperor; and, on this Account, he perhaps assum'd the Surname of *Francicus*: But other Historians mention, in the following Years, a Battle, wherein the *Imperialists* defeated the *Franks*, which may have occasion'd *Justinian*'s glorying in this Title.

§ XVIII. (1) PROCOPIUS *E. 2. c. 25* / p. 447. seq. MARIUS in *Chrom. ABBIGLIONE* Cos. (A. 539.) Hoc Consule, Theodebertus, Rex Francorum Italiam ingressus, Liguriam, Æmiliamque devastavit, ejusque exercitus loci infirmitate gravatus, valde contribulatus est. P. 401. ad A. n. 9. demonstrates, that Theodebert's Expedition was in the Year 532.

(2) CONTIN. MARCELLINI *ad b. n.* Theudibertus, Francorum Rex, cum magno exercitu adveniens, Liguriani totamque deprædat Æmiliam. Genuam, oppidum in littore Tyrreni maris situm, evertit, ac prædat. Exercitu dein suo morbo laborante, ut subveniat, pasciscens cum Belisario, ad Gallos revertitur.

§ XIX. *FESOLI* was soon after oblig'd to surrender; and *Ostimo* *Belisarius* underwent the same Fate, when it lost all Hopes of a Relief. The *Goths* lays Siege to Ravenna. in the City, were obliged to enter into the Imperial Service (1). *Belisarius* † A. 539. resolv'd now to besiege *Vitiges* himself in *Ravenna* †, in order to conclude the War, before the *Franks* might interpose in it (2). *Vitiges* had caus'd a large Quantity of Provisions to be brought into *Liguria*, which was to be convey'd on the *Po*, to *Ravenna*: But the Water became so low, that the Vessels stuck fast on the Ground, and all the Provisions fell thus into the Hands of the *Imperialists*. *Vitiges* receiv'd, about this Time, an Ambassy from the Kings of the *Franks*, who offer'd to fit out a prodigious Army against *Belisarius*, if he would suffer them to rule jointly with him in *Italy*. The Imperial General no sooner heard of the Ambassy of the *Franks*, than he likewise sent a Deputy to *Ravenna*, and remonstrated to *Vitiges*, that if he would wait the Event of the Negotiations with the Emperor, he would find more Security and Advantage in them, than in any League with the *Franks*; since he might easily conclude, from the Fate of the Kings of *Thuringia* and *Burgundy*, and from the late Attempt of *Theodebert*, how precarious their Friendship was. This Remonstrance prevail'd on the *Goths*: *Vitiges* declined the Offer of the *Franconian* Kings (3), who hereby in Fact experienc'd, that those, who once falsify their Word, meet afterwards with no Credit, when they most desire it.

§ XX. IMMEDIATELY after, arriv'd two Senators, named *Domnicus* *Justinian's* and *Maximinus*, whom the Emperor sent to negotiate the Peace. As he Proposals for a Peace, &c. was involv'd in a War in *Africa*, and foresaw a much greater with *Persia*, he offer'd to make Peace with the *Goths*, on Condition that *Vitiges* should retain that Part of *Italy*, situate on the left Side of the *Po*, that he should leave the Rest to the Emperor, and share the Royal Treasure with him. *Vitiges*, and his faithful Adherents, rejoic'd to see this War concluded without the total Subversion of their Kingdom: But *Belisarius* made publick Complaints, that the Emperor had been wrongly advis'd: Because, by this Peace, he lost the Dominion of all *Italy*, which he had before, in a Manner gain'd. Many in the Army no sooner heard, that *Belisarius* was averse to the Peace, than they murmur'd, and suspected, that some private Views induc'd this General to desire the Continuance of the War: But the *Goths*, for their farther Security, insist'd on *Belisarius's* signing the Treaty of Peace. Another Project was, in the mean Time, form'd

§ XIX. (1) PROCOPIUS, L. 2. c. 27.

Gothis propediem suppetias venturos erat opino.

(2) PROCOPIUS, L. 2. c. 26. p. 454. C.

(3) Idem, L. c. c. 28.

Ipsam enim sollicitum habebant Franci, quos

by some, who fear'd Nothing so much, as being oblig'd to leave *Italy*, and their Estates, and to go to *Constantinople*. They propos'd to *Belisarius*, that if he would set up for Emperor in the *West*, they were ready to pay Allegiance to him. *Vitiges*, for his Part, was oblig'd to put up with every Thing. His Adversity render'd him now as contemptible, as he was before esteem'd worthy of the Throne. This Proposal did not indeed move *Belisarius*: His Honour and Integrity was such, that he could not prevail on himself to treat his Master with Treachery, tho' Fortune was ready to cover it with the Purple (1). He dissembled, however, and seem'd to give Ear to those who made the Offer; by which Stratagem he gain'd more than he could have done by a Battle. Now when the Famine increas'd in *Ravenna*, the *Goths* sent Plenipotentiaries into the Camp, to conclude the Treaty enter'd upon with *Belisarius*. They insisted upon his Swearing, that he would do no Wrong to any of the *Goths*, and that he would assume the Title of King of *Italy*; on which Conditions they promis'd to open the Gates of *Ravenna* to him. He swore to the former Point; but, for the latter, desir'd it might be done in the Presence of *Vitiges*, and the Chiefs of the *Goths*, at *Ravenna*. It is somewhat strange, that the *Goths* should acquiesce in this Assurance: But every Thing was ripe for their Perdition: Their King had lost the Esteem and Affection of his Subjects; the Nobles were divided among themselves, and every one was solicitous, how to preserve his own, in Case of the worst. *Belisarius* sent away *Bessa* and *John*, and some others of the Generals, who bore no great Affection to him, together with their Troops, under Pretence, that Provisions would be more easily come at when the Army was dispers'd: But his real Motive was, that he might, with less Opposition execute his Designs: He thereupon himself * accompany'd the *Gothick* Ambassadors to *Ravenna* (2). This Conduct of the General's appear'd very equivocal to many in the Army, and those, who were disaffected to him, put the worst Construction on it: But, on the other Hand, when the *Gothick* Women saw the *Imperialists* enter the City, they reproach'd their Husbands, for suffering themselves to be subdu'd by Men, who were inferior to them, both in Stature and Number (3).

*A. 540. *Init.*

§ XXI.

§ XX. (1) PROCOPIUS, p. 459. D.

(2) IDEM p. 459. and 460. Pagius ad A. 540. n. 11. proves, that he made his Entry into *Ravenna*, at the Beginning of the Year 540.

(3) PROCOPIUS, who was himself a Spectator, makes the following Reflections thereon, p. 460. D.

Mihi vero tunc temporis Romanum exercitum Ravennam ingredientem spectanti infidebat hæc cogitatio, non generositate hominum, non multitudine, non animi vi procedere proficique incepta: Sed Numen esse, quod eorum mentes sic flectat, ut eo semper inducat, ubi nullus erit eventus obex. Cum enim Gothi & numero & viribus

§ XXI. *BELISARIUS*, indeed, secur'd the King's Person (1), but order'd him to be very respectfully treated: He oppress'd none of the *Goths*; and for those whose Estates lay on the Right of the *Po*, he suffer'd them, without any Molestation, to go thither. As the *Romans* possess'd the fortify'd Places in those Provinces, he had nothing to fear from them; and this Division so lessened the Number of *Goths* in *Ravenna*, that they did not exceed the *Imperialists*. He seiz'd the Royal Treasure; and the Governors of those Cities, which still appertain'd to the *Goths*, endeavour'd to outvy each other, who should first surrender themselves, and the Places under their Command; on which Occasion, he became Master of *Trevigo*, and other Towns in *Venetia* *. *Cesena*, the only Place the *Goths* retain'd in *Emilia*, surrender'd about the same Time that he enter'd *Ravenna*: But with Regard to the main Point, of his declaring his Intentions to assume the Dignity of Emperor in the *West*, he still fed the *Goths* with Hopes, till he receiv'd Orders from the Emperor to return to Court, in Order to take upon him the Command against the *Persians*. When he prepar'd for his Departure, the *Goths* perceiv'd, tho' too late, that they were outwitted, and ought to have proceeded more cautiously in a Negotiation of that Kind with an Enemy. The bravest among those, who dwelt on this Side of the *Po*, assembled at *Pavia*, and resolv'd to try their utmost. They offer'd the Title of King to *Urajas*, *Vitiges's* Sister's Son, who had behav'd very gallantly in *Liguria*: But he declined it, and propos'd *Ildebad*, who commanded in *Verona*. He was Son to the Sister of *Theudis*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, and they hop'd his Uncle would now, on this Account, the sooner take Part in the War in *Italy*. *Ildebad* (2) no sooner came to

Justinian re-
calls *Belisa-*
rius, &c.

viribus longe essent hostibus superiores, neque armis decreviscent, ex quo Ravennam intraverant, nihilque appareret, quod terrore distringeret eorum animos: jugum acceperunt a paucioribus, nec servitutis nomini infamiam inesse ullam duxerunt. Certe foeminae, quae a maritis audierant, Romanos mole corporis valere, & hostibus praestare numero, cunctae consputabant virorum ora, quos omnes in urbe sedere viderant, & victores monstrantes manibus ignaviam exprobrabant.

hibens. This Piece, if genuine, is an excellent Monument of these Times.

* The Province *Venetia* comprehended, at this Time, the Countries which we now distinguish by the Names of the *Marchia Trevisana*, the Western Part of *Friuli*, the Cities and Territories of *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Verona* and *Venice*. They were separated from *Noricum* by the *Carnician Alps*, and from the *Carni*, in particular, by the River *Tagliamento* (*Tilavemphus*).

§ XXI, (1) *PROCOPIUS*, p. 461. *F. Montfaucon* says, in his *Iter Italicum*, p. 79. that he saw at *Rome*, in *Sig. Landi's Cabinet*, a Picture, which *Belisarius* caus'd to be painted in Memory of this Surrender. His Words are these: *Belisarii Clypeus votivus, ex aere, Vitigen Regem supplicem ex-*

(2) *F. Banduri* p. 646. calls him *Hildebadus*, and says, that he met with no Medal of this King. I know not on what Information, the *Genealogists* derive the House of *Pinelli*, in *Geneva*, from *Ildebad*. Vid. *GUALDI* in *Vit. Pinelli*.

this

this Assembly, than they honour'd him with the Purple and proclaim'd him King (3). He first made one Attempt more to engage *Belisarius* to the Performance of his Promise, and the Ambassadors assured him, that *Ildebad* would then be the first to throw himself at his Feet.

*Belisarius's
Departure for
Constantinople.*

§ XXII. BUT *Belisarius* remained inflexible, and took *Vitiges*, with the Rest of the Royal Family, many of the Chief of the *Goths*, and, among others, the Children of *Ildebad*, whom he had secured at *Ravenna*, together with the Royal Treasure, with him to *Constantinople*. *Justinian* gave a kind Reception to *Vitiges* and his Consort; and, with Pleasure and Admiration, beheld those *Goths*, whose Conduct had till then render'd them so famous. He caus'd *Theoderic's* Treasure to be expos'd to the View of the Senat, in the Palace: But the Populace was not admitted, probably, lest the Sight should awake a Desire in them to partake of it. They were already discontented, because the Emperor did not allow *Belisarius* a Triumph. He enjoy'd, however, in some Measure, the Satisfaction of a Triumph, whenever he went abroad. His noble Appearance, his Retinue of *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Mauri*, drew upon him the Eye of all Mankind. The Hero, who had subverted the Kingdoms of *Genferic* and *Theoderic*, and had brought their Treasures and Successors to *Constantinople*, was the more eagerly admir'd, as his Moderation and Humanity had gain'd the Affection as well of the Peasant as the Soldier (1). He was attended, in his Expedition against *Cosroes*, by the *Goths*, who were brought to *Constantinople*: But *Vitiges* remain'd in that Residence (2). The Emperor dignify'd him with the Title of *Patricius*, and confer'd on him many other Favours. He died about two Years afterwards, and

(3) PROCOPIUS, p. 463. B. Protinus Verona accitus Ildebadus affuit: quem, cum induissent purpura, Regem salutarunt.

§ XXII. (1) PROCOPIUS, L. 3. c. 1. p. 465. Ita Belisarius, rebus adhuc suspensis, Vitigim, Gothorum proceres, Ildibadi liberos, regiasque opes omnes Byzantium deportavit; nemine Ducum ipsum comitante, præter Ildigerem, Valerianum, Martinum & Herodianum. Vitigin cum uxore lætis placidisque aspexit oculis Justinianus Augustus, & Barbarorum agmen, corporis forma, ac mole præstantium, miratus est. Postquam Theoderici gazam, spectatu sane dignam, in pa-

latium accepit, Senatui quidem contemplandam proposuit apud se, rerum gestarum magnitudine glorians: at neque illam exhibuit multitudini, nec triumphum Belisario decrevit, uti fecerat, cum ille ex Africa rediit, Gelimeris & Vandalorum Victor. Nihilominus tamen in ore omnium vivebat Belisarius, &c. This happen'd in the Spring, A. 540, which Procopius reckons the sixth Year of the Gothick War.

(2) PROCOPIUS, de Bel. Pers. L. 2. c. 14. E Gothis unus Vittigis Byzantio substitit: cæteri expeditionem in Chosroem cum Belisario susceperunt.

his

his Widow married *Germanus*, Son of the Emperor's Brother (3), as I shall observe in the Sequel.

§ XXIII. *ILDEBAD*'s Forces consisted at first only in 1000 Men : *Ildebad* assembled the Residue of the *Goths*, who dwelt in *Venetia* and *Liguria*, over to his Party (†). On the other Hand, the Thoughts of War were almost laid aside on the Part of the *Imperialists*, after *Belisarius*'s Departure. The Generals, who remain'd there, were intent each on his private Advantage. *Justinian* himself endeavour'd too soon to reap the Fruits of his Conquest of *Italy*. He sent one of his Treasurers, nam'd *Alexander*, who had rais'd himself at Court, by a superior Capacity in levying Mony without any Regard to Justice or Compassion, to *Ravenna*; where he made new Regulations in the Treasury, and enter'd upon Enquiries, whereby he oppress'd not only several eminent Officers in the Army, but likewise many, who never had the finger-ing of any of the Royal Revenue. This disquieted the Minds of the People, and the few *Goths*, who still kept the Field, were hardly thought worth regarding. *Vitalius*, who was station'd in *Venetia*, alone undertook to reduce *Ildebad*, before he could be re-inforc'd. A hot Engagement ensu'd, near *Trevigo*, when *Vitalius* lost the Day, after a bloody Overthrow, which in particular prov'd fatal to the *Heruli*, in his Army, and to *Visandus* their Prince *.

§ XXIV. THIS Victory caus'd the *Imperialists* no longer to regard *Ildebad*, as contemptible, and rais'd in the *Goths* that Confidence, which is so requisite in a Nation, that is to retrieve itself from the utmost Perdition. *Ildebad* himself, who ought now to have had no other View, but that important One of preserving the *Gothick* State, was seduc'd by a female Contention. His Revenues were not large enough to support a Royal Grandeur. His Consort perpetually remonstrated to him, how much more splendid than she, the Wife of *Urajas* appear'd; and when the latter treated her very coldly at a Bath, *Ildebad* interfer'd, and express'd

(3) JORNANDES *de Reb. Get.* Perductum Viti-gem Constantinopolim Patritii honore donavit, ubi plus biennio demoratus, Imperatorisque in affectu convictus, rebus excessit humanis. Matasuentham vero jugalem ejus, fratri suo, Germano, Patritio, conjunxit Imperator. De quibus posthumus patris Germani natus est filius, item Germanus, in quo conjuncta Aniciorum gens, cum Amala stirpe, spem adhuc utriusque generis, domino præstante, promittit.

§ XXIII. † The Name *Liguria* was, at this Time, of great Extent. *Liguria* maritima, which was by the Ancients properly call'd *Liguria*, comprehended what is now nam'd *La Riviera di Genova*. *Liguria* Mediterranea contain'd the present *Montferrat*, a Part of *Piedmont*, and the South Part of the *Duchy of Milan*, with its Capital, which else properly belongs to *Insurbria*.

* PROCOPIUS, L. 3. p. 467. seq.

his Resentment against *Urajas*, who had been the chief Instrument of his Promotion, and at last even caus'd him to be privately put to Death. The *Goths* were almost universally enrag'd at the Murder of so worthy and eminent a Person. *Vilas*, a *Gepider* by Birth, took Occasion from thence, to revenge an Injury he had receiv'd, from the King, who, while he was in the Field, had given his Bride in Marriage to another (1). He was one of the King's Life Guards, and being in waiting at a Banquet, where he stood behind the King, he cut off his Head while he was stooping to take Meat out of a Dish (2).

Eraric is
elected King
by the *Rugi*:
Totilas by the
Goths.

§ XXV. THE Residue of the *Goths* almost wholly destroy'd one another, by an intestine Division, after *Ildebad's* Death. A Body of *Rugi*, which had been in their Army from the Time of *Theoderic*, had remain'd so separate, that they would not even intermarry with other Nations. These distinguish'd themselves now, and chose *Eraric*, one of their Country-Men, for King (1): But the *Goths* could not bear the Thoughts of being, as it were, subject to the *Rugi*. *Totilas*, the Son of *Ildebad's* Brother, who commanded at *Trevigo*, had already intimated privately at *Ravenna*, that he intended to submit to the Emperor, when his Friends excited him, rather to think of retrieving the *Gothick* State. *Eraric* was more intent in the Pursuit of his own Ends, than in the Preservation of the State entrusted to his Care. With the Consent of his own Nation, he sent an Ambassy to *Constantinople*, to renew the Proposals of Peace, which had already been accepted of in the Time of *Vitiges*, viz. that the Emperor should relinquish to the *Goths* the Countries on the left Side of the *Po*: But the Ambassadors were privately instructed to propose, that if the Emperor would pay a considerable Sum of Money to *Eraric*, and declare him *Patricius*, he would renounce the Royal Title, and resign to *Justinian* all the Dominions he possess'd in *Italy*. But *Eraric* was

§ XXIV. (1) PROCOPIUS, l. c. p. 469.

(2) PROCOPIUS, l. c. describes, in the following Words, the Manner, how *Vilas* murder'd *Ildebad*. Cogitatum facinus aggressus est die quodam, quo apparebat *Ildibado*, cum Gothorum proceribus epulanti. Etenim praudenti regi cum alii multi astare solent, tum protectores. Ergo ille manu dapibus admota, toro pronus incumberebat; cum *Vilas* repente gladio cervicem ejus percussit; ita, ut cibum, tenentibus adhuc digitis, demessum, lapsumque in mensam caput, omnes qui aderant,

magno stupore defixerit. Sic demum *Ildibadus* *Urajae* necem luit, hyemisque exitus annum sextum clausit istius belli. The sixth Year of the *Gothick* War. ends in the Winter, A. 541.

§ XXV. (1) PROCOPIUS, l. 3. c. 2. p. 470. B. The Passage is remarkable on Account of the History of the *Rugi*. Quidam erat in Gothorum exercitu, *Eraricus*, natione *Rugus*, inter hos Barbaros præpotens. *Rugi* autem, gens *Gothica*, suis olim vivebant legibus. Aggregati vero cum nonnullis aliis populis ad *Theodericum* ipsius regni primordio,

was unexpectedly put to Death by the *Goths*, and *Totilas* (2) proclaim'd King in his Room (3).

§ XXVI. *CHILDEBERT* and *Clotarius*, Kings of the *Franks*, made An Expedition into *Spain*, as far as *Saragosa*, in the Year 542 (1). But, on their Return, they were defeated, by *Theudisclus*, the *Gothick* General, who was afterwards made King. To this War, is applied a Medal of King *Clotarius* with the Reverse *VICTORIA GOTHICA*. Some more modern *French* Writers pretend to affirm (2), that the *Franks*, at that Time, took Part of *Gasconne* and *Cantabria*. We need not, in the mean Time, wonder, that the *Wisi-Goths* refus'd their Interposition in the *Italian* War, if we consider the Fate of their own Kings. *Theudis* was murder'd, A. 548, and *Theudiscus* (3), his Successor, the following Year. *Agila* had enough to do, in his own Kingdom, with *Athanagild*, who contended with him for the Crown, and was supported by *Justinian*, the Emperor.

§ XXVII. THE *Imperial* Generals, in *Italy*, resolv'd, in a Council of War, at *Ravenna*, to lay Siege to *Verona*. Their Army, which consisted of 12000 Men, was commanded by eleven superiour Officers. The City was betray'd into the Hands of *Artabaces*, an *Armenian* by Birth, who had acquir'd great Renown by his Valour, in the Emperor's Service, but he could not maintain his Ground. When this prov'd a fruitless Attempt, the Army return'd over the *Po* to *Faenza* (1). *Totilas* pursu'd them, with 5000 Men, which were all the Forces he had (2). He pass'd the *Po* unmolested ;

mordio, in unum corpus coaluerunt, atque ex eo rem bellicam in commune semper tractarunt. Vitatis tamen mulierum alienarum connubiis, nationis suæ nomen pura sobolis successione apud se conservarunt. Ildibadi nece turbatis rebus, Eraricum hunc Rugi declararunt subito Regem.

(2) On the Medals in Du Cange, in Familiis Augustus Byzantinis, and in E. Banduri, he is call'd *Baduela* or *Baduila*, but in Procopius always *Totilas*. Justinian likewise names him so in the *Sanctio Pragmatica* de Statu *Italiæ*.

(3) A. 541. About the Month of August. Pagius ad A. 542. n. 2.

§ XXVI. (1) This Computation is confirmed by F. Pagius ad A. 542. n. 6.
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(2) PETR. de MARCA in Histor. Bearnizæ L. 1. c. 19. seq. Le Cointe ad A. 542. n. 33.

(3) MARIANA says L. 5. c. 8. that *Theudisclus* was Son to the Sister of *Totilas*.

§ XXVII. (1) PROCOP. L. 3. c. 3.

(2) PROCOP. *ibid* c. 4. p. 474. A. De his, quæ *Veronæ* contigerant, certior factus *Totilas*, *Gothorum*, qui in illa urbe erant, magnam partem arcessit, atque, ubi adfuere, copias omnes, ad quina millia collectas, in hostem duxit. Here he introduces him speaking, and exciting the *Goths*, in the following Words, among others: p. 475. A. Ecce enim ad quina millia ex ducentis millibus redacti fumus. Addo aliud, quod in memoriam reducere

unmolested; but order'd 300 Men to cross in another Place, to take a By-Way, and in Case of an Engagement, to attack the Enemy, in the Rear. The two Armies were already in Battle Array, opposite to each other, when *Viliaris*, a valiant *Goth*, came forth, arm'd Cap-a-pee, and dared any one Man among the *Imperialists* to engage with him, in single Combat. *Artabaces* alone ventur'd to accept of the Challenge. The Manner of this single Combat, as related by *Procopius*, appears to be the same, as we find recorded of the Turnaments in succeeding Times. They spurr'd their Horses, and ran at each other. *Artabaces* first threw the *Goth*; but the latter's Spear happen'd at the same Time, to hit an Opening in the other's Armour, and cut a Vein in his Neck. The *Goth* was kill'd on the Spot, but the *Armenian* died three Days afterwards (3). In the Battle, which ensued, the 300 Men plac'd in Ambush by *Totilas*, prov'd highly serviceable. The Consternation the *Greeks* were in, at the first Sight of them, caus'd the Number to appear much greater than it was, insomuch that they fear'd being beset in the Rear. They therefore took to the Flight immediately, every Man his own Way. The *Goths* kill'd Numbers of them in the Pursuit, made many Prisoners, and took, in the Camp, among other Booty, all the Ensigns of the *Greeks*.

*Totilas sends
Troops into
Tuscany, &c.*

§ XXVIII. *TOTILAS* thereupon sent Part of his Troops into *Tuscany*, under the Command of *Bleda*, *Roderick* and *Uliaris*, three brave and experienc'd Officers. These besieged *Florence*, where *Justin*, *Magister Militie per Illyricum*, was station'd, who being in Want of Provisions, was discourag'd from standing the Siege. Of this he made such pressing Remonstrances at *Ravenna*, that *Cyprian*, *John*, and *Bessas* march'd to his Assistance. When the *Goths* were appriz'd of this, they retreated to *Muggello*, and the *Imperialists* arriv'd in Safety at *Florence*, were they thought it adviseable to attack the *Goths*. The latter quitted their Camp in haste, and drew up on an adjoining Eminence. The *Greeks*, on the other Hand, so dispos'd their Army, that *John* was to attack the Enemy in their advantageous Situation, while the other Generals were to keep their Station in the Plain, and, as Occasion might require, come to his Assistance: But the *Goths* behav'd so bravely, that *John's* People begun to retreat: And a Report being, at the same Time, spread, that *John* was murder'd by his own Soldiers, the others were so terrified, that they dispers'd, and

reducere non alienum esse judico. Quando in Imperatorem arma cum Ildibado tollere decrevis-
tis, non amplius mille eratis convicti juncti,
omnisque vestra ditio unius urbis Ticini ambitu
claudebatur.

(3) *PROCOPIUS* describes this single Combat, L. 3. c. 4. p. 475. D. See the Passage in the XIII. Annot. at the End of this Volume.

fled

fled in Disorder different Ways, *John* to *Rome*, *Cyprian* to *Perusia*, *Bessas* to *Spoletto*, and *Justin* to *Florence* *.

§ XXIX. *TOTILAS*, in the mean Time, had taken *Cesena* and *Petra*, and came himself into *Tuscany*. But as the Garrisons in the Cities were strong, and Sieges might prove too tedious, he proceeded over the *Tyber*. He pass'd by the Precincts of *Rome*, and took *Benevento* †, with little Opposition. He caused the Walls to be demolish'd, that the *Goths* might receive no Damage from thence, in Case the Recruits, that were expected from *Constantinople*, should recover the Place. He himself placed all his Hopes in a Battle. Hereupon he besieged *Naples*, in which City he found a Garrison of 1000 Men, and detach'd, in the mean Time, several Parties, which took *Cuma*, and oblig'd all this upper Part of *Italy* again to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the *Goths*: The Royal *Gothick* Treasury now received all the Taxes and other Royal Revenues, which 'till then had been levied by *Justinian*; and thereby deprived the *Imperial* Troops of their Pay. These begun now to stand in Fear of the *Goths*, and, at the same Time, were so insolent, in the Cities, where they were garrison'd, that the unfortunate Inhabitants of *Italy* had Reason to lament the Emperor's Neglect or Impotency, and to wish he had never molested the *Goths* *.

§ XXX. *JUSTINIAN* found it at last requisite to send a proper Person to *Italy*, to take the superiour Command over the other Generals; and, in Order thereto, *Maximinus*, who had before been Ambassador to *Vitiges*, was appointed *Præfectus Prætorii Italiae*, and *Demetrius* was created *Magister Militum*. *Maximinus* embark'd some Troops, at *Constantinople*, which had been levied in *Thrace* and *Armenia*, to re-inforce the Army in *Italy*. *Demetrius* brought a great Number of Vessels together in *Sicily*, but wanted Soldiers sufficient to fill them. *Totilas* endeavour'd to remedy the Error of *Vitiges*, who had no naval Force, and equipp'd several stout Ships for that Service. He ventur'd to encounter *Maximinus*; and with Ease dispers'd his Squadron, and took the best Ships. *Maximinus* had lain long in *Epirus*, and at last indeed run into *Syracusa*, in *Sicily*; but again made Delays, 'till the Time of being at Sea was past; and when, at Length, he attempted to relieve *Naples*, a Tempest dispers'd the Ships, and those that were drove on the Shoar fell into the

§ XXVIII. * PROCOPI. L. 3. c. 5.

* PROCOPI. L. 3. c. 6. He describes yet more

§ XXIX. † At the Conclusion of the Year 542. at large, c. 9. how far *Italy* suffer'd by this.

PAGIUS ad A. 543. n. 2. 3.

Hands of the *Goths*. Upon this, *Naples*, being distress'd by extream Famine, and destitute of all Hopes of a Relief, was forc'd to surrender †. *Totilas* allow'd the Soldiers, who on that Occasion experienc'd his Magnanimity, as the Inhabitants did his Benevolence, the Liberty of departing: But caus'd the City-Walls to be almost demolish'd, for the same Reason as he had done those at *Benevento* (1). *Procopius* relates the following Instance, among others, of the rigid Discipline, he observ'd in the Army: An Inhabitant complain'd that one of his Life-Guards had deflour'd his Daughter, whereupon the King, deaf to all Intercessions, caus'd him to be punish'd with Death, and his Effects to be given to the injur'd Woman.

The Emperor
sends *Belisarius*, a second
Time, into
Italy.
† A. 543.

§ XXXI. *TOTILAS* begun now to turn his Eyes towards *Rome*: He wrote to the Senat, reminded them of the Behaviour of the *Goths* towards them, together with the Oppressions they had met with from the *Greeks*, and admonish'd them to revolt in Time †. He likewise caus'd publick Letters to be fixed up by some Persons he could confide in, in those Places in the City, that were most frequented; in which he assured the *Romans*, that they need not be apprehensive of the least Oppression: But *John*, the Imperial General, who was at *Rome*, us'd his utmost Endeavours to prevent a Conspiracy; and in Order thereto banish'd all the *Arian* Priests from the City (1). In the mean Time, *Jus-*
tinian,

§ XXX. † A. 543. towards the Spring. Conf.
PAGIUS ad A. 543. n. 3.

(1) PROCOPIUS. L. 3. c. 6. 7.

§ XXXI. (1) PROCOPIUS L. 3. c. 9. ascribes the following Manifesto to *Totilas*: Quicumque vel per imprudentiam, vel ex oblivione vicinos lædunt, læsos decet illis ignoscere: Siquidem culpæ causa ab ipsis partem maximam reprehensionis amolitur. At si quis solum ex præparato injuriam facit, ei nullus relinquetur locus defendendi commissæ: quippe cum non modo factum, sed voluntas etiam in eo culpanda sit. Quæ cum ita sint, videte jam, quo pacto excusaturi sitis, quæ admistis in Gothos. Parumne vobis cognita dicetis *Theodorici* & *Amalasunthæ* beneficia? an temporis longinquitate & oblivione deleta ex animis? Neutrum sane verum. Neque enim eorum beneficentia in rebus quibusdam levibus ac mediocribus patuit, idque prioribus seculis, sed nuper

ac recenti memoria apud vos, Romani charissimi, in iis eluxit, quæ ad vitæ summam pertinent. Græcorum egregiam in subditos voluntatem vel fama cognoscetis, vel usu ipso: at jam nostis, quid *Gothi* cum *Italis* egerint. Præclare Græcos, ut opinor, excepistis hospitio, quales autem nacti sitis hospites, & amicos non ignoratis, si qua manet memoria rationum, quas *Alexander* instituit. Silentio milites prætermitto, ac militum Duces; quorum scilicet benignitas & animi magnitudo, cum vos juvere plurimum, tum ipsos in hunc rerum statum adduxere. Hæc autem nemo vestrum existimet illis exprobrari juvenili ambitione, & me, tanquam Barbarorum Regem, arrogantius loqui. Quod enim hanc nationem hominum profligavimus, non id virtuti adscribo nostræ: verum illos injuriarum, quibus nos affecerunt, dare pœnas affirmo. Proinde, an non per absurdum videbitur, si dum ipsos persequitur vestræ ultor calamitatis Deus, eorum apud vos insolentiam

tinian, having no other Remedy, was forc'd to send *Belisarius* again into *Italy*; tho' he stood in Need of his Aid against the *Persians*. *Vitalius*, *Magister Militiæ per Illyricum*, set out to meet him, and with much Difficulty they rais'd an Army of 4000 Men in *Thrace*. They went together to *Salona*. The first Thing *Belisarius* did, after his Arrival there, was to provide for *Otranto*, which the *Goths* continued to besiege. *Totilas*, on the other Hand, took *Tivoli*, and caus'd the Inhabitants to be put to the Sword, from thence he made Irruptions as far as the *Tyber*, and cut off all the Avenues to *Rome*, on that Side. *Belisarius* arriv'd at *Ravenna*, in the Spring, A. 544, and did what he could to revive the drooping Spirits of the Inhabitants, both *Goths* and *Romans*. His first Care was to keep *Totilas* from *Rome*: For this Purpose he order'd *Vitalius* to enter into Action, in *Æmia*, in Order to draw the Enemy that Way: But *Vitalius* no sooner reach'd *Bolognà*, than the *Imperialists* deserted in Shoals, for Want of Pay. *Totilas* took Advantage of this Opportunity to make himself Master of some fortify'd Places. He did not indeed succeed at *Osimo* and *Petaro*; but *Fermo* and *Ascoli*, in *Picenum*, and *Affisi* and *Spoletto* in *Tuscany*, were oblig'd to surrender. He hoped likewise to have surpriz'd *Perusia*, in the same Manner: But when the Garrison appear'd in a Posture of Defence, he thought it would not be adviseable to spend his Time in a long Siege (2).

§ XXXII. *BELISARIUS* not being in a Condition to relieve *Totilas* besieges *Rome*, *Totilas* chose rather to try his Fortune there. His Army was now become very numerous: For as so great Devastations had been made in *Italy*, and the *Imperialists* were so poorly supported, they almost all took their Refuge to him. Many Bondsmen, in particular, who esteem'd

Totilas besieges
Rome.
Belisarius re-
treats to Du-
razzo, &c.

solentiam libenter patiamini, nec malis velitis eximi, quæ illam consequuntur? Vobis igitur locum purgandi vos apud Gothos, & nobis causam aliquam date parcendi vobis. Dabitur autem, si non expectato belli exitu, dum vobis exigua ac vana spes quædam superest, consilia referatis in melius, & quæ peccastis in nos, emendetis. Sententia hæc erat epistolæ, quam *Totilas* captivis quibusdam Romam ad senatum perferendam dedit. Quo ab ipsis præstito, prohibuit *Jobannes*, ne quid *Totilæ* rescriberent, qui illam legerant. Quo circa *Totilas*, scriptis compluribus literis, insertisque gravissimis juramentis, diserte promisit, nihil mali Gothos Romano cuiquam irrogaturos. Quinam eas literas Romanam tulerint, haud possum dicere. Omnes enim

nocte intempesta in celeberrimis urbis partibus affixæ, in publicam notitiam venerunt. Mox Romani Duces suspectos sibi Arianos sacerdotes omnes urbe exterminarunt.

(2) PROCOPIUS. L. 3. c. 11. and 12. To keep up a Chronological Order we must observe, that *Belisarius* came into Italy, when the ninth Year of the Gothic War was ended, and consequently A. 544. *Fermo* and *Ascoli* were taken towards the Conclusion of the 10th Year, and therefore, at the Beginning of the Year 545, *Affisi* and *Spoletto* surrender'd in the 11th Year, which concludes with the Winter, A. 546.

their

their Liberty the best Reward, lifted themselves under his Banner †. He detach'd, at the same Time, some Troops to besiege *Placentia*, the only Place the *Imperialists* now possess'd in *Æmilia*, which, for want of Provisions, was soon oblig'd to surrender. This was the Fate of the *Romans*, at first. The *Goths* after they had taken *Naples*, became powerful at Sea, and so block'd up the Coasts, as well as the neighbouring Isles, that nothing could enter *Porto* (1). *Cethegus* the *Patricius*, who was then the Chief of the Senat, was suspected of an Intelligence with the *Goths*, on which Account he was banish'd the City (2). *Belisarius* seeing himself incapable of doing any Service, and being loth to remain an idle Spectator of the *Gothick* Success, retreated to *Durazzo*, that he might the sooner obtain the necessary Succours. The Emperor desirous of seeing the fatal Divisions terminated, which then perplex'd the Church, on Occasion of the so call'd *Tria Capitula*, had sent for Pope *Vigilius* to come to *Constantinople*: But *Vigilius*, who chose rather to have a Council appointed somewhere in the *West*, did not make the greatest Expedition on his Journey, but was still in *Sicily*. From thence he dispatch'd some Ships † to *Rome* with Corn; but they fell into the Hands of the *Goths* (3). *Rome* was in the utmost Distress with Famine, when *Pelagius*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, undertook an Ambassy to *Totilas*; and entreated him to make a Truce for a certain Time, on Condition that, if the City was not reliev'd during that Space, it should be surrender'd. But *Totilas* was resolv'd not to lose the Advantage of the present Circumstances (4). The People press'd the two Generals, *Bessas* and *Cono*, to furnish them with Provisions, or suffer them to depart the City. *Bessas* had so divided the Stores he found in *Rome*, that the greatest Share fell to the Soldiers, who sold the *Romans* at a dear Rate, what they could spare of their Allowance. He himself drove the like shameful Trade, whilst those, who could not pay his Price, perish'd in Misery, after having supported Life, for a Time, with Horses, Dogs, Nettles, and whatsoever else Hunger had reduc'd them to eat. The two Generals declar'd, indeed, at last, that those who would might depart; but even in this they exercis'd their Avarice: For those who would take the Advantage of this Permission, were oblig'd to buy it at a Price. Most of the Inhabitants however de-

§ XXXII. † These Bondsmen are particularly mentioned in *Procop.* L. 3. c. 16.

rianis Ducibus, qui Romæ erant, suspicione prodicionis aspersus, centum cellas concessit.

(1) *PROCOPIUS.* L. 3. c. 13.

(2) *IBID.* p. 494. D. Tunc *Cethegus*, *Patricius*, idemque *Senatus Romani Princeps*, a *Cæsar-*

(3) *IBID.* c. 15. *Vigilius* set out from *Rome* towards the Conclusion of A. 544, and arriv'd at *Constantinople* in January, A. 547.

(4) *IBID.* c. 16.

parted;

parted; but in so feeble a Condition, that many expir'd on their Journey; while others fell into the Hands of the Enemy (5).

§ XXXIII. *BELISARIUS*, in the mean Time, was reinforc'd ^{*Belisarius's*} at *Durazzo*, by Recruits brought by the before-mention'd General *John*, ^{*Projects to re-*} and *Isaac* an *Armenian*. He himself went by Sea to *Porto*. *John* was ^{*lieve Rome.*} to go by the Way of *Calabria*, and join him at *Rome*. *Totilas* resolv'd to reduce *Rome* by Famine. The Garrison of *Tivoli* prevented the Passage of any Thing from the Countries above the City, by Means of the *Tyber*; and he himself caus'd Rafters to be laid across the River, below the City, securing them with a Chain, and Turrets were erected on the Banks, on both Sides, in which he plac'd a strong Guard, that no Ships might pass from *Porto*. *John* landed at *Brindisi*, which was then an open Place, and met with no Opposition in *Calabria*: But, as *Totilas* had a Garrison in *Capua*, leaving the Road to *Rome*, he march'd against the *Brutii* and *Lucani*, and again reduc'd all the upper Part, of *Italy* to the Emperor's Dominion: For tho' the People had been greatly oppress'd by the *Imperialists*, yet they were averse to the *Goths*, because they profess'd *Arianism* (1). How considerable soever this Service would, at another Time, have been, yet, as it now obstructed the main Design, it was highly unreasonable. *Belisarius*, in the mean Time, notwithstanding his reiterated Commands, could not engage *Bessas* to make a Sally, and thereby give him an Opportunity of attacking the *Goths* in the Rear. *Bessas* was quite blinded by his Avarice. He did not desire to have the Siege rais'd, as long as he had any Provisions left, and there were some Families in *Rome*, who could pay him seven *Roman* Pieces of Gold for a Quarter of Corn (2).

(5) *IBID.* c. 17. *He describes in particular the miserable Condition of the Romans, at their Departure*, p. 506. A. Deinde Cæsariani Duces, alia pro abitu expressa pecunia, Romanos omnes, quibus migrare placuit, dimiserunt. Paucis in urbe relictis, cæteri, quo cuique licuit, se propriare. Plurimos, vigore corporis absumpto fame in ipsa navigatione, vel terrestri itinere, moris oppressit: multi in via ab hostibus comprehensicæsi sunt. En quo fortuna Senatum populumque Romanum adduxerat!

§ XXXIII. (1) *PROCOPIUS*. L. 3. c. 18. p. 508. A. Hic Venantii filius Tullianus, Romanus genere, inter Brutios ac Lucanos plurimum pollens, Joannem adiit, deque facinoribus in Italos a Cæsariano exercitu ante admissis questus, recepit,

si, quid clementiæ illis in posterum exhiberetur, se ita Brutios Lucanosque in jus ac ditionem Imperatoris revocaturum, ut ei vestigalia perinde ac prius penderent: quippe qui Barbaris, iisque Arianis, non sponte se dedidissent; at cum hostium vi, tum maxime Cæsarianorum militum injuriis, adacti. Ubi Joannes omni asseveratione affirmavit, illos deinceps benefacturos Italici; Tullianus, ei comitem sese addidit. Ex illo ab Italici timere sibi milites desierunt, ac fere omnia citra finem Jonium habuerunt amica, subditaque Imperatori.

(2) *IBID.* p. 505. A. Medimnus frumenti septem constabat aureos.

§ XXXIV.

He attempts
in vain to con-
vey Provisions
into the City.

§ XXXIV. *BELISARIUS* resolv'd, at least, to open the Passage of the *Tyber*, in Order to carry Provisions into the City: He caus'd two broad Vessels to be fasten'd together, and a Turret to be erected on them, higher than both those which were rais'd by *Totilas*. These were followed by 200 Vessels laden with Provisions, the Sides of which were so rais'd with Boards, that their Archers could annoy the Enemy, and yet be cover'd themselves. He plac'd some Troops in a Readiness, to prevent the Enemy from making any Attempt on *Porto*: And all the Rest of the Infantry stood near that Place, in Case *Bessas* should think fit to make a Sally. The Design succeeded to his Wish at first. *Belisarius* approach'd so near, that, from the Top of his Turret, he could throw combustible Matters, of all Kinds, into that of the *Goths*, which stood on the Road to *Porto*, and thereby burnt it, together with 100 Men, who were in it. The *Imperialists* had began to attempt the Boom, when they were interrupted by an unexpected Alarm. *Belisarius* had left his Consort, with the Treasury of the Army, and his own Effects, of great Value, at *Porto*, in the Care of *Isaac*, the before-mention'd *Armenian* General. The Safety of his Retreat was so very important, that he had order'd him not to move, whatever Advices he might receive: But when the Report of this successful Beginning reach'd *Porto*, with this Addition, that the *Imperialists* had already broken the Chain, and were advancing without Molestation to *Rome*, Vanity so gain'd the Ascendant over the *Armenian*, as to aim at the Honour of having contributed something to the Delivery of the City. He hasten'd out of *Porto*, took with him some of those Men, whom *Belisarius* had posted on the Way, and attack'd *Rudericus*, the *Gothick* General; but with so little Success that he himself was taken Prisoner. Some of the Cavalry, who had escap'd from Battle, rode in full Gallop to *Belisarius*, and call'd to him that *Isaac* was taken Prisoner by the *Goths*. That Equanimity and Presence of Mind, which *Belisarius* had 'till then been so famous for, now forsook him; and, as *Procopius* observes, for the very first Time of all his Life. He was so seiz'd with the Apprehension of *Porto's* being lost, and himself cut off, that he did not take Time to enquire into the real Circumstances of Things, but immediately quitted his Design and turn'd back, in Hopes of being the sooner able to drive out the *Goths* in their first Confusion*.

Totilas takes
Rome. &c.
† A. 546.

§ XXXV. *BESSAS* continu'd so to indulge his Avarice, and relied so securely on the Walls of *Rome*, that he hardly ever caus'd the Posts to be visited. By this Neglect, four *Isauri* †, who were on Guard at

§ XXXIV. * *PROCOPIUS* L. 3. c. 19.

the *Porta Asinaria*, to betray the City into the Hands of the *Goths*. They drew four Men, in the Night Time, over the Wall, who, making themselves Masters of the Gate, on the Inside, open'd it to their King. *Totilas* kept his Troops together, during the Night, being apprehensive of Treachery, and Ambushes: but *Bessas* was not prepar'd for a Defense. He no sooner hear'd that the *Goths* were in the City, than he made his Escape thro' another Gate. His Troops, and some of the *Patricii*, who had Horses, fled whither their Inclination led them; but they were oblig'd to leave the Women behind them. The Relation of *Procopius*, that not above 500 Men, of the common People, were left, and that they were so worn out, as to be hardly able to take Sanctuary in the Churches, is scarce credible. As soon as the † Day broke, and † Dec. 17. *Totilas* saw that his Apprehensions were groundless, he repair'd to the Church of *St. Peter's*, to perform his Devotion. At first, the *Goths* cut in Pieces all that came in their Way: But the Desolation of the City itself put a Stop to this Cruelty. Six and twenty Soldiers, and sixty of the Inhabitants, made up the Number of the Slain; For when *Totilas* enter'd the Church, *Pelagius*, whom I mention'd above, came to meet him, having the Gospels carried before him, and entreated he would spare the Vanquish'd, who were now become his Subjects. The King therefore commanded, that no Injury should be offer'd to the Person of any one. The Women in particular, were not only screen'd from all indecent Usage; but *Totilas* did not even suffer them to be married against their Wills: No Interceptions could, however, prevent the Plunder of the City; and the Money *Bessas* had heap'd up fell now a Prey to the *Goths*. Some Senators were so impoverish'd by these Ravages, that they were forc'd to beg their Bread from Door to Door. *Rusticana*, the Widow of *Boetius*, and Daughter of *Symmachus*, among others, was reduc'd to this calamitous State. This Lady was accus'd of having prevail'd on the *Imperial* Generals, by bribing them with large Sums of Money, to throw down the Statues, that had been erected in Honour of *Theodorick*, in Order to revenge the Death of her Father and Husband, on that Prince's Memory. Some urg'd, that she deserv'd to expiate that Crime with the Loss of her Life; but to this *Totilas* would give no Ear *.

§ XXXVI.

§ XXXV. * PROCOPIUS, L. 3. c. 20. Contin. Chron. Marcellini ad A. Post Cos. Basilii VI. Ind. X. (547). Totila, dolo Isaurorum, ingreditur Romam, die XVI. Kal. Januariæ, accevit muros, domos aliquantas igni comburens, ac omnes Romanorum

res in prædam accepit, hos ipsos Romanos in Campaniam captivos abduxit. Post quam devastationem, per XL. aut amplius dies, Roma fuit ita desolata, ut nemo ibi hominum, nisi bestiarum morarentur. Marius ad A. VI. post Cos. Basilii

He proposes
an Accommo-
dation to
Justinian.

§ XXXVI. TOTILAS made a Speech to his *Goths*, and admonish'd them, for the future, to have a constant Regard to Justice and Equity, as the surest Means of supporting themselves in their now more fortunate State (1). He likewise caus'd those few Members of the Senat, who were yet left in the City, to be brought before him, and reproach'd them with their Infidelity to the *Goths*, and the fatal Consequences of it: He threaten'd to punish them with the Loss of the Liberty they had hitherto enjoy'd, but this Menace was soon after mitigated, at the Mediation, in particular, of *Pelagius* (2). He then delegated *Pelagius* and *Theodorus*, a Roman Ad-

Ind. X. (547). Eo anno Baduila, Rex Gothorum, Romam captam depopulavit, dejectisque muris partem Civitatis incendit. *Both indeed assign the Year 547; but Pagius ad h. a. N. 2. sequi- proves, against Baronius and Norisius, that it hap- pen'd A. 546.*

§ XXXVI. (1) PROCOPIUS, L. 3. c. 21. p. 514. *seq. He introduces him speaking, among others, these Words:* Aio agitur, nos antea, cum ducenta fortissimorum militum millia conscripta haberemus, ingentes possideremus divitias, equorum, cæterarumque rerum vim maximam, ac prudentissimos ostentaremus senes quam plurimos; quo juvari singulariter videntur, qui in dimicationem veniunt; a septem millibus Græcorum victos, & regno rebusque omnibus sœdissime spoliatos fuisse. Nunc autem ad paucos redacti, nudi, miseri, omnino rudes, hostium amplius viginti millia vicimus. Ac res quidem gestæ, ut in summa dicam, ejusmodi sunt. Horum vero eventuum causas vobis, probe licet cognitæ, modo referam. Ante hac Gothi æquitate cunctis posthabita, inter se, & in Romanos subditos scelera committebant: quibus Deus, ut par erat, commotus, adversus illos una cum hostibus bellavit. Quamobrem numero licet, virtute, bellico apparatu adversariis longe superiores, occulta quadam ac minime perspecta vi fracti succubuimus. Ergo situm in vobis erit, ut bona jam parta tueamini, nimirum cultu justitiæ: unde si deflectatis illico Deus contra vos flabit. Neque enim certo cuidam hominum generi, nec naturæ gentium auxiliari in bello solet; sed iis, qui jus fasque impensius colunt. Neque ipsi difficile est ad alios bona transferre: cum arbitrii quidem humani sit solum abstinere injuria:

at Deus omnia in sua ditione habeat, ac potestate. Quare dandam esse operam dico, ut inter vos atque subditos æquitatis officia servetis.

(2) PROCOPIUS, L. 3, c. 21. *has recorded the following Contents of this Speech to the Romans:* Coactis etiam Senatui Romano multa exprobat, & cavillando objecit, quod pluribus a Theoderico & Athalarico affecti beneficiis, omnibus semper ornati magistratibus, ad Reipublicæ administrationem adhibiti, opibusque aucti ingentibus, animo in Gothos tam beneficos ingratisimo, summaque injuria cum exitio suo conjuncta defecissent, & Græcos induxissent in patriam, sui proditores repente facti. Tum querere, quid mali unquam Gothi ipsis irrogassent? instare ut dicerent, num quid boni a Justiniano Aug. accepissent? ac singula recensendo, commemore, honores fere omnes illis ereptos; a Logothetis, quos vocant, impositam verberum vi necessitatem rationes eorum reddendi, quæ rem gerendo publicam in Gothos admisisse; sæviente bello, æque ut in pace, vestigalia a Græcis exacta: alia multa orationi intexuit, quæ in senso Domino, carpenti servos, convenirent. Denique Herodianum ipsis ostendens atque Isauros, quorum prodicione urbem ceperat, Vos quidem, inquit, cum Gothis educati, nullum nobis locum, vel desolatium, voluistis ad hanc diem concedere: hi vero nos ipsius Romæ, & Spoleti fecerunt compotes. Quare vos servi estote; dum hi Gothis amicitia ac necessitudine juncti, magistratus vestros merito obtinebunt. *Hæc audita Patritii ferebant silentio; at Pelagius lapsos infelices a Totila deprecari non ab- stinit, donec ille eos remisit, promissa clementia erectos.*

vocate,

vocate, to the Emperor, to try if they could obtain a Peace; but on no other Footing, than as it had been settled in the Times of *Anastasius* and *Theodorick* (3). But *Justinian* referred this Treaty to *Belisarius*. In the mean Time, a Body of *Goths*, who attempted to make an Irruption into *Lucania*, being repuls'd, *Totilas* resolv'd to go thither himself: But to be the more secure of a Retreat, and to remove all Apprehensions from the Side of *Rome*, he caus'd all the Gates to be taken off, and so much of the Walls, in several Places, to be thrown down, as amounted to a third Part of the Circumference. Some Edifices had perhaps likewise been set on Fire during the Siege (4). The enraged Conqueror would probably have proceeded farther, and there were not those wanting, who wish'd to see the City level'd with the Ground (5): But *Belisarius* himself wrote to him, and interceded for the Place (6). He

(3) PROCOPIUS. *p.* 516. C. Petimus ut pacis commoda & amplectaris ipse, & nobis concedas. Quoniam monumenta atque exempla præclarissima nobis suppeditant Anastasius ac Theodericus, qui nuper ita regnarunt, ut pace & felicitate ætatem suam impleverint. Hoc tibi si collibitum erit, merito Pater meus vocaberis; ac nos deinceps, in quemcunque voles, habebis armorum socios.

(4) PROCOPIUS. *l. c. c.* 22. *p.* 517. B. Cujus aljato nuntio, statuit Romam solo equare Totilas, ibique relicta majori parte exercitus, cum altera Johannem & Lucanos petere. Ergo muros diversis in locis diruit; ita, ut ruinæ tertiam fere totius ambitus partem efficerent. Ædificia quoque pulcherrima, ac magnificentissima delere flammis parabat, & mutare Romam in gregum pascua. *What is mentioned above concerning some Buildings being set on Fire, is illustrated in the Passages quoted § XXXIX. not. 3.*

(5) Ataulph, King of the Wisi-Goths, once intended this, as I observ'd B. VIII. § 30. not. 3. And that many of the Goths now design'd the same appears from the following § 38.

(6) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 3. *c.* 22, quotes the Contents of Belisarius's Letter, as follows: Ut inventum virorum est cordatorum, ac vitæ civilis intelligentium, ornamenta urbibus nova addere; sic ea, quæ extant, abolere, nota est proprii stulto-

rum; quos non pudeat ejusmodi monumentum naturæ suæ posteritati relinquere. Romam autem cunctis urbibus, quæ sub sole sunt, magnitudine & dignitate præstare in confesso est. Haud enim unius viri opibus extructa fuit, nec brevis temporis beneficio tam ampla splendidaque evasit: sed multi Imperatores, & præstantissimorum virorum catervæ plurimæ, & longa dies, & immensæ divitiæ, huc ex universo terrarum orbe cum alia quælibet, tum architectos atque opifices coegerunt. Itaque urbe, qualem vides, paulatim ædificata, virtutis omnium monumenta posteris reliquerunt. Quare si quam acceperint hæc injuriam, ea graviter in ætates omnes redundare videbitur, nec immerito. Nam & majoribus virtutis memoriam, & posteris voluptatem ea spectandi opera adimet. Quæ cum ita sint, probe teneas velim, necesse esse horum alterum fiat: vel hujus belli victoriam, tibi præripiat Imperator, vel eam forte adipiscaris. Si viceris; Roma excisa, non alienam urbem perdideris, præclare vir, sed tuam: eadem servata, augeberis procul dubio possessione omnium præstantissima. Sin deterior fortuna tibi inciderit; manente Roma, non parva tibi gratia apud victorem manebit: ea deleta, nullus erit reliquus clementiæ locus. Præterea nihil emolumenti ceperis ex tali facto. Huic demum consentanea de te erit apud mortales omnes opinio: quæ jam tibi impendet in utramque parata partem. Etenim qualia sunt acta Principum, tale ipsi nomen ex iis ferant necesse est.

remonstrated, among other Particulars, that if he hop'd to continue Master of *Italy*, it would be inconsistent to destroy the greatest Ornament thereof; but if not, he would do well to consider in what Light his Name would be transmitted to Posterity, if he should demolish the Monuments of so many great Men, and of such noble Exploits, and at the same Time, of so many Master-pieces of valuable Arts. He therefore was contented with taking the *Patricii*, and all the other Inhabitants, with him to *Campania*. Thus *Rome* indeed, at that Time, retain'd her costly Buildings (7), but was left open and desolate. This City had, indeed, frequently, in former Days, suffer'd greater Evils, both with Regard to her Inhabitants, and Edifices. Rivers of Blood were shed by *Marius*, *Cinna* and *Sylla*. How fatal were not the Cruelties (8) of the *Triumviri*, *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and *Cæsar Octavianus*? *Nero* caus'd the City to be set on Fire, to please himself with a Representation of *Troy* in Flames. Not to mention the severe Judgements, it afterwards underwent †. But this Humiliation was yet wanting; that this Mistress of the World, whose Citizens were formerly counted by Hundreds of Thousands, should now become desolate, and that her splendid Buildings should serve, as it were, for her own Sepulchre. *Totilas* left a great Part of his Army in *Algido* (now *Cava dell Aglio*) lest *Belisarius* might fall upon his Rear. All those who had taken up Arms in *Lucania*, and the adjacent Countries, were appeas'd at the Approach of *Totilas*: And he encamp'd on Mount *Gargano*, where *Hannibal* had, in former Times, pitch'd his Tents. *John* would not venture to keep the Field in *Apulia*, but retir'd into *Otranto*, and fortified the Place; in Order to keep *Calabria*, in some Measure in Aw. *Totilas*, on the other Hand, left a Garrison in *Acerenza*, on the Borders of *Calabria*, and went back to *Ravenna*. He had not yet been at this Place since his Accession to the Throne, and now hop'd, with

(7) PROCOPIUS p. 627. B. Extols the Vigilance of the Romans, in preserving the Embellishments of their City; and afterwards makes mention of the beautiful Edifices that were in it. Supra omnes, quos equidem novimus, urbis studiosi suæ Romani; res omnes patrias retinere & conservare satagunt: ne quid antiqui decoris Romæ depereat. Et quamvis diu dominationem Barbaricam passi sunt, urbis tamen ædificia servarunt, & quam plurima quoad ejus fieri potuit ornamenta. He immediately after mentions the fine ancient Statues, that still subsisted in Rome.

(8) PROCOPIUS l. c. p. 518. C. Ipse reliquum exercitum adversus Joannem & Lucanos duxit. Romanos Senatores secum habens, cæteros cives omnes cum uxoribus liberisque in Campaniam misit, nec Romæ quemquam morari passus, urbem reliquit penitus vacuum.

† How much more severely Italy and Rome were visited in former Times, than afterwards by the Goths, is described by THOM. BOZIUS de Italix statu L. 1. c. 7 and 8. and throughout the whole Second Book.

the greater Glory, to re-establish the Residence of the *Gothick* Kingdom there (9).

§ XXXVII. But *Belisarius*, by an unexpected Stratagem, defeated *Belisarius* his Expectations. He went, unawares, with the greatest Part of his *enters Rome.* Army, from *Porto* to the forsaken City of *Rome*, determining to restore it to its former State. In the Space of 25 Days, he stopp'd the Gaps in the Walls, as well as in Haste he could, and caus'd the Outside to be fenc'd with Palisadoes. He had likewise caus'd large Quantities of Provisions to be brought up along the *Tyber*. We may easily imagine with how much Reluctance the *Romans*, who were dispers'd, had left the City. This News no sooner reach'd their Ears, than they return'd in Shoals, and *Rome* was, in a Manner, founded a second Time. *Totilas*, indeed, march'd with the whole Army to *Rome*, in Hopes of surprising *Belisarius*, before he could finish the Walls and Gates: And this General had, indeed, for Want of a sufficient Number of Workmen, not yet been able to put up the Gates (1). But he placed a Guard there of his most valiant Soldiers, and caus'd Stakes † to be drove on the Outside, and a deep Ditch to be made. *Totilas* attack'd the City on that Side towards the *Tyber*: But he was vigorously repuls'd, and this Disaster prov'd doubly fatal to him: For besides the ill Success of his Attempt, the Heads of his Nation openly exclaim'd against him, for not having wholly demolish'd *Rome*, or plac'd a strong Garrison in it, and thereby secur'd it in his own Hands. The Soldiers almost made a God of him, so long as his Fortune answer'd their Wishes: But, after this Inadvertency, they complain'd, that, by the King's Indiscretion, they were depriv'd of all their Victories (2). *Totilas* went to *Tivoli*, where he rebuilt the

(9) PROCOPIUS c. 22.

§ XXXVII. (1) L. 3. c. 24.

† PROCOPIUS calls these Pales Tribuli, and gives the following Description of them, p. 552. Porro hæc tribulorum figura est. Extrema palorum quatuor, æqualis plane longitudinis, inter se ita committunt, ut radii ob omni latere formam triangularem efficiant: eos autem humi temere jaciunt. Itaque pali tres solo simul stant firmissime, quartus, qui unus eminet, viros equosque præpedire solet. Et quoties quis tribulum voluit, tum qui erectus erat in cælum palus, consistit humi, & elatus alter in ejus locum, accedere volentibus infestus est.

omnes convenere Totilam, eique convitia ingerentes, ore durissimo, exprobrarunt imprudentiam: quod Roma potitus, nec solo totam æquasset; ne amplius ab hoste posset occupari; neque ipse retinuisset: ac temere corrupisset laboris sui, ac diuturni temporis, fructum. Nimirum hoc sunt homines ingenio: Sententiam eventis rerum semper accommodant, & mente ad fortunam fluctuantem appulsa, reciproco judiciorum æstu jactantur. Itaque Gothi, quandiu Totilæ bene processerunt incepta, illum tanquam Deum suspexerunt, invictum & inexpugnabilem prædicantes, cum urbes captas parte murorum aliqua nudari fineret. Semel autem re male gesta, eundem convitiis, ut dictum est, proscindere non sint veriti, paulo ante dictorum immemores, vel ea potius retexentes.

(2) IBIDEM p. 523. Tum primores Gothorum

Fort. *Belisarius*, in the mean Time, compleated what was wanting of the Fortifications of *Rome*, and again sent the Keys of the City to the Emperor (3). *Totilas* had demanded the Daughter of a King of the *Franks* in Marriage; but met with a Refusal. It was alledg'd, that he could not yet be regarded as a King of *Italy*, and that his Throne did not appear sufficiently established, since he had not been able to maintain *Rome* (4).

Belisarius is
recall'd from
Italy.

§ XXXVIII. *TOTILAS* laid Siege to *Peruvia*, in Order to obliterate his Miscarriage by some brave Exploit (1). *John*, in the mean Time, broke up from *Taranto*, disperfed the *Goths*, and fet the *Romans*, who were, in a Manner, their Prisoners, at Liberty. *Totilas* left some Troops before *Peruvia*, and march'd himself against *John*, whom he surpris'd unawares, and put him to Flight; whereupon, he retreated again to *Taranto*. *Belisarius* had, in the mean Time, left *Rome*; and intended to sail for *Taranto*, to wait there for the Succours, which *Justinian* had promised him; but was obliged to land at *Catrone*. His Men gained a small Advantage over the *Goths*, near *Rossano* (2): But *Totilas* fell upon them with 3000 Horse, and put them to Flight. The Consternation was greater than the Loss: But *Belisarius*, not thinking even his own Person safe at *Catrone*, retreated to *Messina*, which was regarded as little better than a Flight. He was quite tired with the War in *Italy*; because the Court so entirely neglected him. *Antonina*, his Wife, went to *Constantinople*, to represent to the Emperor, in Person, the Necessity of exerting himself: But she was informed, on her Journey, of the Death of † *Theodora*, over whom she had a great Influence, and now only entreated the Emperor to recall her Husband †† (3). The Memory of his former Victories occasioned no Notice to be taken, how little successful he had been during the last five Years, after his Return to *Italy* (4). *Justinian*

† Jun. 11,
548.

†† At the Beginning of the
Year 549

(3) IBIDEM, p. 523. D.

(4) IBIDEM, p. 553. B. Non ita pridem Totilas missa ad Francorum Regem legatione, ejus filiam sibi petierat in matrimonium. Is vero abnuerat, negans, illum Italix regem esse, vel futurum unquam, qui Romam captam retinere nescivisset, ac parte ejus diruta illam iterum permisisset hostium potestati. Each of the three Kings, who then reign'd over the Franks, had Daughters. The modern Historians, as Valerius, F. le Cointe, Pagius, and F. Daniel, interpret this of Theodebert; because Childebart and Clotarius did not interfere in the Affairs of Italy: But this is not evident, for Childebart had certainly some Share

therein, as appears from Pope Vigilius's Letters to Aurelian, Bishop of Arles; of which see a farther Account in § 39. below.

§ XXXVIII. (1) PROCOPIUS, L. 3. 25.

(2) *Ruscina, Thuriorum Castellum.*

(3) PROCOPIUS, L. 3. c. 30.

(4) IDEM, L. 3. c. 35. Belisarius Byzantium indecore profectus est: cum Italia quinquennio sic fuisset exclusus, ut nequivisset certis itineribus progredi; sed toto hoc tempore fugitans clanculum, & ab uno maritimo præsidio ad aliud navigans, oram continenter legisset: unde factum, ut liberius hostes Romam ipsam, cæteraque omnia subege-

nian promoted him to the *Præfectura Prætorii Orientis*, and afterwards to the Command of his Life-Guards (5). He performed signal Service against the *Huns*, even in his advanced Years (6): But all the Laurels he had obtained in the Wars with the *Vandals*, *Goths*, *Persians* and *Huns*, could not shelter him from the Storms, which are frequently raised by Suspicion and Envy at Court. He was suspected of being too much puffed up by the Applause of the Populace, and of having a Share in a Conspiracy against the Emperor; insomuch, that he was confined to his House: But his Innocence was made manifest, and he died soon after †. His Goods were confiscated, which gave Rise to the Fiction, we find in some modern Writers, that he became blind, and was reduced to the Necessity of begging his Bread (7).

§ XXXIX. *JUSTINIAN*, in the mean Time, was so taken up with the religious Controversies, that the Affairs of State, and, in particular, the War with the *Goths*, were almost wholly neglected; notwithstanding he was often put in Mind of them, by Pope *Vigilius*, who was still detained at *Constantinople*, and several of the Temporal Roman Nobility (1). *Totilas*, in the mean While, besieged *Rome*. *Belisarius* had left a Garrison of 2000 Men, and Corn was now sown in several Places within the Walls, lest they should again be afflicted with Famine. The *Goths*, in the mean Time, took *Porto*. At Length, the *Isauri*, who murmured,

Totilas takes Rome a second Time.

subegerint. Tunc & Perusiam, urbem Tusciæ principem, dira obsidione cinctam reliquit: quæ, dum ille esset in via, vi capta est. Cum pervenisset Byzantium, ibi deinceps mansit, divitiis affluens, rebusque illustribus antea feliciter gestis. *Belisarius returned to Constantinople towards the End of the 14th Year of the Gothick War, that is, at the Beginning of 549.*

(5) PROCOPIUS, L. 4. c. 21. p. 625. B. Cum, ut antea dixi, *Belisarius* Imperator Byzantium revocasset, eum habuit honorifice; haud tamen statuit in Italiam mittere post obitum Germani; sed ipsum, jam Præfectum Prætorio Orientis, corporis custodibus sui præposuit, tenuitque apud se. Dignitate præstabat Romanis omnibus *Belisarius*; etsi inter eos non deerant, qui ante ipsum adscripti fuissent Patriiis, & ad Selam Consularem evecti. Nihilominus primas illi concedebant omnes prohibiti virtutis reverentia, quominus legis beneficio uterentur, suumque Jus retinerent; id quod valde Imperatori placebat. *Some Authors produce a Medal, said to have been*

struck in Honour of Belisarius, and refer to Zonaras. In him we find no such Account; and the whole Pretence is not consonant with the Customs of those Times.

(6) AGATHIAS, p. 160--166.

(7) See of this the XXIVth Annot. at the End of this Volume.

§ XXXIX. (1) PROCOPIUS, L. 3. c. 35. *Vigilius* vero, Pontifex Romanus, cum *Italis*, qui ibi tunc aderant & plurimi & nobilissimi, non abfistebat Imperatorem urgere, ut viribus omnibus Italiam sibi vindicaret. Imprimis stimulabat ipsum *Gothicus*, Patricius, ac jam diu Consularis, qui nuper ejus rei causa Byzantium venerat. At Imperator, se Italiæ prospecturum pollicitus, in Christianorum dogmata, maximam temporis partem conferebat, tollendis eorum controversiis intentissimus. And cap 36. he says: Justinianus vero Augustus, ut *Belisarius* reducem Byzantium vidit, Ducem alium adversus *Gothos*, ac *Totilam*

† Towards
the Conclufi-
on of the Year
549.

* Di S. An-
gelo.

murmured, becaufe they had, in fo long Time, received no Pay, betray'd to them the Gate of *S. Paolo* †, where the *Goths* entered the City at the ſame Time, that the Garrifon haſten'd out at the oppoſite Gate. They could retreat no where, but to *Centum-Cellæ Civita-Vecchia*) which was the only fortified Place remaining in the Hands of the *Imperialiſts* thereabouts : But *Totilas* had placed a large Number of Men in Ambuſh on that Road, by whom the moſt of them were taken. About 400 Horſe made themſelves Maſters of the Bridge * over the *Tyber*, and of the adjoining Sepulchre of the Emperor *Adrian*, which has ſerved ever ſince for a Fort, and is now known by the Name of the Caſtle *di S. Angelo*. They reſolved to hold out to the laſt Man : But *Totilas* allowed them a favorable Capitulation, and they even entered into the *Gothick* Service : For *Juſtinian's* Army conſiſted chiefly of Foreigners, who were indifferent, by whom they were paid. He likewise gave Quarter to four Hundred *Imperial* Soldiers, who had taken Refuge here and there in the Churches (2). *Totilas* endeavoured now to re-people the City with *Romans* and *Goths*. He ſent for the Senators, and all the other *Romans*, thither, that were in his Power, cauſed the Edifices that had been deſtroyed by Fire, to be rebuilt, and Plenty of Proviſions to be brought thither (3) : And in Order to blot out, as it were, the doleful Remembrance of paſt Evils, he inſtituted Turnaments, in which he was himſelf very expert (4). Pope *Vigilius*, who received this unhappy News at *Conſtantinople*, beſought *Aurelian*, Biſhop of *Arles*, to implore King *Childebert's* Interceſſion with *Totilas*, for the Safety of the Church and Religion (5). *Totilas* is, there-
fore,

Totilam, cum exercitu mittere conſtituit. Quod conſilium, ſi executus eſſet, bello, ut equidem ſentio, viciffet hoſtem, cum adhuc Romam haberet in ſua ditione, & incolume illius Urbis præſidium, miſſis Byzantio auxiliis, miſceri poſſet. Nunc autem delecto primum Liberio, Patritio Romano, injunxit, ut præſto eſſet : deinde negotio forte ſuborto aliquo, egregiam voluntatem depoſuit.

(2) PROCOPIUS, L. 3. c. 36 That the City was taken, towards the Concluſion of the Year 549. is demonſtrated by Pagius, ad A. 550. n. 23.

(3) PROCOPIUS, l. c. p. 553. A. Porro Totilas, Romam nec delere, nec relinquere amplius voluit ; Sed Gothis ac Romanis cum Senatorii, tum alias cujuſque ordinis frequentare decrevit. And cap. 37. Quamobrem jam in urbem annam invehere ſategit Totilas, & propere inſtaurari juſſit, quidquid ipſe, cum Romam primum cepiſſet,

ferro ac flamma corruerat. Romanos, non Senatores modo, ſed alios etiam quoscuque in Campania aſſervabat, revocavit, cumque ludis equeſtribus interuiſſet, univerſum exercitum accinxit, bellum Siculum meditans. And p. 627. A. Urbem pro virili parte curare jubet, præ ſe ferens poenitentiam violatæ tum Romæ, cum ejus partem non exiguam, præſertim trans fluvium Tyberim, flamma deleviſſet.

(4) PROCOPIUS, p. 553. B. How expert Totilas was in Exercises of this Kind, appears from the Relation, which the Reader will find in the XIIIth Annot.

(5) Vigilius's Letter to Aurelian, Biſhop of Arles, may be ſeen in Baronius, ad A. 550. n. 8. ſeq. The Words relating to our Subject are theſe : Credimus ſperandum, ut ſit fraternitas Veſtra ſollicita, & Glorioſo Filio noſtro, Childeberto, Regi,

fore, unjustly accused of having destroyed the City, and of having then levelled with the Ground the Amphitheatre, Obelisks, Theatres, Baths, Aqueducts, and other splendid Edifices. They were not demolish'd 'till succeeding Times, when the *Christians* would no longer suffer the Cruelty of Combats, nor the Effeminacy of Baths and Theatres, no more than they would the Monuments of Idolatry, in the Temples, and Obelisks. Pope *Gregory the Great* was particularly zealous herein. Many of these Edifices were afterwards dilapidated, when they were either no more regarded, or could, for Want of Inhabitants, not well be supported. Many were destroyed in the succeeding Wars, in the XIth Century, and, perhaps, in later Times, when the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines* were at Variance in this City (6). *Totilas* succeeded now to the utmost of his Wishes. *Perusia*, on the other Side, had been forced to surrender: He resolved, therefore, to pass over into *Sicily*, and had got a considerable Fleet together, which chiefly consisted of Ships taken from the *Imperialists* (7). He detached, by the Way, some Troops to *Taranto*, who took the Castle. The Garrison at *Reggio*, on the Streight, offered to resist. He left some Troops to reduce them by Famine, and proceeded, without Molestation, to *Sicily*. He over-run, at Will, this whole Island †; † 550. before *Justinian* could resolve, whom to send thither. He, at first, had an Eye on *Liberius*, but soon altered his Resolution (8).

§ XL. WHILST *Totilas* employed most of his Forces in the other Part of *Italy*, *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasia*, laid Hold of this Opportunity of taking some Countries and Cities, which bordered on *Burgundy* and *Ratia* (1). The unfortunate Expedition † of 539 had not deterr'd him † Above, § 13.

Regi, supplicare non desinas, ut quia Gothi, cum Rege suo, in civitatem Romanam perhibentur ingressi, hoc ei dignetur scribere, ne se in Ecclesiæ nostræ præjudicio immisceat, & aliquid faciat, aut fieri qualibet ratione permittat, unde Catholica possit Ecclesia perturbari.

tamen, expedit, ac numerosam classem majorum navium, quas illuc ex Oriente ab Imperatore missas, toto eo tempore cum viris, & oneribus interceperat.

(8) IBID. c. 39.

(6) All this is circumstantially related by Pet. Angelus Bergæus, in a learned Letter de publicorum privatorumque Urbis Romæ ædificiorum everforibus, where he proves that Destruction to have been falsely imputed to Totilas.

(7) PROCOPIUS. p. 553. C. Eodem tempore minora navigia quadringenta, veluti ad navale cer-

§ XL. (1) PROCOPIUS. L. 4. c. 24. p. 634. D. Paulo ante, Francorum Rex, Theodebertus, morbo obierat, cum sibi nulli negotio tributaria fecisset nonnulla Liguriæ loca, Alpes Cottias, agrique Veneti partem maximam. Etenim Franci, arrepta belli, quo Romani Gothique erant impliciti, opportunitate, sine discrimine ditionem suam iis locis auxerunt, de quibus illi pugnabant. Venetorum pauca oppida Gothis supererant:

S

nam

him from trying his Fate again in *Italy*. *Bucelinus*, Duke of *Alemannia*, performed the most eminent Services here (2); and, next to him, *Hamingus* and *Lanthacarius* two famous Generals (3). The *Franks* took the *Cottian Alps*, which reach from *Monte-Viso* to *Mont-Genis*, and extended themselves in *Liguria* and *Venetia*. The *Goths* retained only *Brescia*, *Verona*, and a few other Places in *Venetia*. The *Imperialists* were possessed of the Sea-Port Towns. The latter were the less able to resist the *Franks*, as they could not even carry on the War, to any Purpose, against the *Goths*. But we meet, nevertheless, with the Mention of a Battle, in which *Lanthacarius* was beaten by the *Imperialists* (4). *Totilas*, at that Time, allowed *Theodebert* the Possession of his Conquests, and only made the Condition, That he should proceed no farther; and promised, at the same Time, that when the War with the *Goths* was ended, he would come to an amicable Accommodation with the *Franks* (5).

His Design against the Emperor, &c.

§ XLI. *AGATHIAS*, who wrote the History of *Justinian*, from the Time where *Procopius* ceases, relates (1), that *Theodebert* was displeas'd

nam Romani maritima, Franci cætera occupant. Dum hoc bellum, ut dixi, Romani Gothique inter se gererent, nec novos hostes in se auderent excire, colloquio Gothos inter ac Francos instituto convenerat, ut quæ haberent utrique, his quiete potirentur, nec se invicem armis laceferent, quamdiu Romanis Gothi bellum inferrent: ac si bello vinceret Justinianum Augustum Totilas: tum Gothi & Franci transigerent, prout esse communi videretur.

(2) That *Bucelinus* contributed most thereto, appears from *Paulus Diaconus*, *Lib. 2. c. 2.* His temporibus *Narses* etiam *Bucelino*, Duci, bellum intulit, quem *Theodebertus*, Rex Francorum, cum in *Italiam* introisset, reversus ad *Gallias*, cum *Hamingo*, alio Duce, ad subjugandam *Italiam* dereliquerat. *Gregory's Relation*, *L. 3. 32.* agrees with this.

(3) *Hamingus* is named by *Paulus Diaconus* in the foregoing Not. 2. We shall find him mentioned again in the next Book. Of *Lanthacarius*, See the following Note.

(4) *Marius A. P. C. Diss. VII. Ind. XI.*

(548.) *Eo anno Lanthacarius, Dux Francorum, in bello Romano transossus obiit.*

(5) See *Procopius's Words*, Not. 1. In the next Book, I shall have frequent Occasion to mention those places in *Italy*, which, about this Time, were taken by the *Franks*.

§ XLI. (1) *AGATHIAS L. 1. p. 14. D.* Cum itaque Romanis bellum adversus *Totilam*, Gothorum ducem, esset ortum, *Theodebertus* hoc animo agitabat, summaque diligentia procurabat, ut interea, dum in *Italia* *Narses* pariter & exercitus laborarent occupatique essent, ipse fortissimis validissimisque copiis coactis in *Thraciæ* regionem penetraret, eaque tota vastata & subjugata, *Byzantium* regiam urbem bellum transferret. Hoc vero consilium suum adeo graviter re ipsa tantoque apparatu est persequutus, ut etiam ad *Gipedas* & *Longobardos* aliasque nonnullas finitimas gentes legationem instituerit, ut & hi in societatem belli venirent. Neque enim tolerandum esse censebat, quod Imperator *Justinianus* in Edictis Imperatoris *Francici* & *Alemanici*, nec non *Gepedici*, & *Longobardici*, aliosque hujuscemodi titulos sibi vindicaret, perinde ac si omnes hæc gentes subjugasset.

pleas'd at the Emperor's assuming the Titles of *Francicus*, *Alemannicus*, *Germanicus* †, and form'd the Design of passing thro' *Pannonia* and *Moësia*, when *Narsès* should have carried away the Forces of the *Grecian* Empire into *Italy*, of invading *Thrace*, and of shewing the Emperor himself, at *Constantinople*, that he unjustly triumph'd, as it were, in his Titles, over the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, as if they had been conquer'd Nations. He had likewise sent Ambassadors to the Kings of the *Gepidæ* and *Longobards*, and excited them to join him, when he was snatch'd away by Death. He died about the Year 548, and was succeeded by *Theodebald* his Son (2). Among the Medals of this King, we find one very remarkable. The *Busto* is the same with that which commonly represents *Justinian*, and the Inscription this: D. N. THEODEBERTI. P. P. AUG.. On the Reverse is the Figure of Victory, with the *Labarum*, as on the Medals of the Emperors, and this Circumscription: VICTORIA AUCCCA. underneath CONOB. The Learned have been greatly perplex'd about the Explication of this Medal (3). *Theodebert*, perhaps, even assum'd the *Imperial* Title, in Hopes of restoring the Empire in the *West*, and making himself the sooner Master of *Italy*. This Project had before been form'd by the *Gauls* (4). But *Charlemagn*, and after him, *Otto* the Great, executed, in following Times, what neither the *Gauls*, in former Days, nor *Sylvianus*, a *Frank*, in the fourth Century, nor *Theodebert* now could succeed in.

set. Quo circa & ipse graviter hanc injuriam ferebat, & alios, ut communi secum injuria contumeliaque affectos, ad indignationis societatem sollicitabat. Ego vero ita statuo, si hanc ille expeditionem suscepisset, audaciam ei suam nulli bono futuram fuisse; sed si in Thraciam, si in Illyrios venisset, in præfidiarias iis in locis Romanorum legiones incidisset, turpiterque perisset. Sed hoc ipsum quod ejusmodi consilium animo concepisset, & vellet & optaret; omnemque, quod ad se attineret, ad hoc lapidem movisset, evidentissimo argumento esse potest, qualis ille vir, quamque ferox & arrogans fuerit. Agathias says indeed, that *Justinian* likewise assum'd the Titles of *Gepidicus* and *Longobardicus*; but these Titles are not met with on the Inscriptions extant of him.

† The Title as plac'd before the Institutes and Novella, runs thus: Imperator Cæsar, Flavius, Justinianus, Alemanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Afri-

canus, pius, felix, inclutus, victor ac triumphator, semper Augustus. F. Montfaucon repeats an Inscription in Honour of *Justinian*, which *Tournesort* transcrib'd on his Travels, at *Trapezunt*, in the *Palæographia Græca*, p. 174, from whence *Banduri* copies it, *Numism. T. II. p. 637*. But it may not be improper here to observe, that both his Predecessor *Anastatus*, and his Successor *Tiberius*, bore the same pompous Titles.

(2) According to *Marius's Computatim*, *Theodebert* died A. 548. But *Pagius* ad A. 552. n. 21, 22 builds on *Gregorius's Calculation*, and affirms that he died A. 547.

(3) Conf. F. DANIEL, p. 104. & 106. BANDURI, T. II. p. 648.

(4) See V. I. B. 4. § 46. seq. Of *Silvanus* see ibid. B. 6. § 42. seq.

The Bavarians extend their Dominions in Noricum, &c.

§ XLII. THE *Bavarians* begin, about this Time, to be famous in the History of the *Franks*. They extended their Dominions in *Rætia*, and the adjoining Part of *Noricum*, and became one of the principal People, that compos'd the Kingdom of *Germania*. The Name of *Bojarii* (1), is indeed not so very ancient: But the People themselves are generally derived from the ancient *Boji* (2). We cannot, with any Certainty, say, when or how they were first subdued by the *Franks*. Most Writers are of Opinion it was in the Times of *Clovis*, immediately after the Overthrow of the *Alemanni* (3): But this seems improbable. *Vindelicia*, at least, which is said to have been the Native Country of the *Bavarians*, appertain'd at that Time, to the *Gothick* Kingdom; and on this Side of the *Danube* dwelt the *Longobards*. We might conclude, from the Preface to their ancient Laws, that they were, at least, subject to *Theodoric*, King of the *Franks* (4). But at whatever Time it was, that the *Franks* became Masters of the *Bavarians*, it is certain, that *Rætia* and *Noricum* fell not into their Hands 'till the Decay of the *Gothick* Kingdom, in the Reign of *Vitiges* (5). We shall meet with more

§ XLII. (1) The Name of this People is variously written. Bodoarius, Bavocarius, Bajoarius, Bojarius or Bajuarius. &c. And the Names Boji and Bojarii, are used as synonymous by some Writers even of the middle Age. Conf. Eckard. Res Franc. Or. T. 1. p. 193.

(2) See the XXV. Annot. at the Conclusion.

(3) AVENTINUS goes certainly too far, when, Lib. 3. he even names the Conditions, on which the Bavarians surrender'd to Clovis: Boji de corpore suo, ubi opus fuerit. Principem legant, ac Ducem non Regem appellent. Reges Francorum autores fiant: In bellis auxilio Francis sunt Boji, eisdem pro amicis & hostibus habeant, cæterum suis institutis, ac moribus liberi vivant.

(4) PROOEM. LEGIS BOJOARIORUM. Theodoricus, Rex Francorum, cum esset Catalaunis, elegit viros sapientes, qui in regno suo legibus antiquis eruditi erant. Ipso autem distante iussit conscribere legem Francorum, & Alemannorum & Bajuvariorum, unicuique genti, quæ in ejus potestate erat, secundum consuetudinem suam. Addidit, quæ addenda erant, & inprovisa & in-

composita rescavit, & quæ erant secundum consuetudinem paganorum, mutavit secundum legem Christianorum. Et quidquid Theodericus Rex propter vetustissimam paganorum consuetudinem emendare non potuit, posthæc Childebertus Rex inchoavit, sed Chlotarius Rex perfecit. Hæc omnia Dagobertus, Rex gloriosissimus, per viros illustres Claudium, Chadum, Indomagum, & Agilulfum renovavit, & omnia vetera legum in melius transtulit, & unicuique genti scripta tradidit, quæ usque hodie perseverunt. But it appears from this very Passage, that this Preface was written long after Theodoric's Time.

(5) We meet with the most ancient Traces of the Bojarii in Venantius Fortunatus, who came, in King Sigebert's Time, from Italy into Germany. In the Preface, which is address'd to Gregory, Bishop of Tours, and in which he describes his Journey, he places the Bavarians on the Leck; Dravum Norico, Oenum Breonis, LICCAM BOJOARIA, Danubium Alemanîa, Rhenum Germania transiens, &c. and de Vit. S. Martini, Lib. 4.

Si tibi barbaricos conceditur per ire amnes,

Ut

more certain Accounts of their Dukes, and of the Wars, whereby they extended their Confines, in the Sequel of this History.

Ut placide Rhenum transcendere possis & His-
trum,

Pergis ad Augustam, quam Vindo, Lycus-
que fluentant,

Illic ossa sacrae venerabere Martyris Afræ,

Si vacat ire viam, neque te Bajoarius obstat,

Qua vicina sedent Breonum loca, perge, per
Alpem,

Ingrediens rapido qua gurgite voluitur Oenus.

Inde Valentini benedicti templa require

Norica rura petens, ubi Byrrus vertitur undis,

Per Dravum itur iter, &c.



T H E

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K XIII.

To the YEAR DLXI.

SECT. I. **T**HE Wars and Devastations, which, about this Time, troubled the Provinces of Illyricum. The History of the Heruli resum'd. II. A Part of the Nation makes a League with Justinian, and embraces the Christian Faith. The Emperor grants them a Tract of Land. III. Totilas and Suartuas contend for the Kingdom. Whether the Inhabitants of Lithuania and Livonia are descended from them? IV. Continuation of the History of the Gepidæ. V. History of the Longobards. Of their Kings, Waccho, Valtaris, Audoin. The last invades Pannonia. VI. They are involv'd in a War with the Gepidæ. Elémundus, and after him Thorisfinus, King of the Gepidæ. Justinian sends Succours to the Longobards. A Truce between the two Nations. VII. The Gepidæ, in the mean Time, stir up the Hunns. Of the Cuthurgurian and Uthurgurian Hunns. VIII. The War renewed: Justinian declares for the Longobards. Audoin defeats the Gepidæ. Ildigifal, Prince of the Longobards, takes Refuge among the Gepidæ: And Ostrogoth, the Son of Elemund, with the Longobards. IX. Of the Slaveni and Antæ. An Account of their Origin, Stature, Language, Religion and Manners. X. Their Irruptions into the Provinces of Illyricum. Why Justinian was surnamed Anticus. XI. The Emperor makes great Preparations against the Ostro-Goths:

Goths: *And constitutes Germanus General; XII. Who by the Way disperses the Sclavi: But dies. The Sclavi defeat the Imperialists, near Adrianople; and ravage almost as far as Constantinople. XIII. Justinian's Treaties with Theodebald, King of Austrasia. XIV. Totilas sends a Fleet against Greece. The Imperialists relieve Ancona. Artabanes conquers Sicily; and the Goths Sardinia and Corsica. XV. Narfes obtains the Command; and has Longobards, Heruli, Gepidæ, Gerni, &c. in his Army. XVI. The Franconian Troops in Venetia refuse him a Passage: He takes another Rout to Ravenna. Totilas sets out from Rome. XVII. A Battle between the Imperialists and Goths on the Appennine Alps. Totilas is kill'd. XVIII. The Goths choose Tejas for their King. He applies to Theodebald for Aid. XIX. Narfes takes Rome. XX. He causes Cuma to be besieg'd. Tejas hastens to relieve it: A Battle near Dragonc. Tejas is slain. His Army capitulates. XXI. The Goths in vain require Succour of Theodebald. Buccellinus and Leutharis, Dukes of the Alemanni, enter into a League with them. Their first Exploits in Italy. XXII. Narfes, in the mean Time, reduces Tuscany to Subjection: Fridigern surrenders Cuma. The Progress of the two Alemannic Princes. XXIII. Leutharis retreats. Bucelinus attempts to set up for King in Italy. Leutharis dies on his Retreat. XXIV. Bucelinus fights with Narfes on the River Casilino. Overthrow of the Alemanni and Franks. XXV. The End of the Ostro-Gothick War. Narfes entirely subdues the Residue of the Goths. Some Thousands are carried to Constantinople. What Fate the Rest met with? The Franks now lose the Conquests they had gain'd in Italy. XXVI. Reflections on the Downfal and Subversion of so many Kingdoms, particularly of that of the Ostro-Goths. XXVII. The Declension of Italy. Justinian's new Regulations. Of the Sanctio Pragmatica. XXVIII. Illustration of the Controversies on the so-call'd Tria Capitula. Justinian insists upon their being rejected. XXIX. He secures the Assent of Pope Vigilius; who publishes a Judicatum, wherein he condemns the Tria Capitula. The Churches in the West are displeased at this. XXX. Vigilius retracts this Judicatum: The Emperor persists in his Design. Vigilius retires to Chalcedon. XXXI. A Council at Constantinople: Vigilius's Constitution. The Council rejects the Tria Capitula. XXXII. Vigilius submits, and obtains Leave to return to Rome. Pelagius, his Successor, likewise rejects the Tria Capitula. Other Churches in the West do the same. The Bishop of Aquileia, and the Bishops in Istria and Venetia, firmly maintain them. XXXIII. The State of the Empire of the Franks. Theodebald King of Austrasia dies without Heirs. The Franconian Monarchy is re-united under Clotarius. His successful Expeditions against the Saxons. XXXIV.*

The

The State of the Church under the Franks. Of the Election and Induction of Bishops. Of the Councils. Of the Pallium. Of a Monastick Life. XXXV. In particular, of those Bishopricks, which fell afterwards to the Kingdom of Germania; those of Triers, Mentz, Cologne, &c. XXXVI. Of the Bishopricks in Rætia, at Windisch, Augsburg, &c. As likewise in Noricum, at Lorch, Passau, and Liburnia; of the Metropolis Laureacensis. XXXVII. How far Christianity prevail'd in Germania Magna, among the Thuringians, Longobards, Gepidæ, Heruli, &c.

The Wars in
Illyricum.
The History
of the Heruli.

§ I. **J**USTINIAN was, in the mean Time, greatly perplex'd, as well on Account of the Controversies in Religion, which had produc'd Disorders throughout the whole Empire, as of the Wars and Devastations in *Thrace* and the Provinces of *Illyricum*. Those Countries had, for many Years, been expos'd to the IncurSIONS of the *Gepidæ*, *Huns*, *Heruli*, *Longobards* and *Sclavi*. These latter, in particular, had, as it were, paved the Way for the *Goths*. *Justinian* himself gave them the Opportunity, when he permitted the *Heruli*, *Gepidæ* and *Longobards* to gain a sure Footing in those Provinces, not considering, how fatal his Predecessors had found the Admission of Foreigners into the *Roman* Dominions. I must here first resume the History of the *Heruli*. They had not been able to recover themselves after their Overthrow by the *Longobards* †; but were forc'd to quit their Country. One Part of them travell'd farther *Northwards*, whose uncommon Adventures are related by *Procopius* (1). The Rest drew nearer to the *Danube*, and fix'd their Habitations in that Country, where the *Rugi* dwelt, before they went with the *Goths* into *Italy*; but soon after, they remov'd to the *Gepidæ* (2), who dwelt farther *Eastwards*, in *Dacia*. But a War soon ensu'd betwixt these Neighbours, when the *Heruli* were again forc'd to pursue their March. They pass'd over the *Danube* into the *Roman* Dominions, where the Emperor *Anastasius* granted them a Habitation (3).

† See above,
XI. 25.

§ II. JUSTI-

§ I. (1) PROCOPIUS *de Bello Goth.* L. 2. c. 15.

(2) IDEM, p. 421. A. Quo factum, ut in patria amplius manere nequiverint: Sed illi quamprimum egressi, iter porro continuarint, cum liberis & uxoribus peragrando oras omnes, Istro fluvio ulteriores. Regionem ingressi, habitatam olim a Rugis, qui in Italiam cum Gothorum exercitu concesserant, ibi constiterunt: Sed cum in-

culta solitudo esset, paulo post exacti illinc stimulis famis, ad Gepædum fines accedunt. Ac primum quidem Gepædes illis supplicibus permiserunt, ut cum vicini sui essent, tum inquilini.

(3) IBIDEM. Impatientia abrepti Eruli, Istrum amnem trajiciunt, & Romanorum, in illis partibus degentium, vicinitatem ambiunt, Anastasio Imperatore. A quo benignissime accepti, ipsius

§ II. JUSTINIAN made a Treaty with them, such as the Emperors were usually engag'd in with the neighbouring foreign Nations, by Virtue of which he was to pay annually a certain Sum of Money, and they were to assist him in his Wars (1). He likewise granted them a Tract of Land, in the Country now call'd *Servia*. On this Occasion, they, together with their King, embrac'd the *Christian* Faith (2); and they actually sent Auxiliaries to *Justinian*, in all his Wars with the *Persians*, *Vandals* and *Goths* (3). But they were not long quiet. Their Princes had more the Name, than the Power of Kings, and, under the Pretence of Liberty, the Subjects sometimes play'd the Master. They, at last, murder'd King *Ochos*, and resolv'd to be no longer under any Subjection; but they soon experienc'd, how easily Liberty, when accompany'd by boundless Passions, degenerates into Licentiousness, and how necessary it is for every one to give up some Part of his Freedom, that he may more securely enjoy the Rest. They were desirous of having a King, and to retain the former Royal Line. This was extinct with them, but flourish'd still among the *Heruli*, who, as I observed before,

The Rest enter into a Treaty with Justinian, &c.

ipſius permiſſu ibi ſedes fixerunt. Aliquanto poſt, offenſus idem ſcleribus, quæ in Romanos accolæ Barbari illi perpetrabant, adverſus eos exercitum miſit. Acie victores Romani partem maximam interfecerunt, potueruntque ad internecionem cedere. Verum, qui ſupererant, ſupplices fuere Ducibus, ut ſibi in poſterum vivere liceret in Romanorum ſocietate, & fidam navare operam Imperatri. Hæc ſibi renunciata probante Anaſtaſio, data ſalus eſt Erulorum reliquiis. Nec tamen ſocii Romanorum fuere, neque ipſos ullo officio remunerarunt.

the Place; but it was rebuilt by Justinian, as we ſee by Procop. de ædif. p. 80.

§ II. (1) PROCOPIUS, de Bello Goth. L. 3. c. 33. Alia quædam DACIÆ LOCÀ Erulis Imperator attribuit ad SINGEDONEM, ubi nunc habitant, Illyricum Thraciamque crebris populates inſurſionibus. Ex his aliquot Romanæ militiæ dederunt nomina, fœderatorum, ut vocant, adſcripti numero. Cum autem Byzantium veniunt Erulorum Legati, omnia ſtipendia, vel eorum, qui ditioni Romanæ ſubditos expilant, ab Imperatore facillime conſecuti, redeunt. He means here Dacia Cis-Iſtriana. Singidon, or Singidunum is the preſent Semandria, commonly call'd Zenderow, in Servia. The Gepidæ had demolish'd

(2) EVAGRIUS, L. 4. c. 19. Nicephor. XVII. 13. AUT. HISTOR. MISCEL. Lib. 16. in pr. Interea Rex Erulorum, Gethes nomine, venit Conſtantinopolim cum populo, & petit Imperatorem, ut fieret Chriſtianus. Qui baptizatum in Theophaniis ſuſcepit eum ex baptiſmate, reſmittentem auxiliari ei in quibuſcunque voluiſſet, Procopius mentions this Converſion, p. 421. D. as follows; Poſtquam imperium Juſtinianus ſuſcepit, illos agro donatos perbono, atque auctos largitione, ut & ſociis Romanorum, & Chriſtianis velent omnes adſcribi, perpulit. Ita ad mitius vitæ genus traduſti, præclara quidem formula Chriſtianam legem amplexi ſunt, & ſociali jure Romanas sæpe ſequuntur acies. Some Heruli were, likewise, Arians, as appears in Procopius pag. 269, C. Erant forte in caſtris Romanis Ariani milites, ſaltem mille, quo in numero multi Barbari, inter hos Eruli aliquot.

(3) PROCOPIUS, de Bello Perf. L. 1. cap. 13. and 14, extols the Services perform'd by the Heruli in this War. Add. Lib. 2. cap. 24. & 28.

were removed farther *Northwards*. They therefore delegated some Persons to offer the Crown to one of those Princes (4).

Todasius and
Suartuas con-
tend for the
Kingdom, &c.

§ III. ANOTHER Faction maintain'd, that the Emperor *Justinian* ought to appoint a King; and in Order thereto, an Ambassy was sent to *Constantinople*. The Emperor readily gave Ear to this Address, for the *Roman* Emperors always esteem'd it an Honour to have foreign Nations receive a King at their Hands, as those Medals demonstrate, that are stamp'd in Memory thereof *. He conferr'd this Dignity on *Suartuas*, an eminent *Herulus*, who had long resided at his Court. The *Heruli* appear'd well satisfy'd with the new Government, when they receiv'd Advices from the *North*, that *Todasius*, to whom the other Party had offer'd the Scepter, was coming to take Possession of it. *Aortus*, his Brother, accompanied him, with 200 select young Men. *Suartuas* set out to meet them, and to maintain the Kingdom by Force. When the two Armies were about a Day's Journey asunder, his Men left him, in the Night, and went over to the new Comer, and he himself was forc'd to go for Refuge to *Constantinople*. The Emperor threaten'd to restore him by Force; but *Todasius*, who knew him to be too formidable an Enemy, had again Recourse, with his Adherents, to the *Gepidæ* (1): Where they, soon after, partook of the same Fate, which hastened the Fall, even of the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*. *Suartuas* continu'd to seek his Fortune in the Imperial Service; and we shall find him, some Years after, *Magister Militiæ in præsentî*, among those Troops, which *Justinian* sent to the *Longobards*, as Auxiliaries against the *Gepidæ* †. The Residue of the *Heruli*, who remain'd in the Emperor's Dominions, serv'd the Empire as Allies; but committed, likewise, frequent Depredations in the Provinces of *Illyricum*. *Philemuthus*, *Aruthus*, and some others, are particularly famous, for having signaliz'd their Valour and Fidelity in the War with the *Sclavi*, but especially in that under *Narses* in *Italy*, against the *Goths* ††. The Nation of the *Heruli* was, at last, wholly extinct; inſomuch, that no certain Account can be given, what became of the Residue. Some of the Learned are of Opinion, that the People of *Lithuania*, and the ancient *Livonians* are descended from them (2). The Lan-

† See below,
§ 8.

†† See below,
§ 10.

(4) PROCOPIUS, Lib. 2. cap. 14. pag. 422.

15. Conf. inf. § 6. not. 3.

§ III. * We meet, likewise, with a Medal of Antoninus Pius with the Inscription, REX QVADIS DATUS. See Vol. I. Lib. 5 § 11.

(1) PROCOPIUS, de Bello Goth. L. 2. c. 14. &

(2) I took Notice before, Lib. 11. § 23. not. 1. of the Opinion of those, who derive the Inhabitants of Lithuania, Livonia, Samogithia and Prussia from the *Heruli*.

guage of both Nations is the same, but entirely different from that of the *Æstii*. Many Words are deriv'd from the *Latin*, which the *Heruli*, probably, learn'd in the *Roman Service*. But this Tradition needs farther Illustration; and it is not improbable, but those People are a Composition of several Nations.

§ IV. AFTER *Ardaric*, King of the *Gepidæ*, had conquer'd *Dacia*,
 their Kingdom comprehended those Countries, which at present are
 call'd *Transylvania*, *Wallachia*, and the *Upper-Hungary*: But we cannot
 exactly assign their Confines, especially *North* and *Eastwards*, where the
Sclavi and *Hunns* were their next Neighbours. The Emperor *Marcian*
 had made a Treaty with them, by Virtue of which, they received
 annually a certain Sum of Money, that they might not molest the Pro-
 vinces of the *Roman Empire*, which lay opposite to them (1). Notwith-
 standing this, they pass'd the *Danube*, and took a Part of *Pannonia*,
 and in particular the City of *Sirmium*. They fell, indeed, like other
Gothick Nations, into the Errors of *Arius*; but never molested those
Orthodox Believers, who were subject to them (2). *Theodorick*, King of
 the *Ostro-Goths*, was oblig'd to pass their Dominions in his March to *Italy*,
 and bravely fought his Way thro' †: And as a Part of *Pannonia* apper-
 tain'd to the *Gothick Kingdom* in *Italy*, bloody Wars ensued on these
 Confines, betwixt the *Ostro-Goths* and *Gepidæ* (3). *Justinian* having
 now taken from the *Goths* their Possessions in *Pannonia*, but not plac'd

Continuation
 of the History
 of the *Gepidæ*.

§ IV. (1) See V. I. B. 10. § 6 and 7.

(2) PROCOPIUS reckons them among the Arians, de Bell. Vand. L. 1. c. 2. And p. 546. A. where he introduces the Longobards, when they crav'd Justinian's Aid against the *Gepidæ*, speaking thus: Romanos jure coituros nobiscum, qui de Deo sentimus cum ipsis eadem, & Arianis vel eo nomine adversaturos. That they suffer'd the Orthodox, in their Countries, to retain their Privileges, appears from the Words of Pope Eugene II, wherein he declares *Urulphus Archbishop* of *Lorch*. In quibus etiam (scilicet partibus) quondam Romanorum, *Gepidarumque* ætate, ut lætione certum est, in septem Episcoporum parochias, Antecessores tui, jure Metropolitano obtinuerant diocesim. V. PAGIUS ad a. 552. n. 7.

† See above, L. 11. § 3. n. 12, 13.

(3) We find diverse Traces of these Wars in *Pannonia*, betwixt the *Goths* and *Gepidæ*, in the

Reigns of *Theodorick* and *Athalarick*. As for the latter especially, *Justinian* complains to *Queen Amalaswinth*, in PROCOPIUS p. 315. A. Gothos, dum ad *Sirmium* cum *Gepædibus* bellum gerent, urbem *Gratianam*, in finibus *Illyrici* sitam, hostiliter vastasse. Here I must by the Way observe, that *Lazius* imagines *Gratiana* to be the present *Gradisca*. *Vitiges* had distinguish'd himself in these very Wars, before he was elected King of the *Goths*. PROCOPIUS p. 337. Gothi sibi Italisque Regem eligunt *Vitigin*, virum haud illustri quidem loco natum, sed clarissimum præliis ad *Sirmium* ante editis, cum adversus *Gepædas* bellum gereret *Theodericus*. To this relates the Passage in CASSIODORI VAR. XI. ep. 1. where he praises *Athalarick's* Reign: In ipsis quoque primordiis (quando semper novitas incerta tentatur) contra *Orientis Principis* votum, *Romanum* fecit esse *Danubium*.

sufficient Garrisons in the Towns, the *Gepidæ* extended their Dominions, and carried away many of the Inhabitants of the *Roman* Territories into Captivity. They maintain'd, at the same Time, a Friendship with the *Huns* and *Sclavi*, and permitted them several Times to pass over the *Danube* into their Dominions, to the great Prejudice of the Empire. *Justinian* therefore kept back the Subsidies, which till then, had been annually paid them by the *Roman* Empire (4), and made Use of the *Longobards* to keep the *Gepidæ* in Aw: For the Emperors were now reduc'd to have Recourse to one foreign Nation, to repel another: On which Occasion the Provinces were generally as much oppress'd by the Conquerors, as by the conquer'd.

History of the
Longobards;
their Kings,
Waccho, &c.

† See the
XVIII.
Annot.

†† *IBID.*

§ V. AMONG the *Longobards*, we find *Vaces* or *Waccho*, their King, famous in the Beginning of this Century; and particularly on Account of an extraordinary Victory, which he gain'd over the *Swabians* (1). He kept up a good Understanding with the *Franks*; and one of his Daughters was married to *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasia*, as *Visigard*; the other, was to *Theodebald* his Son. He had banish'd a Prince of the Royal House, who perhaps had a better Claim to the Throne, and had taken Refuge among the *Varni*. *Ildigisal*, his Son, employed afterwards his utmost Endeavours to recover the Crown; but experienc'd, that those, whose Aid he implor'd, serv'd him only so long, as was consistent with their own Utility, and then were as ready to forsake him. King *Waccho* was succeeded by *Valtaris*, his Son, who being yet an Infant, was left under the Care of *Audoin*; who made himself, with the more Ease, Master of the Kingdom, as the young King died a few Years after †. *Ildigisal*, and his Adherents, being unsuccessful, went over to the *Gepidæ*, and at Length to *Constantinople*. But the Emperor had more Inducements to prefer *Audoin's* Friendship. He gave him a *Thuringian* Princess in Marriage, a Daughter of King *Hermanfrid*, who came to *Constantinople* with *Vitiges*, and the Rest of the Royal *Gothick* Family (2). He likewise transfer'd to him that Part of *Pannonia* ††, which he had taken from the *Goths*. *Audoin*, on the other Hand, assisted the Emperor in his War with the *Goths* in *Italy*. As for their Religion, we may con-

(4) PROCOPIUS, p. 543. B. *Gepædes*, qui olim urbem Sirmium Daciamque omnem obtinuerant, ut primum Justinianus Augustus ditioni Gothicae regionem illam eripuit, agentes ibi Romanos abduxerunt in servitutem, & continenter progressi, vim vastitatemque Imperio Romano attulerunt. Quare Imperator illis in po-

sterum stipendia negavit, quæ jam inde olim a Romanis accipere consueverant.

§ V. (1) Of these *Swabians* see the XII. Annot.

(2) See below § VIII. Not. *.

clude from *Procopius*, that *Audoin*, at least, profess'd the *Catholic* Faith (3): But *Alboin*, his Successor, was certainly an *Arian*.

§ VI. WHEN the *Longobards* had gain'd a sure Footing in *Pannonia*, ^{A War ensues between them and the Ge-} a Peace could not long subsist betwixt them and the *Gepidæ*. *Thorisinus* ^{mundus} reign'd then over the latter, having, about this Time, succeeded *Elepidæ*, &c. The *Longobards* were, in particular, desirous of being Masters of *Sirmium* (1), which the *Gepidæ* possess'd. Both Parties crav'd *Justinian's* Aid. He declar'd for the *Longobards*, and sent them 10,000 Horse (2), among whom were 1500 *Heruli*, commanded by the before-mentioned *Philemuthus*. A Party of *Imperialists* attack'd by the Way, those *Heruli*, who had fled for Protection to the *Gepidæ*; when, after a bloody Battle, *Aordus*, the Brother of *Todasius*, their King, was kill'd on the Spot, with many of his Nation (3): But the *Gepidæ* and *Longobards*, of their own Accord, unexpectedly made a Truce for two Years (4).

§ VII. WHEN, in the mean Time, the *Gepidæ* found, that the *Romans* sided with the *Longobards*, they applied for Assistance to the *Hunns* (1). The Countries on both Sides the *Tanais*, where that River falls into the *Mæotick* Lake, and separates *Europe* from *Asia*, were about that Time, fill'd with *Hunnick* Nations. These Countries are known in

(3) *Audoin's* Ambassadors, in their Speech to *Justinian*, boast of their being of the same Religion with the *Romans*. See the Passage in the foregoing § Not. 3.

cujus CAUSAM EX SIRMIO, ALIISQUE NONUL-
LIS DACIÆ LOCIS in nos conflata, fures hi
proferunt.

(2) PROCOPIUS, L. 3. c. 34.

§ VI. (1) That the War betwixt the *Longobards* and *Gepidæ*, was chiefly concerning the City of *Sirmium*, appears from diverse Passages in PROCOPIUS. *Audoin's* Ambassadors say to *Justinian*, p. 545. *Sirmium* *Gepædes* tenent, O Imperator, & Romanos abstrahunt in servitutem, seque universa *Dacia* potiri jactant, &c. And *Thorisinus's* Ambassadors speak thus: p. 546. C. Jam, quo ingenio sint *Longobardi*, perspicite. Litem judicio componere, quamvis ad id sæpe eos provocaverimus, recusarunt, inconsideratæ pleni audaciæ. Nunc autem cum est bellum in manibus, infirmitatis suæ conscientia ab incæpto retracti, vos adeunt, idque agunt, ut pro ipsis *Romani*, contra quam fas est, bellum suscipiant:

(3) I B I D. p. 547. C. Eos sequebantur *Eruli* fœderati mille quingenti, quibus præter alios *Philemuthus* præerat. Nam cæteri omnes *Eruli*, ad tria millia, cum *Gepædibus* coierant, a Romanis non ita pridem defectione sejuncti eam ob causam, quam supri commemoravi. Tunc pars *Romanorum*, socia arma *Longobardis* ferentium, in *Erulorum* catervam, & *Aordum*, Regis fratrem, inopinato incidit. Fervido commisso certamine, vincunt *Romani*, & cum *Erulis* multis *Aordum* ipsum conficiunt.

(4) About A. 548.

§ VII. (1) PROCOPIUS, L. 4. c. 18.

History

History by their many Revolutions. The most ancient Inhabitants were call'd *Tauri*, or *Tauro-Scythæ*; from whence the Country was call'd *Taurica*, and the *Peninsula* adjoining to it, *Chersonesus Taurica*. This Name is found even in the Fables of the *Greeks*, who had Colonies on those Coasts, and in the *Chersonesus Tauri*. As the Dominions of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, reach'd thus far; so likewise, after he was conquer'd by the *Romans*, their victorious Arms became renown'd even to the *Tanais*. These Countries were afterwards included in the *Regnum Bosphori*, whose Kings acknowleg'd the Supremacy of the *Roman Emperors*. When the *Goths* afterwards erected a formidable Monarchy in *Sarmatia*, they reign'd as far as the *Black Sea* and *Mæotick Lake*, which their Incursions, and those of other Nations, under their Dominion, sufficiently demonstrate. In the fourth Century, at the Time of *Valens's* Reign, the *Goths* were overcome by the *Alani* and *Hunns*. The Consequences of this Dissolution of the *Gothick* Monarchy were as great, as those of its Foundation. The People, that appertain'd thereto, were dispers'd, and an incredible Number of *Goths* pass'd over the *Danube*, and left their Countries in the Hands of the *Hunns* (2). In succeeding Times, the *Tartars* came thither; and thus one Devastation continued to follow upon the Back of another. We cannot even find the Situation of the many Cities that were so famous in ancient Geography. The only one is *Asoph*; for there the Ancients place the City of *Tanais*, which was inhabited by the *Greeks*.

WE find, about this Time, mention made of two Kinds of *Hunns*. The *Hunni Cuthurguri* dwelt on this Side of the *Tanais*, and the *Hunni Uthurguri* on the other (3), about where we now find the Country of the *Cossacks*, and *Tartary Minor*: But some Places on the Sea-Coasts, and in *Chersonesus Taurica*, remain'd nevertheless in the Emperor's Possession †. A Residue of the ancient *Goths* had kept their Ground among the *Uthurguri*; who had fix'd their Habitations on the East Side of the *Tanais*, along the Banks of the *Mæotick Lake* (4), in the District

(2) See L. 8. § 15 & 16.

(3) PROCOR. treats at large of these *Uthurguri* and *Cuthurguri*, d. B. L. 4. c. 5.

† PROCOR. p. 576, names the Cities of *Bosphorus* and *Cherson*. *Bosphorus* is thought to be the present *Vospero*, and *Cherson* to be *Topetorken*.

(4) PROCOR. L. 4. c. 2. & seq. describes the Nations along the *Pontus Euxinus*, and begins on the

Side of Asia, from *Chalcedon*. When he comes to the Banks of the *Mæotick Lake*, p. 573, he says: *Ubi se primum aperit alveus, qua palus effunditur, degunt Gothi, Tetraxitæ cognominati, qui, quamvis pauci numero, nihilominus Christianorum leges & instituta religiose servant. In the following p. 575. C. he relates on what Occasion the Gothi, in the great Revolution, quitted their ancient Habitations, in the Countries on the other Side of the Tanais, and placed themselves on these Coasts.*

now call'd *Circassia*. These are nam'd *Gothi Tetraxitæ*. They were not indeed very numerous, but the more valiant (5), which we may conclude from their maintaining their Rights amidst the *Hunns*. From the Time of the first Conversion of the *Goths*, they had retain'd the *Christian* Faith, but in such Simplicity, that *Procopius* is at a Loss, whether to reckon them of the *Arian*, or *Orthodox* Profession, and, in Excuse, says, they themselves did not know. They entreated *Justinian*, A. 547, to appoint them a Bishop (6), and were in general pretty well affected to the *Grecian* Emperor (7); who gladly supported that Disposition, in Order to have the more Adherents, in Case of a Rupture with the *Hunns*. The *Cuthburguri* were in Friendship with *Justinian*, and *Sinnio*, one of their Princes, serv'd in *Africa* against the *Vandals* *. But they now sent Auxiliaries to the *Gepidæ*. The Truce with the *Longobards* being not yet expir'd, the *Gepidæ* excited them, in the mean Time, to invade the *Roman* Provinces, and permitted them to pass over the *Danube*, into their Dominions, where they could do it with most Safety, for they possess'd Countries on both Sides this River. *Justinian*, on the other Hand, caus'd considerable Sums of Mony to be distributed among the *Uthburguri*. *Sandil*, one of their Princes, renown'd in the History of his Reign, for his Valour and Sagacity, took, besides the *Hunns* who were at his Command, 2000 *Gothi Tetraxitæ*, and pass'd over the *Don*, into the Country of the *Cuthburguri* (8). Those who had invaded the *Roman*

(5) PROCOPIUS. p. 578. D. *says of these Goths: Barbarorum, qui in illis partibus degunt, ipsi fortissimi sunt.*

(6) IDEM, p. 573. *An vero Aarii sectam Gothi isti, quemadmodum cæteræ gentes Gothicæ, aliamve secuti unquam fuerint, affirmare nequeo, quando nec ipsi id sciunt, sed pietate admodum credula, simplicique religionem colunt. Haud pridem, nimirum anno XXI. Imperii Justiniani Augusti, Legatos quatuor Byzantium miserunt, rogantes ut, Antistite suo recens mortuo, aliquem sibi episcopum daret. Audierant enim destinatum ab Imperatore fuisse Præsulem ad Abasgos. Eorum petitioni lubentissime concedens Justinianus Augustus eos remisit.*

(7) *This latter is evident from Procop. who continues: p. 573. C. Cum vero Hunnos Uthurguros hi Legati metuerent, palam quidem ac multis audientibus, legationis causam exponentes,*

de Præsule tantum mentionem fecerant Imperatori: at in arcano intimoque colloquio utilitates omnes declaraverant, quas Imperium Romanum capturum esset, si discordia inter vicinos sibi Barbaros aleretur.

* IBID. p. 205. & 618.

(8) PROCOPIUS. p. 616. D. *Cum hæc Justinianus Augustis Uthurguris significasset, ac donando pecuniam revocasset in mentem, quot quantisque ipsos antea affecisset muneribus, demum pervicit, ut Cuthurguros residuos bello protinus peterent. Ii vero, Gothorum Tetraxitarum, quorum fines contingunt, adjunctis sibi duobus millibus, fluvium Tanaim, cum omnibus copiis trajecere. Iphis præerat Sandil, singulari prudentia vir, longo exercitus bellorum usu, & animo fortitudineque insigni. Sandil supported the Friendship with Justinian, as appears from Agathias, p. 156 and 171.*

Dominions were, hereupon, oblig'd to put a Stop to their Depredations; and *Justinian*, moreover, caus'd Money to be paid them, to engage them the sooner to return. In their Retreat, they were defeated by the *Uthurguri*: On which Occasion, the Emperor receiv'd 2000 Men, with their Wives and Children, and assign'd them a Dwelling in *Thrace*, hoping to make Use of them in his Armies (9).

Justinian
sends Auxili-
aries to the
Longobards.
Audoin beats
Thorisinus

§ VIII. *JUSTINIAN*, indeed, about this Time, renew'd likewise the ancient League with the *Gepidae*, in Order to prevent their suffering the *Hunns* and *Sclavi* to pass again over the *Danube*. He sent, nevertheless, Auxiliaries to the *Longobards*, at the Expiration of the Truce; and when the *Gepidae* made Complaints of it, he charg'd them with having first violated the Treaty, by suffering the *Sclavi*, after the Treaty, again to cross the *Danube* (1). Among the Generals who commanded these Auxiliaries, was *Suartuas*, the before-mention'd Prince of the *Heruli*, who was, in the mean Time, become *Magister Militum in presenti*, in the Emperor's Service, and *Amalafrid*, Prince of *Thuringia*, whose Sister was *Audoin's* Consort. The Rest remain'd at the City of *Ulpiana**, where an unexpected Commotion arose, on Account of the Controversies of those Times, in Point of Religion. *Amalafrid* alone came to *Audoin*, and assisted

(9) *IBID.*

§ VIII. (1) *PROCOPIUS*. p. 638. A. Interea loci Gepædes & Longobardi inter se bellum repabant. Tum Gepædes, nondum accepto nuntio jurati ab Augusto cum Longobardis fœderis, Romanorum vires veriti, ad eorum amicitiam & societatem aspirabant enixe. Quamobrem missa confestim Byzantium legatione, rogatus Imperator, ut cum ipsis quoque fœdus pangeret, ex templo data fide illud percussit, idemque Senatores duodecim jurejurando firmarunt petentibus Legatis. Haud multo post, quæ adversum Gepædes Longobardi sociali jure postulabant, misit auxilia Justinianus Augustus, Gepædes insimulans, quod in Romanorum perniciem, post fœdus ictum, Sclavenorum agmen Istrum Ruvium transportassent.

* *PROCOPIUS*. 638. C. Copias illas ducebant Justinus ac Justinianus Germani filii, Aratius & Suartuas, cui quidem antea Justinianus principa-

tum Erulorum decreverat; is vero, ut in superioribus libris narraui, eorum, qui ex Insula Thule venerant, rebellione pulsus, ad Imperatorem confugerat, ac subinde creatus fuerat Magister militum in presenti. E numero Ducum erat Amalafridus, vir Gothus, ex filia nepos Amalafridæ, sororis Theoderici Gothorum Regis, & filius Hermenefridi Regis Thoringorum. Hunc Amalafridum cum Vittige Byzantium deportatum a Belisario, Romanorum Ducem Imperator creavit, & sororem ejus Audoino, Longobardorum Regi, collocavit. Illius exercitus nemo ad Longobardos pervenit, nisi Amalafridus cum suis. Nam cæteri in Illyrico ad urbem Ulpianam Imperatoris jussu sublitterunt, ob incolarum seditonem, ortam ex Christianorum controversiis de religione. Ulpiana was in Mæsia superior, in the Province of Dardania. Justinian caus'd it to be rebuilt, and nam'd it Justiniana secunda. It is situate in the present Kingdom of Servia, on the River Drin, and is, by the Inhabitants, call'd Prisrendi, and in Italian, Preiserenò. him

him in gaining a glorious Victory over the *Gepidæ* (2). *Ildigisal* Prince of the *Longobards*, immediately after (3), retired privately from *Constantinople* (4). *Audoin* had, indeed, entreated the Emperor to deliver him up; but met with a Refusal: For *Justinian* kept him, as it were, an Hostage, to secure *Audoin's* Friendship and Fidelity. *Ildigisal* was discontented at not being advanced, and found, that his Hopes would be vain, as long as the Emperor was in a League with *Audoin*. He plac'd his Confidence in a valiant and intrepid Goth, named *Goar*, and, accompany'd by him, took, a second Time, Refuge among the *Gepidæ*. Both *Justinian* and *Audoin*, soon after, concluded a Peace with the *Gepidæ*; and the Emperor appears to have been unwilling wholly to extirpate that Nation, lest the *Longobards* should become too powerful. *Justinian* and *Audoin* now both insisted, that *Thorisimus* should give up *Ildigisal*: But this the *Gepidæ* would, by no Means, consent to. Their King evaded this Demand by another of the same Nature. *Elemondus*, his Predecessor, had left a Son, nam'd *Ustrogoth*, who, when *Thorisimus* usurp'd the Throne, fled for Refuge to the *Longobards*. He demanded, in Return, to have this Prince surrender'd up. Both Nations had so strict a Regard to Honour, that they resolv'd not to deliver up a young Prince, whom they

(2) PROCOPI. L. 4. c. 25. p. 638. D. Ergo Langobardi cum omnibus copiis, & Amalafrido, Gepædum fines ingressi, factos sibi obvios acerrimo fundunt prælio, eorumque, ut perhibent, partem maximam cædunt. Tunc Audoinus, Langobardorum Rex, quosdam e suis affectis Byzantium destinatus, lætæ cladis hostilis nuntium Justiniano Augusto allaturus; eum simul incusans, quod non ex pacto fœderis affuissent ipsius copię: quãvis nuper tot numero Langobardi profecti essent, Narseti in Totilam & Gothos militarem operam navaturi. Pagius ad a. 552. n. 6. *imagines this to be the Battle, wherein the Longobards entirely defeated the Gepidæ, and which is describ'd by Paulus Diaconus, with other Circumstances. But in this he is mistaken. For Procopius expressly mentions, that Justinian and Audoin made Peace with the Gepidæ. In the next Book, I shall treat of the Destruction of the Kingdom of the Gepidæ.*

copius connects these Incidents with the XVIIth Year of the Gothick War.

(4) PROCOPI. p. 643. A. Ildigisal, vir Longobardus, cujus antea memini, inimicitias habens cum Barbarorum, popularium suorum, Rege Audoino, qui regnum ipsi jure hereditario debitum vi occuparat; patria profugus, Byzantium se contulerat. Eo cum pervenisset, humanissime illum acceperat Imperator, ac Ducem creaverat unius scholæ: Sic vocant catervas militum ad Palatii custodiam destinatas. Langobardos ducebat minimum trecentos, bellica virtute præditos; qui una prius commorati in Thracia fuerant Ab Imperatore Justiniano petierat Audoinus, ut sibi, utpote Romanorum amico & socio, tradere-tur Ildigisal; & clientis proditiõnem exegerat in præmium amicitię. Verum Augustus abnuerat. Postea queri Ildigisal cœpit, quod infra meritum suum, ac Romanum splendorem, stipendiis & honore afficeretur: ita ut graviter offensum præ se animum ferret, &c.

(3) A. 551, or at the Beginning of 552, Pro-
VOL. II.

U

had

had once promis'd to protect, into the Hands of his Enemies (5): But it bears a much worse Face, when, as *Procopius* relates, *Ildigisal* was, afterwards, clandestinely murder'd by the *Gepidae*, and *Ustrogoth* by the *Lombards*, in Order to free themselves from the like Demands for the future (6).

The *Sclaveni*
and *Antæ*:
Their Origin,
&c.

§ IX. *ILLYRICUM* suffer'd most by the Depredations of the *Sclaveni* and *Antæ*, whom I mention'd before, on Occasion of the Victories gain'd by *Hermanaric*, King of the *Goths*, over several Nations in *Sarmatia* (1): But as they become now more famous in History, it may not be amiss to hear how they are describ'd by *Procopius* (2). They were, indeed, two distinct Nations, but in their Origin, Language, Stature and Manners the same: They differ'd from the *Huns*, as they were taller, and from the *Germans*, in their Skin and Hair, which were somewhat more of a reddish Hue. They worshipp'd chiefly the God of Thunder, as the Ruler of the World; and, next to him, the Rivers and some other, as it were, inferior Deities; and, at their Sacrifices, perform'd their Divinations. They had neither Kings nor Princes, but liv'd in a natural Equality, in small and single Cottages, which they changed, according as Circumstances requir'd. They had as little Regard to Cleanliness, as the *Huns*. In their Wars, they generally fought on Foot, and were but slightly armed. Many of them encounter'd their Enemies half naked, as they usually went. But, when Conquerors, they behav'd most unmercifully. Cruelty had introduc'd the Custom of cutting Thongs out of the Hides of their Prisoners, of spitting them alive, and using other inhuman Tortures of the like Kind. Soldiers of both these Nations serv'd in *Justinian's* Army in *Italy*: They were esteem'd serviceable in Parties,

(5) *IDEM*, p. 644. D. Elemundus Gepædum Rex morbo paulo ante extinctus, unigenam, filium reliquerat huic Ustrogothum: quo facile exturbato (adhuc enim erat adolescentulus) regnum Thorisinus obtinuit. Ille, cum autorem injuriæ ulcisci non posset, e patria ad Langobardos, Gepædum hostes, concessit. Haud multo post, pepigere pacem Gepædes cum Justiniano Augusto, & Langobardis, sanctissime jurata utrinque perpetua amicitia. Postquam inter eos gratia firmissimo fœdere coit, Justinianus Augustus, & Audoinus, Langobardorum Rex, ad Thorisinum, Gepædum Regem miserunt, qui Ildigisalem,

communem hostem, deposcerent, ut amici erga se animi primum esset indicium proditio supplicis. Is vero, cum Gepædum proceribus communicato consilio, intente quæsit, annuendum esset nec ne utriusque Principis postulatis? Aperte illi tum intercedere, satius esse asseverantes, momento interire Gepædes cum uxoribus, omni que sobole, quam tali piaculo inquinari.

(6) *PROCOPIUS*, *ibidem*.

§ IX. (1) See Vol. I. L. 6. § 43.

(2) See the 16th Annot. of the *Sclavi*,

and

and were made Use of in Mountains and Bushes, where other Soldiers were not able to advance (3).

§ X. THE *Sclaveni* and *Antæ* had been prompted, at the Beginning of *Justinian's* Reign, by the Success of their Neighbours, the *Hunns* and *Gepidæ*, to attempt Depredations in the *Roman* Provinces: But they were vigorously repuls'd by *Chilbudius* (1), whom the Emperor had, A. 530, constituted *Magister Militum per Thraciam*, and who, in Return, visited them in their own Country. About the Year 533, his Death, in one of these Expeditions, open'd the Way for them to the *Danube*, for some Time: But *Germanus*, his Successor, likewise vanquish'd the *Antæ* in a pitch'd Battle; and these Victories, perhaps, occasion'd *Justinian* to assume the Surname of *Anticus* (2). The *Sclavi* ventur'd again to cross the *Danube*, in the Year 545. *Narses* had, at that very Time, agreed with some Princes of the *Heruli*, to assist *Belisarius* against the *Goths*, and had assign'd them Winter-Quarters in *Thrace*. These fell in with the *Sclavi* by the Way, and, notwithstanding their superior Number, took from them all the Prisoners they had made (3). *Justinian*, about the same

Their Irrup-
tions into the
Provinces of
Illyricum, &c.

See below,
§ 12.

(3) PROCOPIUS *de Bello Goth.* L. 1. c. 27. p. 377. Advenere Martinus & Valerianus cum 1600 equitibus, quorum plerique Hunni erant, Sclaveni, & Antæ, qui trans fluvium Istrum, non procul a ripa sedes habent. In the following Passage, he makes particular Mention of the Antæ, p. 517. Custodiam conjuncte agebant Antæ 300, quos, Tulliani rogatu, ibi Joannes ante reliquerat. Etenim peritia pugnandi in salebris, angustisque, cunctos antecellunt hi Barbari.

fuit, fluvio adversus Romanos evadere nemo quiverit: immo vero Romani in adversam continentem cum Chilbudio sæpe transgressi, illius oræ Barbaros affecerint strage, & captivos inde abduxerint. Post annos tres, cum Istrum Chilbudius copias de more traduxisset, numero paucas, Sclaveni conflato ex tota gente exercitu venerunt obviam. Duro certamine inito, Romani multum cecidere, atque in his militum magister, Chilbudius: ex quo Barbaris libera semper fuit amnis transmissio, & Romana res inclusibus eorum patuit. Qua in parte universum Romanum Imperium virtutem adæquare non potuit unius viri.

§ X. (1) PROCOPIUS. L. 3. c. 14. p. 496. B. Quidam erat Chilbudius inter Justiniani Augusti Domesticos, bellator acerrimus, adeoque egregius contemptor opum, ut magnæ loco possessionis duceret, nihil possidere. Hunc anno Imperii IV. militari Thraciæ magisterio ornatum, Istri fluminis custodiæ præfecit, atque operam dare jussit, ut amnis transitu Barbari in posterum prohiberentur. Jam enim sæpe Hunni, Antæ, & Sclaveni, trajecto fluvio Romanos pessime fœdissimeque vexaverant. Chilbudium Barbari adeo reformidarunt, ut toto triennio, quo ibi cum potestate

(2) Baron Spanheim imagines it rather to be Ponticus, which Name Justinian might assume, because he conquer'd the Lazæ. But, from what I have here quoted, it appears, that we may more safely read Anticus.

(3) PROCOPIUS. L. 3. c. 13. p. 495. C. Narsesem quoque Eunuchum ad Erulorum Principes destinavit, ut ad bellum Italicum eorum multos pellice.

same Time, propos'd an Alliance to the *Antæ*, and assign'd them a Tract of Land on the *Danube*, where they were to assist in repelling the *Hunns* (4). The *Sclavi* made Incurfions, about the Year 547, as far as *Durazzo*; and, A. 549, a Party of three Thousand Men pass'd over the River *Hebrus* (5): The *Imperialists* were not able to stop them, and they even attack'd some fortified Places. Among the Rest, they took *Toperus*, on the Sea-Coast of *Thrace*, and, at Length, return'd home with great Booty, and many Thousands of Prisoners (6). In the Year 550, they even form'd the Project of invading *Greece*, and plundering *Theſſalonica*, which, after *Attila* had taken *Sirmium*, was regarded as the Capital of *Illyricum*. It was thought, that they were encouraged to it, by *Totilas*, in Order to put a Stop to the Army which the Emperor intended to send into *Italy*: And this had very near happen'd. They had reach'd *Nissa* †, when *Germanus*, the new General, arriv'd at *Sophia* ††, to hasten the Preparations for the Expedition against the *Goths* (7).

† *Naissus*.

†† *Serdica*.

pelliceret. Nec pauci ipsum Eruli secuti sunt, Philemuthi, & aliorum ductu, & cum eo venerunt in Thraciam: ubi in hybernis collocati, ad Belisarium ineunte vere profecturi erant. Una aderat Joannes, cui cognomen Hellus. Iter agendo, casu quodam ac præter expectationem, magnum illi in Romanos contulerant beneficium. Cum enim Sclavenorum multitudo ingens, amne Istro nuper trajecto, partes illas vastasset, ac Romanos quam plurimos abripuisset in servitutem; hos Barbaros aggressi repente Eruli, ipsis, numero licet longe superioribus, præter opinionem victis stragem dederunt, ac domum dimisere captivos omnes.

(4) PROCOPIUS. L. 3. c. 14. p. 498. Dum hæc ibi aguntur, interea Justinianus Augustus missa ad hos Barbaros (scilicet *Antas*) legatione, petit, ut commigrent omnes in antiquam urbem; Turrim appellant; quæ trans Istrum fluvium sita, conditaque olim a Trajano, Romanorum Imperatore, multis ab hinc annis vacabat, a vicinis direpta Barbaris. Hanc ipsis urbem agrosque circumjacentes, pro jure veteri quo ad Romanos pertinerent, daturum se Justinianus Augustus spondit, eorumque amicitiam aliturum omni studio, & pecuniam liberalissime largiturum, modo ut isto secum foedere, Hunnis, Romanorum Im-

perium incurfare volentibus, sese usque opponerent, &c.

(5) PROCOPIUS. L. 3. c. 29. p. 532. B. Sub idem tempus, Sclavenorum copiae, trajecto Istro flumine totum Illyricum, Epidamnium usque, fœde vastarunt: obvios quosque, sine ullo ætatis discrimine, partim mactantes morte; partim abducentes in servitutem, ac pecuniis spoliantes. Castella quoque regionis illius plurima, quæ firma prius videbantur, ceperunt, nemine resistente, ita ut circumcursando, impune quovis penetrarent: cum illorum Duces collecto ad XV. M. exercitu sic sequerentur, ut propius ad illos accedere non auderent.

(6) PROCOPIUS. L. 3. c. 38. He there calls this City Toperus. Ptolemy names it Topirus, and Antonini Itinerarium, Topirum. It lay in the District of Rhodope in Thrace, on the Sea-Coast, not far from the Borders of Macedonia. Justinian caus'd it to be fortified again afterwards, of which see Procop. de Aedif. p. 90. D. It is now called Pufio, and has a Bishop, who is Suffragan to the Archbishop of Philippopoli.

(7) IDEM. L. 3. c. 40.

§ XI. *JUSTINIAN*, at Length, resolv'd vigorously to pursue the *Gothick War*, and wholly to extirpate the *Goths* (1). In Order thereto he prevail'd on *Cosroes*, King of *Persia*, in Consideration of 2000 Pounds of Gold, to protract the Truce for five Years. He sent *Artabanes* into *Sicily*, to take the Command, instead of *Liberius*, and rais'd a fresh Army, which *Germanus*, his Brother's Son, was to lead into *Italy* by Land (2). This Prince, who would never enter into the Measures of the Empress *Theodora*, now gain'd the Admiration of the whole Court, by his great Wisdom and Regard to Justice, and by his Hospitality and Complacency. His successful Exploits against the *Antæ* on the *Danube*, and against the Rebels in *Africa*, caus'd great Hopes to be form'd of the ensuing Expedition: And as he added to the Sums, employ'd by the Emperor, a Part of his private Fortune; his Followers became the more numerous; not only of the Subjects of the *Roman Empire*, but likewise of foreign Nations, who dwelt along the *Danube*. *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*, had, in particular, engaged to send 1000 *Cuirassiers* (3) to his Aid. This animated the small Residue of *Imperial Soldiers* in *Italy*, and those Inhabitants who had remained faithful to that Party. *Totilas*, on the other Hand, was greatly perplex'd; for *Germanus*, whose Wife died not long before, had marrid *Matafwinth*, the Widow of *Vitiges* (4),

§ XI. (1) PROCOPIUS, 634. C. Gothorum Theodora's Disgust to him, he treats in Anecd. nomen perosus, & in animo habens, illos ex 16. B, Romanorum Imperio prorsus exterminare. See above, B. 12. § 39.

(2) PROCOPIUS, L. 3. c. 39. He speaks thus in Praise of Germanus, p. 561; Singulari vir fortitudine præditus, ac strenuitate: Dux idem optimus, & ad res per se agendas dexter: in pace secundisque temporibus, legum institutorumque civilium servantissimus, causas omnium æquissime judicabat: roganti cuilibet data mutuo pecunia, quamvis magna, a nemine usuram, ne verbo quidem, unquam exigebat. In Palatio ac foro gravissimus, & maxime serius, domi quotidie convivor erat suavis, liberalis, ac scitus. Ne quid in Palatio præter solitum peccaretur, quoad poterat, obstabat. Ei nulla consiliorum societas, nulla erat consuetudo, cum circi Byzantini factiosus, quamvis multi, qui honoribus utebantur, in absurda illa studia prolaborantur. Of the Empress

(3) IDEM, p. 559. A. Multi etiam Barbari, Istri fluminis accolæ, Germani illustri fama excitati, grandi accepta pecunia, ad Romanum exercitum se aggregarunt; & cum alii Barbari coacti undique confluerunt, tum Longobardorum Rex milites cataphractos mille, quos paratos habebat, propediem se missurum recepit.

(4) IDEM, p. 558. C. Ac primum quidem, cum viduus, mortua pridem conjuge Passara, natam ex Amalasuntha, Theoderici filia, Matafuntham, post Vitigis obitum, uxorem duxisset, eam secum assumpsit. Sperabant enim fore, ut, si uxorem in castris haberet, Gothi, justa prohibiti reverentia, in eam arma non tollerent, regni Theoderici, atque Atalarici memores. The Passage in Jornandes, relating to this Marriage, was quoted, B. 12. § 22. not. 3.

and

and the *Goths* begun to murmur at being forc'd to fight against *Theoderic's* House (5). (1) *Germanus*, by the Way, repels the *Sclavi*.

Germanus, by the Way, repels the *Sclavi*.

§ XII. WHEN he came to *Sophia*, he immediately caus'd the Cities in *Thrace* to be put in a Posture of Defence against the *Sclavi*, who were terrified at the bare Rumour of his Arrival; because he had before defeated the *Antæ*, when he was *Magister Militum Thraciæ* (1). They could neither venture to engage with him, nor to continue their *Route* to *Theffalonica*, and therefore went into *Dalmatia*, over those almost impassable Mountains, which divide *Illyricum*: But *Germanus* dying, amidst these Preparations, they became but the more audacious. A fresh Swarm came over the *Danube*, and, dividing themselves into three Bodies, overspread *Thrace* and *Illyricum*. The Emperor detach'd an Eunuch, nam'd *Scholasticus*, against them with a large Army, who attack'd one Part of the *Sclavi* near *Adrianople*, but was himself forc'd to retreat; and *Constantian*, the famous General, the Emperor's Master of the Horse †, lost his Standard on this Occasion. They, hereupon, plunder'd the District of *Africa**, on the Coasts of the *Bosphorus*, and came as far as the great Wall rais'd by *Anastasius*, to keep the *Barbarians* from the Capital (2). Here the Imperial Army made a second unexpected Attack, and reveng'd the late Overthrow: They retook many of the Prisoners, together with the Standard, which the *Sclavi* had taken; but were, nevertheless, oblig'd to let them return to their own Country with the Rest of the Booty (3). In succeeding Times, they, at Length, gain'd a sure Footing in *Illyricum*, whence arose the Kingdoms of *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Bosnia* and *Servia*. Many separate Nations were comprehended under the general Denomination of *Sclavi*, which the different Dialects of their Language

† S. Stabuli Comes.

(5) IDEM, p. 559. A. Hisque, aliisque amplioribus in Italia nuntiatis, qualia inter homines efficere fama solet, eundo crescens, Gothi simul timere, simul ambigere, num sibi cum Theoderici stirpe bellandum esset.

atus magister militem totius Thraciæ, inito cum hostium copijs prælio, vi illas prostravit, & fere ad internecionem cecidit: quo facto Germanus cum apud omnes clarissimus evasit, tum vero maxime apud hos Barbaros.

§ XII. (1) PROCOPIUS, L. 3. c. 43. Of the Victory Germanus obtain'd over the *Antæ*, he says, p. 560. C. Erat enim apud hos Barbaros Germani nomen ex hoc admodum celebre. Quo tempore Justinianus, Germani patruus, imperium obtinuit, Antæ, Sclavenorum accolæ, transito Istro, in Romanorum fines cum magno exercitu irruerunt. Germanus recens ab Imperatore cre-

* Africa, a District, wherein is situate the City of Bizya, now Vize, the Residence of the ancient Kings of Thrace.

(2) Of these see call'd muri longi, see Gyllius, in Topogr. Const. L. 1. c. 21.

(3) PROCOPIUS, *ibid*.

demonstrate :

demonstrate : For, besides the *Sclavonian*, which is still spoken in *Hungary*, and even in some Provinces of the *Turkish* Empire, it gave Rise to the *Polish*, *Bohemian*, *Wendish* and *Russian* Tongues.

§ XIII. *JUSTINIAN* endeavour'd, likewise, to re-establish a *Justinian's* good Understanding with the King of *Austrasia*. He sent † *Leontius*, a ^{Treaties with} Senator, to *Theodebald*, to demand a Restoration of those Places to the ^{Theodebald.} Empire, which his Father had taken in *Italy* ††, and to invite the King †† See B. xii. to an Alliance against the *Goths* : But *Theodebald* refus'd both. We § 40. find, indeed, that he, in Return, sent an Ambassy to *Constantinople*, of which *Leuthard*, a *Frank*; was the Chief; but the Subject of the Negotiation is uncertain (1). The Clergy in *Italy* had Recourse to these Ambassadors; and begg'd they would interceed for Pope *Vigilius*, and *Datus*, Bishop of *Milan*, whose Affairs at *Constantinople* were in a bad Situation, on Account of the so call'd *Tria Capitula*, and that they would entreat the Emperor to let them return to their Churches : But, as we shall find in the Sequel, this Intercession prov'd fruitless (2).

§ XIV. *TOTILAS*, in the mean Time, likewise us'd his utmost Endeavours to establish his Power. He strove to gain the Affections of the *Romans* (1), and to find the Emperour Employment out of *Italy*. The *Sclavi* ^{Totilas sends out a Fleet against Greece, &c.} were thought to have been instigated by him. He equipp'd a Fleet of three hundred Ships. The Troops, that were embark'd thereon, ravag'd *Corfu*, with other adjacent Isles, and several Cities on the Coasts of *Epirus*, in particular *Nicopolis* †, and likewise took some Vessels laden with Pro-† *Prevezza*.

§ XIII. (1) PROCOPIUS, L. 4. c. 24.

(2) Vid. Libellus Clericorum Italiae, &c. Pagi, ad A. 551. N. 16. and 17. affirms, that both this Writing, and the Franconian Ambassy, belong to the Year 551.

§ XIV. (1) PROCOPIUS. L. 4. c. 22. p. 627. A. Interea hæc agit Totilas; copias Narsetis expectans. Cum Romanos alios, tum Senatores nonnullos Romam revocat; relictis cæteris in Campania, atque urbem pro virili parte curare jubet, præ se ferens poenitentiam violatæ tum Romæ, cum ejus partem non exiguam, præsertim trans

fluvium Tyberim, flamma delevisset. Illi mancipiorum loco rituque habiti, & fortunis exuti omnibus, nullam rei nec publicæ, nec privatæ partem recuperare poterant: tametsi supra omnes, quos equidem novimus, urbis studiosi suæ Romani, res omnes patrias retinere & conservare fatagunt; ne quid antiqui decoris Romæ depereat. Et quamvis dominationem Barbaricam passi sunt, urbis tamen ædificia servarunt, & quam plurima, quoad ejus fieri potuit, ornamenta: quibus eam firmitatem industria artificum dedit, ut nec tanta ævi longinquitate, nec curæ intermissione delata fuerint.

visions

visions for the *Imperial Army* (2). He was, on the other Hand, unfortunate at the Siege of *Ancona*; which City the *Goths* had block'd up both by Water and Land. *Valerian*, from *Ravenna*, excited *John*, the Son-in-Law of *Germanus*, who was garrison'd at *Salona*, to attempt, with him, the Relief of the City! They join'd at *Scardona*; *Valerian* had about twelve, and *John* thirty-eight Ships. They sail'd with a favourable Wind to *Senogallia*, and from thence to *Ancona*. *Giblas* and *Indulphus**, the two *Gothick* Generals, encounter'd them with a Fleet of forty-seven Ships: And even ventur'd to make the first Attack: But the *Imperialists*, who were more expert at naval Combats, than the *Goths* (3), beat them, and destroy'd their Ships. *Indulphus*, with great Difficulty, brought off eleven, which so soon as he reach'd the Shore, he set Fire to himself, lest they should fall into the Enemy's Hands. The Troops, that besieg'd *Ancona* by Land, were so terrify'd at the Sight of the Fugitives, that they broke up, leaving their Camp behind them, and hastned with them to *Osimo*.

(2) PROCOPIUS. *l. c. p. 629. C.* Gothi appulsa in Corcyram classe, eam cursim, cæterasque omnes insulas adjacentes, quas appellant Sybothas, vastarunt, transvestique in continentem, circumjecta Dodonæ loca populati sunt subita vi, quam præcipue senserunt Nicopolis, & Anchises; ubi Anchisen, Æneæ patrem, capto ex Ilio consilio navigantem, vivere desuisse, & loco dedisse nomen, indigenæ memorant. Oram omnem maritimam legentes, in Græcorum naves inciderunt non paucas, & omnes cum oneribus ceperunt. In eo fuere numero naves aliquot, quæ cibaria Narfeis copiis e Græcia advehebant. The Geographers mention only one Island, which was call'd Sybotha, now Sivoda.

(3) PROCOPIUS. *describes this Sea-Fight, in lively Terms, p. 632. C.* Erat navale certamen acerrimum, ac pedestri simile. Nam utrique, adversis inter se prorsus ac frontibus stantes, se se invicem sagittis petebant. Animosissimi quique cominus e foris miscebant prælium; & collato pede, non secus atque in campo, ensibus atque hastis pugnant. Principium hoc certaminis fuit. Deinde Barbari, cum essent Naumachiarum rudes, incomposi-

tissime dimicarunt. Nam alii tanto intervallo distabant inter se, ut singulos seorsum invadere liceret hosti: rursus alii conferti, in spatium iniquius redactis navibus, mutuo sibi erant impedimento. Dixisses tegetum instar compactos, intextosque navium malos. Nec nisi ægre tardeque admodum in hostes diffitos sagittas expedire Barbari, nec gladiis hastive uti poterant, cum propius instantes cernerent sed vociferantes trudebant usque alteros alteri, collidentes se invicem, & contis repellentes perturbatissime: modo in arctum cogeabant frontem: modo huc illucque procul discedebant cum detrimento. Singuli vicinos magno ejulatu cohortabantur, non utique in hostem, verum ut aptis spatiis abjungerentur. Denique mutua districti imperitia, hostibus suis præcipuam victoriæ causam præbuerunt. At Romani, cum & arma viriliter, & artem naumachiarum scite tractarent, navium prorsus obversis hosti; nec longius distrahti, nec propius quam opus erat coeuntes; verum idoneis intervallis jam colligentes navigia, jam diducetes, si quam hostium navim avulsam a cæteris viderent, facto impetu facile submergebant. Sicubi confusos viderent Barbaros, eo sagittarum nimbum mittebant: propiusque adorti

inordina-

Osimo. *Artabanes*, about the same Time, made himself Master of *Sicily* (4). *Totilas's* Fleet, on the other Hand, took *Corfica* and *Sardinia*. *John*, *Magister Militiæ in Africa*, sent some Troops over into *Sardinia*; but the *Goths* made a vigorous Sally from *Cagliari*; and the Enemies thought themselves happy, to return in Safety to their Ships (5). Another Squadron of *Imperial* Ships had the good Fortune to relieve *Cotrone*, and thereby to retrieve the Honour of the Emperor's Arms in that Country (6), when about the same Time the grand Army advanced, on the other Side.

§ XV. *JUSTINIAN*, after *Germanus's* Decease, had given the Com-^{Narses ob-}mand to *Narses*, who was then High Chamberlain. The Eunuchs had ^{tains the} formerly been only employ'd in the private Offices of the *Imperial* Pa-^{Command,} lace *. Hence it seems somewhat odd, that in *Justinian's* Reign, they ** commanded in the most considerable Expeditions: For *Salomo* commanded in *Africa*, the before-mention'd *Scholasticus* against the *Sclavi*, and *Narses* in *Italy*. The Factions at Court, the Animosities that arose from thence betwixt the Generals, and *Justinian's* Suspicions, seem to have contributed greatly thereto. But *Narses*, in particular, shew'd, that he fully deserv'd the Confidence the Emperour repos'd in him: He recruited successfully at *Constantinople*, in *Thrace*, and in *Illyricum*; because his Magnanimity, Liberality, and engaging Carriage to Persons of all Ranks,

inordinatos, ac perturbatione laborantes, cominus interimebant. Adversa fortuna, & iis, quæ pugnando deliquerant, fracti Barbari, nesciebant quo pacto prælium sustinerent. Non jam naumachiam edebant; non stabant in foris, tanquam si terrâ pugnarent; sed dimisso certamine, in periculo torpebant, fortunæ fidei se committentes. Deinde nullo servato ordine, cum terga turpiter verterent, virtutis, honestique discessus, & cujusvis rei præclaræ immemores, inter hostium naves dispersi magnam partem hæserunt.

(4) PROCOPIUS, c. 24.

(5) PROCOPIUS, L. 4. c. 24. p. 636. D. *Totilas* vero, cum adjunctas ditioni *Africæ* insulas adfectaret, statim classem collegit, impositoque justo exercitu, in *Corficam* & *Sardiniam* misit. Ille in *Corficam* primum expositus, nemine prohibente, insulam occupavit, ac deinde *Sardiniam*; tum utramque insulam *Totilas* vestigalem fecit. Quod ubi accepit *Joannes*, militiæ magister in *Africa*, classem in *Sardiniam* cum copiis desti-

navit: quæ cum ad urbem *Calarim* accessissent, castris positis, obsidionem meditabantur, impares se oppugnandis mœnibus judicantes; eo quod ibi præsidium *Gothi* satis validum haberent. Re *Barbari* cognita, ex urbe erumpunt, subitoque impetu hostibus facile in fugam versis, multos conficiunt: cæteri ad naves tum evasere: nec multo post inde profecti cum omni classe pervenerunt *Carthaginem*, ibique hyemarunt, primo vere bellum iterum in *Corficam* & *Sardiniam* portaturi, majori cum apparatu. PROCOPIUS relates this in the History of the 17th Year of the Gothick War.

(6) Ibid. p. 639. seq.

§ XV. * CLAUDIAN. in *Eutrop.* L. 1. 336 asks this Question.

——— Quid nobile gessit
Eunuchus, quæ bella tulit?

** IBID. v. 224.

——— Eunuchis se defensoribus orbis
Credidit.

were

were sufficiently experienc'd when he was in *Italy* before (1). He had many foreign Troops in his Army. Besides the *Persians* and *Hunns*, *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*, had put 5200 Men into his Pay, in Pursuance of a Treaty subsisting between the Emperour and him (2). *Aruth*, a brave *Herulian*, who from his tender Years had taken Delight in the *Roman* Manner of living, was at the Head of a separate Body of his Country-Men, which had before signaliz'd its Valour. Besides these, there were three thousand *Herulian* Horse-Men, commanded by their own Princes, among whom *Philemuth* in particular acquir'd great Renown. *Asbadus*, a courageous Youth of the *Gepide*, headed a select Body of 400 Men of his Nation (3); and we find moreover some Auxiliaries mention'd (4) that were sent by the King of the *Guarni*.

The *Franconian* Troops in *Venetia*, refuse him a Passage.

§ XVI. WHEN he came to the Frontiers of *Venetia*, the *Franconian* Troops, that were garrison'd there in the Cities and fortified Places, would not allow him a Passage thro' the Country, nor over the *Adige* (1); under Pretence, that he had so many *Longobards* with him, who were sworn Enemies to the *Franks*. *Totilas* had detach'd the valiant *Tejas*, with a select Body of Soldiers, to *Verona*, who was likewise to prevent the March

§ XV. (1) PROCOPIUS *praises* Narses, p. 641. C. Porro Narses munificentissimus erat, & ad levandos indigentes promptissimus: cumque ab Imperatore septus magnis fuisset opibus, ea, quæ ipsi erant in studio, pleniori arbitrio exercebat. Et quoniam multi, Duces juxta ac milites, liberalitatem ejus jam ante experti fuerant, simul expeditionis in Totilam & Gothos dux est summus renunciatus; certatim singuli ad militandum sub ipso paratissimos se ostenderunt; partim studio pensandi pristina beneficia; partim spe, procul dubio, inducti, ab ipso magna consequendi. In primis Erulos cæterosque Barbaros sibi ille devinxerat singulari magnificentia.

(2) PROCOPIUS, L. 4. c. 26. p. 641. A. Auduinus, Longobardorum Rex, a Justiniano Augusto multa pecunia & fœderis sanctione inductus, delectu suorum habito, bis mille ducentos bellatores egregios auxilio miserat, hisque in famulatum addiderat amplius tria pugnatorum millia. Equitum quoque Erulorum plus tria millia sequeban-

tur, duce cum nonnullis aliis. Philemutho: & Hunni quam plurimi.

(3) PROCOPIUS, L. c. C. Aspadus quoque, Gepas adolescens strenuissimus, populares suos, DC. viros bello præstantes, habebat secum. Una plurimorum Dux Erulorum, quorum virtus in bellis periculis enituerat Aruthus, & ipse Erulus, qui a puero Romanorum vivendi rationem amaverat, & filiam Mauriti, qui patrem habuit Mundum, uxorem duxerat.

(4) See below, § XXII.

§ XVI. (1) PROCOPIUS, p. 642. A. Cum proxime agrum venissent Venetum, missio nuntio ad Francorum Duces, qui loca illa tenebant præsidii, postulavit, ut sibi, tanquam amicis, transitum darent. Ille Narseti se nullo id pacto permissuros respondent; nullaque facta mentione utilitatis Francorum, vel suæ in Gothos benevolentia, quæ vera causa erat, cur se, quoad possent, opponerent, prætextum hunc parum speciosum confingunt,

March of the *Imperialists* thro' *Venetia*. *Narses* made a Virtue of Necessity. He proceeded along the Sea-Coast, where the *Imperialists* still possess'd some Places, and caus'd as many Vessels as could be procur'd; to sail along the Banks, in Order to use them in passing over the Rivers (2). He rested but nine Days at *Ravenna*. The King of the *Goths* relied very much on the Garrison of *Rimini*, and chiefly on their Commander *Udruja*: But he making a Sally, was shot by one of *Narses's* Archers: This dishearten'd his Soldiers, and *Narses*, passing unmolested over the River, turn'd into the Road which led to *Rome* thro' *Umbria* (3). *Totilas*, who found an Engagement unavoidable, went to meet him, and took 300 young Persons, of the best Families, as Hostages, from those Cities which he left, and, for his Security, sent them to several Places over the *Po* (4).

§ XVII. THUS the two Armies met on the *Apennine Alps*; where a Battle soon ensued, which was to determine the Possession of *Italy*. The *Gothick* Cavalry made the first Attack. *Totilas* had order'd them to use only their Spears, to which Error *Procopius*, in a great Measure, imputes their Overthrow (1). *Narses* had so plac'd his Archers, that

A Battle between the *Imperialists* and *Goths*. *Totilas* is kill'd.

singunt, quod secum *Narses* Longobardos duceret, capitales Francorum hostes. What real Cause the Franks had to call the Longobards their Enemies is uncertain. *Valesius*, L. 8. p. 447. imagines, that the Animosity and Distrust was thus occasion'd: *Audoen* married a *Thuringian* Princess, and her Brother *Amalafrid* (whom I mention'd above, § VIII) perhaps laid Claim to *Thuringia*. *Procopius's* Relation may be illustrated by the following Passage in *Menander*, p. 133. A. *Amingus* Francus castra locavit ex aduerso fluminis *Athesis*, quod *Romani* transire constituerant. Hoc cognito *Narses* *Pamphronium*, qui unus ex *Patriciis* Imperatoris erat, & Bonum privatæ rei Comitem, Legatos ad *Amingum* mittit. Per hos denuntiavit *Amingo*, ne *Romanorum* rebus officeret, neque iterum bellum contra *Romanos* gereret: Inducias enim per id tempus esse inter *Francos* & *Romanos*. *Amingus* vero respondit, se non illi traditurum telum, quamdiu sibi manus, quæ illud jaculari posset, superasset.

(4) See § XIX. not. 2.

§ XVII. (1) *Narses's* Camp was ad *Busta Gallorum*: *Totilas* lay not far from thence, ad *Vicum Taginæ*. The Place where the Battle was fought, is best describ'd by *CLUVERUS*, Ital. Ant. p. 616. Cæterum extat hodie in *Apennino*, inter *Sentinum*, *Fabrianum*, *Matilicam*, & *Sigillum* oppida, quorum hoc in via est *Flaminia*, oppidum vulgari vocabulo, *BOSTA*: quod plerique notiore vulgaris linguæ vocabulo, quod latine valet *SUFFICIT*, seu *SATIS EST*, appellant *BASTA*. Id cum ex eo nomine, tum ex situ, cognoscitur esse vetera illa *BUSTA GALLORUM*. Ab *Austrino* *Apennini* latere, haud procul *Sigillo* opido versus meridiem, est oppidum vulgo *CAPRAIA* dictum, quod & ipsum ex nominis sitaque documento deprehenditur, esse vetus illud oppidum *CAPRÆ*, five *AD CAPRAS*, in quo ex vulnere mortuus est *Totilas*, *Gothorum* Rex. As for the last Place, *AD CAPRAS*, *MAGINUS* imagines it to be *Caprile*, in the Territories of *Florence*, on the Frontiers of the Duchy of *Urbino*, and the Source of the River *Rimini*.

(2) *PROCOPIUS*. *ibidem*.

(4) *IBID.* L. 4. c. 28. p. 645. seq.

they could fall on the *Gothick* Cavalry on both Sides. When these retreated, after a long and bloody Fight, they likewise put the Infantry into a Consternation and Disorder; and the *Imperialists*, who follow'd at their Heels, made a terrible Slaughter. *Procopius* reckons 6000 *Goths* that were slain. But they suffer'd most by the Death of their King, who expir'd of his Wounds, in the Neighbourhood, at *Capraja* (2). With him, fell the Hopes of the *Goths*, which, during the eleven Years of his Reign, he had rais'd to that Height, by his Heroick Disposition, by his Equity, and many other Virtues, that they regarded him as a second *Theodorick* (3). His Hat and Coat, stain'd as they were with his Blood, were sent to *Constantinople*, and laid at the Emperor's Feet, in the great Court of Judicature (4). *Justinian* view'd them with as haughty a Satisfaction, as any old *Roman* General could have express'd, if he had taken them from the Enemy himself.

The *Goths*
chuse *Tejas*
for their
King, &c.

§ XVIII. *NARSES* first sent the *Longobards* back, because they were too much addicted to Licentiousness (1). *Valerian* was oblig'd to conduct them, with some Troops, as far as the Confines. They made afterwards a very good Advantage of the Knowledge they, on this Occasion, gain'd of *Italy*. *Valerian*, thereupon laid Siege to *Verona*; and the

(2) *PROTOP. c. 32.* The Circumstances of this Battle, and especially the Death of the King, were, at that Time, differently related. Some say the King was wounded in the Battle, and, by retreating from the Field, caus'd a great Consternation in the Army, which contributed most to the Defeat. Others pretend that he did not retire 'till all was lost, and was wounded on the Flight, by *Asbadus*, the before-mention'd *Gepes*. The former appears more probable: But since *Procopius* himself was at no Certainty, it is in vain to form any Conjectures.

(3) *BARGÆUS* styles him, l. c. p. 1881. *Hominem non modo rei militaris inprimis peritum, sed, quod dictu mirabile sit, humanitate, clementia, & incredibili erga Deum pietate, cum quovis ux Veteribus comparandum.*

(4) *THEOPHANES* ad A. DXLIV. (secundum *Aram Alexandrinam*, qui incipit Kal. Sept. A. 551.) Augusto mense triumphales nuntii, & victoriae monumenta Roma Constantinopolin delata; *Narse* nimirum, Cubiculario, & Romanorum exarcho victore. Pugna siquidem cum *Totila*,

Gothorum Rege, conferta, summam sibi sua virtute peperit victoriam, Romam recepit, Totilamque interfecit, vestimenta quoque ejus adhuc sanguine tincta, pileolumque ejus gemmis ornatum, Constantinopolin misit; quæ ad Imperatoris pedes in secreto projecta sunt. We may plainly conclude from the Relations of *Procopius* and *Theophanes*, that this Battle was fought A. 552. about June. *F. Pagius* affirms this more circumstantially against *Card. Norisius*, who places the Death of *Totilas* in the Year 553.

§ XVIII. (1) *PROTOP. L. 4. c. 33. p. 657.* Ac primum redimere pretio voluit indignam licentiam *Longobardorum*, quos secum duxerat, cum præter alia inquinatissimæ vitæ scelera, obvios domos delerent igni, & sceminis, quæ sacris ædibus se commiserant, turpem vim afferrent. Quare magna pecunia donatos remisit in patriam, *Valeriano*, ac *Damiano*, nepoti suo, eorumque copiis, demandata cura, eos ad Romani Imperii limitem deducendi, ut in via ab injuria, ac maleficio temperarent.

Garrison

Garrison had already began to treat about the Surrender, when the *Franks*, who were dispers'd in *Venetia*, inform'd him, that they should not suffer *Verona* to fall into other Hands. Hereupon *Valerian* broke up, being unwilling to provoke the *Franks* to Hostilities (2). The *Goths*, in the mean Time, who had escap'd from the late Battle, assembled at *Pavia*, and there elected *Tejas* their King. He intreated the Aid of *Theodebald*, King of *Austrasia*, and offer'd him a considerable Sum of Mony, great Part of which he had found in the Royal Treasury at *Pavia* (3): But the *Franks* would not be prevail'd upon, and chose rather to stay 'till one Party had destroyed the other (4).

§ XIX. *NARSES* left *Valerian* on the *Po*, to watch the Motions of the *Goths* at *Pavia*, and himself set out for *Rome*. On his March he forc'd *Narni* to surrender. At *Spoletto* he caused the Walls to be repair'd, in those Places where they had been pull'd down by the *Goths*. *Totilas* had fortified the *Moles Hadriani* at *Rome*, that in Case the *Goths* should not be so numerous as to guard all the Walls of the Town, they might hold out the longer in this Place (1): But they now ventur'd upon the City-Walls. *Narses* made the Attack in several Places: And as the *Goths* could not place a sufficient Number of Men every where, *Dagistheus* came with Speed to a Place, where they least expected an Attack, and scal'd the Walls without any Resistance †. Thus *Rome* † A. 552. was taken a sixth Time in this *Gothick* War, and this Conquest was pro-

(2) IDEM *L. c. p.* 658. *A.* Postquam Longobardi e Romano solo pedem extulerant, castra Valerianus ad urbem Veronam posuit, ut eam obsidione Imperatori subiceret. Qui in urbis praesidio locati erant, de ille secum tradenda cum Valeriano sunt collocti, urgente metu. Hoc nuntio exciti Franci in argo Veneto [stationarii, omni id studio prohibuere, regionem sibi vindicantes, ut suam: quo circa Valerianus inde cum omnibus copiis, re infecta, abscessit.

(3) IDEM *ibid. B.* Gothi vero, qui ex praelio evaserant, trajecto Pado, urbem Ticinum, circumjectaque loca occuparunt, ac sibi Regem crearunt Tejam, qui, inventa omni pecunia, quam Ticini Totilas reposuerat, Francos ad belli societatem pellicere statuit, & Gothos pro tempore & re composuit, instruxitque, circa se omnes propere colligens.

(4) IDEM *L. c. c. 34. p.* 661. *D.* Tejas vero, Gothos infirmiores judicans, quam ut soli pugnare possent cum Romano exercitu, legatione missa ad Francorum Regem Theodebaldum, ad belli societatem ingentis pecuniae pollicitationibus eum invitavit. At Franci, suis, opinor, rationibus servientes, nec Gothicæ, nec Romanæ rei causa volebant vitam profundere; sed Italiam sibi subdere; ejusque rei gratia bellum gerere cupiebant nulla impliciti societate.

§ XIX. (1) IDEM, *L. 4. c. 33.* Multa urbis ædificia Totilas igni corruerat, cum eam primum cepisset: deinde secum reputans, Gothos, ad modicum redactos numerum, non sufficere custodiendis muris omnibus Romæ, partem urbis exiguam, circa Adriani molem, parvo muro cinxerat, eo-que veteribus annexo mœnibus, castelli speciem loco dederat.

bably

bably attended with more Loss of Blood on the *Roman* Side, than any of the preceeding ones. The *Goths*, on their Flight, cut in Pieces all they met with; and the foreign Soldiers, in the *Imperial* Army, acted as cruelly as the Enemy. Some of those *Patricii*, whom *Totilas* had enjoin'd to stay in *Campania*, no sooner heard, that *Rome* was taken by *Narses*, than they hasten'd thither. Whereupon the *Goths*, who lay in that Country, fought up and murder'd all the Rest. *Tejas* likewise caus'd the 300 young Men, whom *Totilas* had taken with him for Hostages, to be put to Death (2).

He causes
Cuma to be
besieg'd,

§ XX. *NARSES* remain'd at *Rome*, but sent some Troops to besiege *Cuma*, where *Totilas* had deposited the greatest Part of his Treasures, and the Jewels of the *Gothick* Kingdom. *Tejas* resolv'd, at all Events, to relieve this Place, and found Ways, which *Narses* had esteem'd impassable, for an Army. *Narses* therefore broke up at the same Time from *Rome*, and both happen'd to encamp opposite to each other, at the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*; insomuch that they were only separated by the Rivulet, call'd *Draco*, which arises from *Vesuvius*, and discharges itself into the *Sarnum*. But the Officer, who commanded the *Gothick* Fleet, declared suddenly for the Emperor, which occasion'd a Want of Provisions among the *Goths*. They withdrew to a neighbouring Mountain (1), and soon after attack'd the *Imperialists* so unexpectedly, that *Narses* had hardly Time to draw them into Order of Battle. The Cavalry on both Sides dismounted, to fight on Foot. *Tejas* advanc'd with some of the bravest of them in the Van, with his Shield in his left Hand, and a Spear in his right. The most valiant of *Narses's* Army resolv'd to attack him, imagining the *Goths* would make but little Resistance, if once they saw their King fall. *Procopius* relates Prodigies of the Valour

(2) *IDE M, L. c. c. 30. p. 660. C.* Fugientes Gothi, spe depositæ, obtinendæ Italiciæ, obiter Romanos, in quos incidebant, mactabant, parcentes nemini. Barbari, in Romano militantes exercitu, obvios quosque ad urbis aditus hostiliter accipiebant. Quibus malis istud accessit. Antea, jussu Totilæ, degebant in Campania Romani Senatores multi. Horum quidam, allato nuntio, potitum Roma Cæsareanum exercitum, eo migrarunt ex Campania. Quod ubi Gothi, munita tenentibus regionis illius loca, compertum fuit, in tota provincia conquiescere Patricios, omnesque

interfecere. In his fuit Maximus iste, cujus meminimus in superioribus libris. Præterea, cum inde Narses iret obviam Totilæ, ex urbibus singulis nobilium Romanorum filios collegerat, lectisque eorum numero trecentis, quos forma ac specie egregios judicabat, parentibus quidem dixerat, suos fore illos domesticos; re autem vera habere volebat obfides. Tum ipsos Totilas trans fluvium Padum miserat: jam vero Tejas eosdem ibi nactus, ad unum omnes occidit.

§ XX. (1) Monte Lattario.

shewn

shewn by the King of the *Goths* (2), on this Occasion: But at the very Juncture that he gave away his Shield, in which stuck twelve Arrows that had been aim'd at him; and was about to take another from his Armour-Bearer, a Javelin pierc'd his Breast, and he drop'd down dead on the Spot. His Body fell into the Hands of the *Imperialists*, who caus'd his Head to be cut off, and to be exposed on an iron Spike to the View of both Armies: The *Goths* were not however dishearten'd at the doleful Spectacle: They fought 'till it was dark Night, and fell upon the Enemy the next Morning: But being then likewise unsuccessful, they sent Deputies to *Narjes*, to remonstrate, "that they perceiv'd Heaven had not destin'd *Italy* for them; that they would indeed rather dy, than become Prisoners; but that if they might be suffer'd to depart unmolested, and every Man to take his Effects with him, they would quit *Italy*, and seek a Habitation elsewhere." The *Imperial* Commanders thought it not adviseable, to reduce so valiant a People to Despair, since they could now secure the Dominion of *Italy*, without any Hazard. It was therefore agreed, that Hostilities should cease on both Sides, and that the *Goths* should immediately depart from *Italy*, with their Effects, and never more serve against the *Roman* Empire (3). But some Officers

(2) It will not be improper here to insert the *Passage*, wherein Procopius relates the heroick Behaviour of the Gothick King in this Battle at large, l. c. c. 35. p. 664. B. Prælium hic describam memorabile, in quo se Heroum nemini virtute bellica secundum probavit Tejas, illustrissimo argumento. Gothi animos dabat præsentis fortunæ desperatio. Romani, quamvis desperatos viderent, viribus tamen omnibus sustinebant, inferioribus cedere erubescerent. Utrique sibi proximos impetebant animosissime; cum hi mortem, illi fortitudinis laudem quærerent. Inita mane pugna, Tejas cunctis conspicuus, protectus clypeo, hastamque intendens, primus ante aciem cum paucis stetit. Quem ut Romani conspexerunt, protinus direptum iri certamen rati, si is caderet, in ipsum conspirarunt, quicunque valebant animo: quorum magnus erat numerus. Cuncti in eum hastas partim impellebant, partim jaculabantur: quas omnes ille clypeo, quo tegebatur, excipiens, subito impetu multos de medio tollebat. Scutum infixis plenum hastilibus animadvertens, illo scutatorum cuidam tradito, alterum arripiebat.

Cum sic decertans partem diei tertiam exegisset: accidit, ut onustum hærentibus duodecim hastilibus clypeum haud movere posset ad libitum, neque aggressores eo repellere. Tum unum ex scutariis contente evocat, ne transversum quidem digitum se loco movens, nec referens pedem, neque hostem progredi sinens. Imo nec se convertit, nec scuto tergum applicavit, nec se flexit in latus; sed tanquam si affixus solo esset, sic in vestigiis hærebat cum clypeo, hostium cædem efficiens dextra, impetum sinistra reprimens, & nomine clamans armigerum. Qui ubi recentem clypeum attulit, hoc ille statim mutavit alterum, hastilibus gravem. Interea puncto temporis patuit illius pectus. Tum forte jaculo confixus, momento efflavit animam. Ipsius caput conto impositum, elatumque circumferentes Romani quidam, utrique exercitui ostendebant, Romano, ut contra iret audentior, Gothico, ut omni spe deposita, arma componeret.

(3) PROCOPIUS, *ibid.* p. 665. B. Denique Barbari, missis Procerum nonnullis, Narseti significarunt,

Officers, the principal of whom was *Indulfus*, had nevertheless left the Camp, during these Negotiations, and, with about 1000 Men, directed their Course to *Pavia* (4).

The Goths in
vain apply to
Theodebald for
Aid, &c.

§ XXI. THIS Handful of *Goths* animated their Countrymen, who dwelt on the *Po*, not to give themselves wholly up to Despair. They sought for Aid of *Theodebald*, King of *Austrasia*; but his State of Health and natural Disposition, render'd him unfit for War (1). On the other Hand, *Leutharis* and *Bucelinus*, two Dukes of the *Alemanni*, who were then of great Renown, in the Kingdom of the *Franks*, hearken'd to their Proposal (2); and we shall find, in the Event, that *Bucelinus* had form'd the Design of making himself King of *Italy*. They led an Army of upwards of 70,000 Men over the *Alps*, consisting of *Franks* and *Alemanni*; tho' *Agathias* comprehends them all under the Denomination of *Franks*. They pass'd the *Po* unmolested, and took *Parma*. *Narses* left a Part of his Troops at the Siege of *Cuma*, and went himself into *Tuscany*; but he sent *John*, *Valerian* and *Artabanes*, with a Part of the Army, into the District of *Æmilia*, to stop the Enemy in their March, at least, 'till he had Time to regulate every Thing in *Tuscany*. Among these Troops was *Fulkaris*, at the Head of about 3000 *Herulian* Cavalry, who advanc'd with great Temerity to *Parma*: But *Bucelinus* had plac'd a Party of his

nificarunt, se jam intelligere, sibi bellum esse cum Deo: sentire se vim adversam, ductaque ex iis, quæ accidissent, conjectura, rei veritatem tenere; velle in posterum ab armis cessare; non tamen ita, ut Imperatori servirent; sed cum aliis quibusdam Barbaris suis legibus viverent. Rogarunt, ne discessum suum Romani turbarent, neque secum benigne agere gravarentur; sed viatici loco donarent pecunias, quas antea quisque in *Italiæ* præfidiis reposuisset. Qua de re deliberanti *Narsesi*, *Joannes*, *Vitaliani* nepos, autor fuit, ut annuere, postulatis: cum hominibus perire volentibus pugnare desineret, nec periclitaretur audaciam, in ipsa natam vitæ desperatione, non iis modo, quos incitaret, sed obviis etiam funesta. Nam, inquit, vincere satis habent viri prudentia ac moderatione præditi; ambitiosior autem cupiditas utique in perniciem vertit. Sententiam hanc amplexo *Narsete*, pacto convenit, ut, qui supererant Barbari, cum rebus suis omni *Italia* confestim excederent, neque ulla ratione cum Romanis bellum amplius gererent. *AGATHIAS* relates the Conditions dis-

ferently, p. 1. ut suas illi terras intrepide habitent, Regique Romanorum deinceps pareant. *PACIUS* ad A. 552. n. 10. calls this the End of the Gothic Kingdom, in Italy; which therefore subsisted sixty Years, if we reckon it from A. 493,

(4) *IBIDEM*. Hoc interim spatio Gothi mille, castris egressi, urbem *Ticinum*, ac regionem *Transpadanam* petierunt, cum alios duces, tum *Indulfum* secuti, de quo mentio supra incidit: cæteri omnes, interposito jurejurando, omnia pacta conventa firmarunt.

§ XXI. (1) *AGATHIAS*. 16. A.

(2) *AGATHIAS*, p. 17. C. *Leutharis* vero & *Butilinus*, tametsi id Regi ipsorum minime placebat, belli cum eis societatem inierunt. Erant hi duo Germani fratres, genere quidem *Alemanni*, maximam vero apud *Francos* potentiam consecuti, adeo ut nationi ipsorum præessent. Of these two Brothers I treated above, B. XII. § 9. and of *Bucelinus* in particular § 40.

choicest

choicest Men in an *Amphitheatre*, near the City, who fell upon the *Heruli*, and routed them, on which Occasion *Fulcaris* himself was kill'd. This successful Beginning so encourag'd the Residue of the *Goths*, who had continued their Habitation in *Æmia*, *Liguria*, and the adjoining Provinces, that, disregarding the League Necessity had forc'd them to make with the *Greeks*, they went over to the *Franks* (3). *John* and *Artabanes* were so terrified at this, that they retreated to *Faenza*.

§ XXII. *NARSES* had, in the mean Time, succeeded in his Designs *Narset, in the mean Time, subdued Tuscan* in *Tuscany*. *Florence*, *Volterra*, *Pisa*, and other Places submitted voluntarily. *Lucca* ventur'd to stand a Siege, but was forc'd, after three Months, to surrender (1). The Season of the Year being now far advanc'd, he sent his Men into Winter-Quarters, and went himself to *Ravenna*. *Aligernus*, the younger Brother of *Tejas*, who commanded in *Cuma*, suspecting the Designs of the *Franks* (2), chose rather to submit himself to the Emperor, and going to *Narset*, at *Classes*, near *Ravenna*,

(3) *AGATHIAS*, p. 26. C. *Gothi* vero, *Æmiliam* & *Liguriam* proximaque loca incolentes, qui antea infidam quidem illam & non sinceram, pacem tamen, bellicque societatem, metu potius impuls, quam voluntate adducti, cum Romanis inierant, armis recuperatis, fœderibusque aperte ruptis, confestim ad Barbaros, ut morum vitæque similitudine conjunctos, sese contulerunt.

§ XXII. (1) *Lucca* surrender'd, Solstitio hyberno imminente. *AGATH.* 30. D.

(2) *IDEM* 31. C. Interea vero *Aligernus*, *Fedigerni* quidem filius, frater vero *Tejæ*, postquam *Franci* in *Italiam* venissent, & *Gothorum* res omnes ad ipsos essent devolutæ, solus visus est quid consultum, & ex re esset, cognovisse, & futura prævidisse. Deliberanti enim ipsi de præsentis rerum statu, hæc cogitatio in mentem venit, quod *Franci* speciosum quidem titulum ac prætextum captabant societatis bellicæ cum *Gothis* initæ; quippe qui acciti venissent; quod vero animis suis agitabant, aliud quiddam reipsa appariturum. Fore enim videbat, ut etiamsi Romanis superiores evaderent, *Gothis* *Italia* non cederent, sed illis reipsa primis subactis, quibus suppetias verbis laturi venerant, *Francos* Prim-

cipes ei imposituros, patriisque legibus eos esse spoliaturus. Hæc itaque cum frequenter secum reputaret, & cum animo suo revolveret, simulque obsidione premeretur, consultissimum fore judicavit, si urbem cum pecuniis omnibus *Narseti* traderet, ac deinceps Romanorum instituto ac moribus viveret, periculis & barbarico vivendi more valere jussis. Æquum enim ei videbatur, si *Gothi* *Italiam* obtinere non possent, veteres certe ejus habitatores, & indigenas ab origine duces, eam recuperare, neque perpetuo suis sedibus fraudari. Hæc itaque & ipse sua ex parte præstare in animum suum inducebat, & reliquæ genti suæ prudentis consilii exemplum statuere. Cum itaque obsidentibus Romanis prius nuntiasset, cupere se præfectum exercitus adire, idque ei permissum esset, ad *Classes* venit, ubi *Narsetem* morari cognoverat. Situm vero est id castellum in agro *Ravennate*; cumque ei in conspectum venisset, & claves urbis *Cumarum* ipsi in manus tradidit, omniaque sua benevola officia ei detulit. *Narset* eum advenientem benigne complexus, majoribus eum bonis renumeraturum promisit; statimque partem copiarum *Cumas* obsidentium in urbem misit; qui & ipsam & pecuniam reciperent, tutoque omnia conservarent; reliquis copiis in alia oppidula & castella secedere, ibique hybernare jussis.

deliver'd him the Keys. When the *Franks* pass'd by *Cesena*, he call'd to them, and told him, that, if they came to relieve *Cuma*, it was too late (3). As disagreeable as this News was to them, they nevertheless continu'd their March, and that without any Obstruction, excepting that *Narses*, who was then at *Rimini*, with *Theodebald*, Prince of the *Varni*, made a successful Sally on a Party of 2000 Men, who were committing Depredations in the Country about that City (4).

Leutharis retreats, &c.

§ XXIII. THEY divided their Forces, when they reach'd the Country of *Samnium*. *Bucelinus* turn'd, with the greatest Part of the Army, to the Right, towards *Campania*, and ravag'd as far as the *Streights of Sicily*: *Leutharis* proceeded, on the other Side, as far as *Otranto*. Tho' generally these Marches were attended with all the Cruelties of Fire and Sword, yet the *Franks* retain'd some Regard for the Churches, which the *Alemanni*, who were still *Pagans*, did not spare. *Leutharis* hasten'd back: But *Bucelinus* had promis'd the *Goths*, with an Oath, to hazard a Battle with the *Imperialists*, in Consideration of which they had given him Assurance, to chuse him King. *Leutharis* was to come to his Brother's Assistance, as soon as he had secur'd his Booty (1): But *Artabanes* and *Hulda*, the General of the *Hunns*, who were garrison'd at *Pesaro*, overthrew, by the Way,

(3) IDEM, p. 32. D. Atque Aligernus quidem Francos prætereuntes, conspicatus, contumeliis verborum eos e sublimi muro excipiebat, & subfannabat, ut frustra deinceps festinantes, & post festum, quod aiunt, venientes, cum pecunia omnis in Romanorum potestatem venisset, atque adeo ipsa etiam Gothici principatus insignia, adeo, ut si quis etiam in posterum rex Gothorum declararetur, non haberet, quo spectabilior honoratiorque esset, militari tantum veste indutus, ipsoque habitu privatum hominem præ se ferens. Franci vero contra ei convitiabantur, gentis suæ proditorem appellantes; & de statu rerum ambigere videbantur, & an bellum ultra gerendum ipsis esset deliberare. Vicit tamen ea sententia, desistendum non esse, quin potius urgendum institutum.

(4) IDEM, p. 33. A. Interea Narses Ravenæ subsistens, atque inter copias, quæ ibi erant, versans, rebus omnibus recte constitutis, Ariminum concessit, cum eodem, quo antea venerat, comitatu. Mortuo enim paulo ante Vacarro,

genere Burno, viro imprimis gravi & bellicoso, statim Theodibaldus, ejus filius, cum Burnis eum comitantibus ad Romanorum Imperatorem accesserat, & Arimini erat, tamquam ibi Narsetem conventurus, quo etiam ipse ea de causa venerat, ut omnibus liberaliter auro donatis, belli socios haberet. *Instead of Burno and Burnis, we must, according to the Greek, read Varno and Varnis.*

§ XXIII. (1) AGATH. 36. Leuthari in animo erat domum reverti & opimis spoliis suis frui, nuntiisque ad fratrem suum missis etiam ad dominationem hortabatur; bello & incertis rerum futurarum eventibus valere jussis. Butilinus vero etiam jurejurando se Gothis obstrinxit, prælium adversus Romanos cum ipsis aditurum. Cumque illi per assentationem spargerent, se se eum Regem ipsorum designaturos, manendum sibi apud illos censuit, & se ad bellum instravit. Leutharis vero cum suis copiis statim discessit: eo consilio, ut, postquam prædam omnem quam tutissime avexisset, domumque venisset, tum exercitum fratris suo suppetias laturum mitteret.

a Party

a Party of 3000 of his Men, and, at *Fano*, he lost all his Spoils. The Rest of the Army pitch'd their Tents near *Ceneda*, in *Venetia* (2), there designing to halt a while; but *Leutharis*, and most of his Men, were carried off by contagious Diseases (3).

§ XXIV. *BUCELINUS* return'd to *Campania*, and took *Naples* <sup>An Engage-
ment betwixt
Bucelinus and
Narses, &c.</sup> (1). He was prompted to hazard an Engagement with the *Imperialists*, the sooner the better, not only on Account of his late Promise to the *Goths*, but likewise of Necessity, on his own Part: For the Want of Provisions, which were cut off by *Narses*, had induc'd the Soldiers to make too free with the Grapes, and this had already occasion'd Distempers. He encamp'd near *Capua*, on the River *Casilino*† (2), and had 30,000 Men left.† *Narses* set out from *Rome* to encounter him, with an Army of 18,000 Men. The Battle that ensu'd, between the two Armies, is one of the most famous in the History of these Times. *Bucelinus* was defeated and kill'd on the Spot. *Agathias* relates it at large (3), and compares this Victory with those gain'd by the ancient *Greeks* over the *Persians* at *Marathon* and *Salamina*: But it is hardly credible, that of *Bucelinus's* Army only five Men escap'd (4), and that, on the contrary, the *Imperialists* lost only fourscore. *Narses* made a Kind of triumphal Entry into *Rome*,

(2) IDEM, 38. A Cum vero in ditionem Venetum venissent ad Cenedam urbem, per id tempus ipsis subditam, stationem habuerunt: ibi deinceps in tuto commoraturi.

(3) IDEM, l. 2. p. 35. seq.

§ XXIV. (1) AGATH. 39. seq. Non procul a Capua urbe, ad ripas Casulini fluminis, quod quidem ex Apennino monte fluens, & per circumjacentes campos fluctuose labens, in Tyrhenum mare fertur.

(2) PAGIUS, ad h. a. n. 5, 6. demonstrates, that this Battle was fought in Autumn, 553. I shall here add two Passages more, but which do not so exactly assign the Years. Chron. Marcellini P. C. Basilii XI. Indict. XV. (552). Hoc tempore Justinianus, Augustus, Narses, Eunuchum, Chartularium, Cubicularium suum, Principem militiæ fecit, & in Italiam misit. Qui commissa pugna, Dei gratia, victor Totilam occidit, & gentem Gothorum, auxiliantibus etiam Longobardis, in Italia exterminavit. Per hæc tempora, cum Buc-

cellinus Comes, cum sociis a Theodeberto Rege Francorum dudum missus, per annos aliquot Italiam Siciliamque infestaret, & Romanum sæpe exercitum superaret, tandem exercitus ejus pro fluvio ventris attritus, a Narse pugna victus, & profligatus, ipse Dux occisus est. Nec multo post socius ejus, Omnirugus Dux, cum reliquiis Gothorum, quibus se junxit, peremptus est,

MARIUS, ad A. P. C. Basilii XIV. Ind. III. (555). Eo tempore Buccelinus, Dux Francorum, in bello Romano, cum omni exercitu suo, interiiit.

(3) AGATH. L. 2. p. 39 - 47. Among modern Writers, this Battle is related at large by F. Daniel, Histoire de la Milic. François. L. 1. p. 23.

(4) IDEM, 46. A. Infinita illa Francorum pariter & Alemanorum turba, & quotquot alii sociale cum ipsis bellum gesserant, penitus deleti sunt, &c.

Y 2 where

where Advice came, about the same Time, of the Overthrow of *Leutharis*. His Soldiers were now bent upon recreating themselves; but *Narses* remonstrated, that he had Cause to fear, the *Franks* would make another Attempt (5).

Conclusion of
the Gothick
War.

§ XXV. ABOUT 7000 *Goths*, who sided with *Bucelinus*, threw themselves into *Conza*, a fortified Place; where they withstood a Siege during the whole Winter, 'till the following Year 554; in Hopes of being relieved by some new Army from the other Side of the *Alps*. *Regnaris*, their Leader, who, by *Procopius*, is called a *Goth*, but by *Agathias*, a *Hunn*, at Length desir'd to be admitted to a Conference with *Narses* in Person. This Interview prov'd fruitless, and *Regnaris* so far forgot himself, that, at his Departure, he discharged his Bow at *Narses*: But he miss'd his Aim, and such a Volley of Arrows fell upon himself, that he expir'd two Days after. The *Goths*, upon the Loss of this Commander, surrender'd to *Narses*, on Condition, that they should retain their Lives and Liberties: But, for his better Security, he thought fit to send them to *Constantinople* (1). This was properly the Conclusion of the Gothick War, which, amidst such a Variety of Revolutions, had lasted 19 Years. The last Attempt was made by *Vidis*, a Gothick Count, assisted by *Hamingus*, the *Franconian* General (2): But *Narses*, with his usual good Fortune, destroy'd, the next Year, this Remnant of the Gothick Valour. *Hamingus* was kill'd in the Battle, and *Vidis* was taken Prisoner, and sent to *Constantinople* (3). As for the Nation itself, many *Goths* remain'd in *Italy*, who submitted to the Imperial Dominion, and probably conform'd to the *Catholick* Religion, 'till they were, at Length, incorporated, and became one with the other Inhabitants; tho' some went over the *Alps* into *Rætia* and *Noricum* (4). Thus the *Franks*, likewise, lost the Dominions

(5) IDEM, L. 2. p. 48 and 49. He puts the following Words, among others, into *Narses's* Mouth: *Francorum natio est populosissima & maxima, & apprimè in re bellica exercitata: & cæsi a nobis, exigua quædam erat eorum portio, & quidem tantula, ut metum ipsis non sit injectura, sed potius iram concitata. Verisimile itaque non est, eos conquieturos, neque contumeliam tacite in pectore pressuros, sed majorem exercitum in nos ducturos, brevique bellum redintegraturos.*

§ XXV. (1) AGATH. p. 49.

(2) Here *Pagius* properly places the End of the Gothick War. The Attempts made by *Hamingus*,

the *Franconian* General, may be reckon'd in the Year 556, according to that Passage in *Marius's* *Chronicon*, quoted not. 5.

(3) PAULUS DIAC. L. 2. c. 2. *Hamingus* vero dum *Widin*, *Gothorum* Comiti, contra *Narfetem* rebellanti, auxilium ferre conatus fuisset, utrique a *Narfete* superati sunt. *Widin* captus *Constantinopolin* exiliatur, *Hamingus* vero, qui ei auxilium præbuerat, *Narfetis* gladio perimitur. Conf. not. 5.

(4) Of the Residue of the *Goths*, see the 27th Annot.

they

they before possessed in *Liguria* and *Venetia* (5), which was, perhaps, chiefly occasion'd by the Revolution that happen'd, about the same Time, in the Kingdom of the *Franks*, after *Theodebald's* Decease. *Narjes* could therefore, now, with the greater Tranquility, re-establish the Affairs of *Italy*. His Memory is perpetuated by the two following Inscriptions on the *Pons Salaris* (6).

IMPERANTE. DN. PISSIMO. AC. TRIUMPHALI. SEMPER.
JUSTINIANO. PP. AUG. ANN. XXXVIII †. NARSES. VIR. GLO. † 564.
RIOSISSIMUS. EX. PRÆPOSITO. SACRI. PALATII. EX. CONS.
ATQUE. PATRICIUS. POST. VICTORIAM. GOTHICAM. IPSIS.
EORUM. REGIBUS. CELERITATE. MIRABILI. CONFLICTU. PUB-
LICO. SUPERATIS. ATQUE. PROSTRATIS. LIBERTATE. URBIS.
ROMÆ. AC. TOTIUS. ITALIÆ. RESTITUTA. PONTEM. VIÆ.
SALARIÆ. USQUE. AD. AQUAM. A. NEFANDISSIMO. TOTILA.
TYRANNO. DISTRUCTUM. PURGATO. FLUMINIS. ALVEO.
IN. MELIOREM. STATUM. QUAM. QUONDAM. FUERAT. RE-
NOVAVIT.

The other is of much the same Import:

QUAM. BENE. CURVATI. DIRECTA. EST. SEMITA. PONTIS.
ATQUE. INTERRUPTUM. CONTINUATUR. ITER.
CALCAMUS. RAPIDAS. SUBJECTI. GURGITIS. UNDAS.
ET. LIBET. IRATÆ. CERNERE. MURMUR. AQUÆ.
ITE. IGITUR. FACILES. PER. GAUDIA. VESTRA. QUIRITES.
ET. NARSIM. RESONANS. PLAUSUS. UBIQUE. CANAT.
QUI. POTIT. RIGIDAS. GOTHORUM. SUBDERE. MENTES.
HIC. DOCUIT. DURUM. FLUMINA. FERRE. JUGUM.

§ XXVI. AFTER having view'd the Revolutions in the *Roman Empire* in the *West*, we can hardly suppose any other capable of raising a Surprise in us: But the Downfal and Subversion of so many *German Kingdoms* and Nations, must nevertheless have excited the Reader's Attention. The *Alemanni*, *Thuringians*, *Burgundians* and *Bavarians*, might easily forget the Revolutions which beset their States. They retain'd their civil Immunities, their Laws and Effects. Their Dukes had almost the same Power,

Reflections
on the Sub-
version of so
many Monar-
chies, &c.

(5) GREGOR. L. 4. c. 9. Bucelinus cum exercitum vastavit, atque effugatum devastavit. totam Italiam in Francorum regnum redegit, a Narsete interfectus est. Italia ad partem Imperatoris capta. Nec fuit, qui eam ultra reciperet. sumtis urbis partem Italia, quam Theudebertus Rex acquisiverat, occupavit.
To this in all Probability relates what Marius says, in Chron. ad A. 556. P. C. BASILII XV. Ind. IV. Exercitus Francorum Reipublicæ Romanæ

(6) GAUTER. p. 161.

which

which was before invested in their Kings. They were indeed oblig'd to assist in the Wars of the *Franks*, and to pay a certain Tribute, but had, on the other Hand, this Advantage, that they were included in the Community of the *Franconian* State. Much greater was the Fall of the *Vandals*, of the *Ostro-Goths* in *Italy*, and soon after of the *Gepidæ* in *Illyricum*. The Causes of such Revolutions are not to be sought for in the Stars, or accounted for from the Number of the Years. Evil Designs and evil Manners corrupt Kingdoms, as well as single Families. Where these get the upper Hand, we need not have Recourse to Comets, or expect miraculous Signs. I shall here only hint at some of those Circumstances, which were probably the Causes of so great and sudden Changes. Some of these Kingdoms were wholly founded on Wars and the Courage of the People (1). Valour may reduce Countries and Dominions, and the Conquerors may, by their Experience, for a Time, maintain them; but Religion and wholesom Laws, Manners, Arts and Sciences must have their Share in establishing a constant Duration (2). A State, whose Basis is the Constitution of a whole Nation, rises gradually like a Pyramid, and stands the more firmly: And tho' the Prince be overcome, the Country recovers of itself. Intestine Divisions were moreover of evil Consequences to the *German* Nations, and, together with their unbounded Liberty, made Way for Rebellions and Civil Wars. Some have been the sooner subdu'd, because they were destitute of strong Holds; and frequently put their All to Stake, on the Event of a single Battle. The Animosities betwixt the *Goths* and *Romans*, occasion'd by the Disparity of their Religion and Manners, first kindled those Flames, which consum'd the *Ostro-Gothick* Kingdom †. The *Goths* themselves were likewise divided. The austere Party, which retain'd the ancient military Discipline of their Ancestors, made a pretty stout Resistance, and chose rather to dy Sword in Hand, than to survive the Dominion of the *Goths*. Many Nobles, on the contrary, submitted to the Emperor, and many common Soldiers enter'd inconsiderately into his Service. These were so taken with the foreign Customs, that they forgot the Regard due to their Country, their Liberties and Honour.

† See B. XI.
§ 43.

The Declension of *Italy*, &c.

§ XXVII. *ITALY* was greatly harass'd during this War, and suffer'd probably as much from the Hands of the *Imperialists*, as of the *Goths*. In the Armies of the former were many Soldiers from *Armenia*,

§ XXVI. (1) Vis confili expers mole ruit sua.
Vim temperatam DI quoque provehant
In majus: est odere vires
Omne nefas animo moventes.

(2) FLORUS. Regna armis parantur, jure
& legibus retinentur.

Isauria

Isauria, Cilicia, Thrace, and other remote Provinces, who were very near as cruel and rapacious as the *Hunns, Heruli, Longobards, Sclavi*, and other foreign Auxiliaries. *Justinian*, at the Entreaty of Pope *Vigilius*, publish'd a (so call'd) *Pragmatick Sanction*, which was to be observed in *Italy* (1). He confirm'd all the Regulations of *Athalaric, Amalaswinth*, and *Theodebat*, and annull'd all those of *Totilas* (2). He again enjoin'd the Observation of his Codex, and all other new Laws (3). We find therein some remaining Traces of a Senat (4). These Victories prov'd so far advantageous to Religion, that they suppress'd *Arianism* in *Italy*: But setting aside this Advantage, the Country was reduc'd to a worse State, than it was under the *Goths*. Under them it retain'd the same Form of Government as before under the Emperors: But *Justinian* laid a Basis for that new Constitution, by which *Italy* became, as it were, a Province to the *Grecian* Empire. He abolish'd the Consulate, and *Basilus* was, *A. 541*, the last private Person who enjoy'd that Honour. The Government of these Countries was, in succeeding Times, wholly administred by a Lieutenant, whom the *Grecian* Emperor sent to *Ravenna*, with the Title of *Exarchus*; and whose Substitutes were call'd *Duces*. The Emperor retain'd the Right of confirming the Papal Election, which was done by the *Exarchus* †: And no Pope met with such † See the IX. Annot. hard Usage under the *Gothick* Government, as *Sylverius* did from *Belsarius* in the Midst of *Rome*, and *Vigilius* at *Constantinople*, from the Emperor himself. Thus was the City of *Rome*, which had recover'd from so many Disasters *, and hitherto shar'd with the *East* the Majesty

§ XXVII. (1) P. COS. BASILII A. XIII. *It begins thus*: Pro petitione Vigili, venerabilis antiquioris Romæ Episcopi, quædam disponenda esse censuimus, ad utilitatem omnium pertinentia, qui per occidentales partes habitare noscuntur, &c.

(2) Cap. 1. & 2. and c. 24. *It is said*: Reipublicæ permutationes etiam, vel comparationes, five conductiones cum publico factas, usque ad adventum sceleratæ memoriæ Totilæ in sua firmitate firmamus, si tamen nulli aliquid alio possidente competit.

(3) *Ibid. r. 10.* Jura insuper vel leges Codicibus nostris insertas, quas jam sub edictali programme in Italiam dudum misimus, obtinere sancimus. Sed & eas, quas postea promulgavimus constitutiones, jubemus sub edictali propositione vulgari; & ex eo tempore quo sub edictali pro-

grammate evulgatæ fuerint, etiam per partes Italiæ obtinere, ut una, Deo volente, facta Republica, legum etiam nostrarum ubique prolatetur auctoritas.

(4) *Ibid. c. 18. De mensuris & ponderibus*: Ut autem nulla fraudis vel læsionis provinciarum nascatur occasio, jubemus in illis mensuris, vel ponderibus, species, vel pecuniam dari, quæ beatissimo Papæ, vel amplissimo Senatui, nostra pietas in præsentem contradidit.

• Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Maris
Minacis aut Etrusca Persenæ manus:
Æmula nec virtus Capuæ, nec Spartacus acer,
Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox:
Nec fera cærulea domuit Germania pube,
Parentibusve abominatus Hannibal.

HORAT. *Epos. 16.*

of

of the Empire, at last depriv'd of the Hopes of any farther Fruition of that Honour. After the Authority of the Senat, and whatever else had the Appearance of a Common-Wealth, were subverted, the Popes found daily more Opportunities to interfere in temporal Matters; which the History of *Gregory the Great* particularly shews (5).

The Controversy about the *Tria Capitula* explain'd &c.

† XI. 28, 29.

§ XXVIII. I MAY now properly return to those Controversies in Religion, in which *Justinian* was so deeply engag'd *. It will be needless here to mention, that he condemn'd *Origen's* Doctrine, which caus'd a great Change in *Theology* and Literature in general. But as I before took Notice of the Council of *Chalcedon* †, I cannot silently pass by the Disputes of the *Tria Capitula*, to which the former gave Rise. Many in the *East* persisted in refusing to submit to that Council. They were about this Time, call'd *Acephali*, and the Empress countenanc'd them. The Novelty and Pleasure of being rever'd by a Party, as a Guardian-Angel, are indeed prevailing Motives; yet I am dubious whether *Theodora* was in Earnest, or only dissembled in siding with a particular Sect. For the *Acephali* being at that Time pretty numerous, the Protection of the Empress, as that of *Justinian* to the *Orthodox*, might serve to support and secure the Government. The Emperor was desirous of establishing an Unity in the Church. *Theodorus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, who was in great Favour at Court, persuaded him, that the *Acephali* would certainly be gained, by expunging from the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*, those three Passages in which *Theodore*, Bishop of *Mopsuesta*, *Theodorite*, Bishop of *Cyrus*, and *Ibas* Bishop of *Edeffa*, are extol'd as *Orthodox* Teachers, whereas they were in Reality *Nestorians*. These were the *Tria Capitula*, which gave Occasion to such warm Disputations (1): The Bishop of *Cæsarea* is thought to have rais'd this Dispute, in Order to favour the Followers of *Origen*; that the Zealots being otherways employ'd, might not fall too hard upon them (2). Be that as it will, the Proposal was approv'd of. The Emperor hop'd to compass his End, and the Empress found that her Party likewise gain'd some Ground by it. It was believ'd both Parties would have remain'd satisfied. The *Orthodox*, as the Validity of the Council of *Chalcedon* was preserv'd; and the *Acephali* because they were indulg'd in the Repeal of some Ar-

(5) Of this see a more circumstantial Account in CHRISTIANUS LUPUS, and CARD. NORISIUS, THOM. BOZIUS de Imper. Virt. p. 186. who excell'd them all.

§ XXVIII. * See above, L. 12. § 39.

(2) EVAGRIUS L. 4. c. 38. p. 412. NORIS.

(1) This whole Controversy is related by those who treat of the fifth Council, as GARNERIUS, p. 22.

ticles. *Justinian* publish'd, A. 544, an Edict (3), wherein these three Passages were rejected, with this Reserve, that the Validity of the Council of *Chalcedon* should not in the least be question'd on any other Account.

§ XXIX. THIS rais'd great Disorders in the *West*. The Bishops and Pope *Vigilius* himself refus'd to subscribe thereto. The *Africans*, in particular were very warm, as appears from their Writings, still ex- tant (1). In the *West* hardly any Body was acquainted with the Works of these Bishops, whose Doctrine was call'd in Question; especially as they were written in *Greek* (2). It was pretended, on the other Hand, that it would be too great a Shock to the Credit and Validity of the Council, if Teachers should be rejected, who were there declar'd *Orthodox*; and that besides it was unjust to condemn any one after his Death, who died in the Community of the Church (3). *Justinian* appointed a Council, and prevail'd on *Vigilius* to come to *Constantinople*; tho' he set out on this Journey with Reluctance. He knew what the Emperor would expect from him, and how much the *Western* Church would oppose those Views. He spent almost two Years, by the Way, in *Sicily*, hoping the Synod would be held in the *West*. He might have acted with more Freedom at a Convention there, and could have excused himself the better, if the Determination had not been pursuant to the Emperor's Design. When he, at Length, came to *Constantinople*, *Justinian* first secur'd his Assent; and he swore to him, in private, by the Nails of our Saviour's Cross, and by the four Evangelists, that he would promote the Repeal of the *Tria Capitula* (4). About seventy Bishops were present; but some argued so warmly, that *Vigilius* broke up the Council, and publish'd his Judgment of the Matter, in which he rejected the *Tria Capitula*; but on Condition, that the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon* should not be in the least weaken'd thereby, and

Justinian
gains the
Assent of
Pope *Vigilius*.

(3) NORISIUS, p. 20.

§ XXIX. (1) FACUNDI HERMIANENSIS Defensio ad Justinianum. PONTIANI, Episcopi Africani, epistola ad Justinianum, and VICTORIS TUNUNENSIS Chronicon.

(2) *Vigilius excuses himself with his Ignorance of the Greek Tongue; in the Letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople*, T. III. Conc. p. 39. Quia græcæ linguæ (sicut cunctis, & maxime pietati vestra notum est) sumus ignari. So the Bishops in Africa confess likewise, at first, that they never read those Writings.

(3) PONTIANUS, Episc. Afr. in epist. ad Justinianum. Supplicamus Clementiam Tuam, ut pax permaneat temporibus Tuis, ne, dum quæris damnare jam mortuos, multos inobedientes interficias vivos, & exinde compellare reddere rationem ei, qui venturus est judicare vivos, & mortuos.

(4) The Form of this Oath, as it was read at the Council of Constantinople, Collatione VII. may be seen, T. III. Conc. p. 154. seq.

excommunicated those, who dar'd to act contrary to this Judgment (5). He likewise assur'd some Bishops, in particular, by Letters, that the Repeal of these three Articles, was not in the least derogatory to the Council of *Chalcedon* (6). *Justinian* recommended this Judgment to all the Bishops (7), for their Acceptance: But it met with no Approbation in the *West*. The Bishops of *Illyricum*, in Synod assembled, insisted on retaining the *Tria Capitula*: The same was done by those in *Africa*, who excluded *Vigilius* from all Spiritual Community with them (8). *Facundus*, Bishop of *Hermione*, who resided at *Constantinople*, upbraided him, on this Occasion, with having previously promis'd this Compliance to the Emperor, and thereby pay'd the Way to the Papal Chair (9). Even *Rusticus* and *Sebastianus*, two learned Deacons of the *Roman Church*, declar'd against him (10).

Vigilius retracts his Judgment.

§ XXX. THIS Opposition reduc'd the Pope to great Streights. He prevail'd on the Emperor, to restore him his Judgment, under Pretence, that the whole Affair might then be more freely discuss'd at a general Convention. *Justinian* had summon'd, to *Constantinople*, some of the most eminent Bishops, from *Africa*, *Italy* and *Illyricum*. Those from *Africa* insisted, as before, on the *Tria Capitula*, and would not consent to have a Letter taken from the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*. No one appear'd from *Illyricum*. The Emperor was enrag'd, and caus'd an Edict to be publickly affix'd, *A. 551, July 14*, wherein he rejected the *Tria Capitula*. This was highly disapprov'd of by the Pope, the Archbishop of *Milan* (1) and some other Bishops, who in-

(5) Of this Judicatum see NORIS. l. e. Add. P. FRANC. PAG. in Vigil. § 31.

(6) Epistola VIGILII ad Aurelianum, Arelatensem Episcopum, in actis Synodi V. Collat. VII.

(7) Vid. BARONIUS ad *A. 546. n. 10.*

(8) VICTOR TUNUNENSIS in *Cbron. ad A. X. post Consulatum Basilii* (550) *Africani Antistites Vigilium, Romanum Episcopum, damnatorem Trium Capitulorum, Synodaliter a Catholica communione, reservato ei poenitentiae loco, recludunt, & pro defensione Trium memoratorum Capitulorum literas suas idoneas Justiniano Principi, per Olympium Magistrum mittunt.*

(9) FACUNDUS, L. 1. Ob hoc etiam de

Romani Episcopi chirographis, vel prius ambitionis impulsu, quum fieri arderet Episcopus, vel postea vepalitate parti alteri factis, necessarium duximus non tacere, ne autoritate nominis ejus praedudicium vera fides sufferret.

(10) Vid. Sententia Vigili adu. Rusticum & Sebastianum.

§ XXX. (1) Libell. Cleric. Italiae: Sed & S. Datus, Mediolanensis Episcopus, contestationem omnibus, sub magna vociferatione deposuit, dicens; Ecce, ego, & pars omnium Sacerdotum, inter quos ecclesia mea constituta est, id est, Galliae, Burgundiae, Spaniae, Liguriae, Aemiliae, atque Venetiae, confessor, quia quicumque in Edicta ista consenserit, suprascriptarum Provincia- rum Pontifices communicatores habere non poterit.

listed

sifted upon waiting the Determination of the Synod. *Vigilius*, for his better Safety, took Refuge in a Church. The Emperor sent *Belisarius*, whose Behaviour at *Rome*, was still fresh in the Pope's Memory, and some other Nobles, to him, who almost used Force to bring him from the Altar (2): And when afterwards he thought himself in Danger, he, with *Datius*, fled to *Chalcedon*, into the Church of *St. Euphemia*, where the Council, now call'd in Question, was formerly held. Some other Bishops follow'd him thither. The Ambassy, I mention'd above, from the King of *Austrasia*, departed about this Time for *Constantinople*; and the Clergy in *Italy* entreated the Ambassadors to use their Influence, in Favour of the Pope and the Bishop of *Milan*. *Justinian* easily perceiv'd, that, whilst the *West* dissented, he should not gain his Point of pacifying the Church, and again sent the same Deputies to the Pope at *Chalcedon*. A Synod was once more agreed on (3); and *Vigilius* repair'd again to *Constantinople*, at the Beginning of the Year 553.

§ XXXI. As very few *Western* Bishops attended, *Vigilius* required, A Council at Constantinople. that, to preserve an Equality, no more Bishops of the *East* should be admitted into the Council, than were present from the *Western* Church. *Justinian* at first consented: But the *Eastern* Bishops, a large Number of whom appeared, reply'd; that they were not come thither to be idle Spectators, and that the Council of *Chalcedon* consisted only of Bishops from the *East*. The Synod was therefore open'd at *Constantinople*, A. 553 †. The Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jerusalem* were present, the three first in Person, and the last by certain † May 5.

(2) *The Proceedings against the Pope is related with some Bitterness in the Libellum Cler. Ital.* Beatissimus Papa Vigilius nec in Basilica S. Petri sedes tutas habere meruit; in tantum, ut illic Prætor, ad quem fures & homicidæ tantummodo pertinent, mitteretur, qui cum multitudine militum, spathas nudatas & arcus tenfos portantium supradictam Basilicam introivit; quo viso sanctus Papa columnas Altaris amplexus est, sed ille ferocitate & animo concitatus primo de Altari Diaconos ejus, & Clericos a capillis tentos ejecit, postea vero ipsum sanctum Papam, alii a pedibus, alii a capillis & barba tentum, crudeliter abstrahabant. Sed cum ille columnas Altaris non dimitteret, cecidit Altare, & columnæ aliquæ fractæ sunt, & quantum ad ipsos, ibi super ipsum Altare in partibus mitti habuit.

Sed Deus, qui in talibus angustiis semper adesse dignatur tam aliquorum ex ipsis militibus, quam populi, qui ad tumultum venerat, animos ad misericordiam provocavit, & cœperunt voces atque stridores mittere: & sic contigit, ut judex iniquitatis, supradictus Prætor, cum ministris crudelitatis suæ territus fugiendo discederet. *The Pope himself mentions it, in epist. encyclica* (Tom. III. Conc. 15.) *in the following Words:* Cum in eadem ecclesia a comitatu Prætoris, cum multitudine armatorum militum veniente, tanquam ad bellum instructa acie, a sancto ejus Altare tracti pedibus traheremur, & super nos etiam ipsa Altaris mensa ceciderat, nisi Clericorum nostrorum fuisset manibus sustentata.

(3) *Epist. encyclica Vigiliæ Papæ, l. 1.*

Proxies; and the Number of Bishops, that appear'd, amounted to 165. *Vigilius* being Patriarch of *Rome*, was intreated, by the Council, to preside. He pretended Sickness, and did not assist at the Synod; but, in the mean Time, of his own Authority, publish'd what he call'd a Constitution. He therein complains, that the Council was not held according to Agreement; and now vindicated the *Tria Capitula*, which, in his former Judgment, he had rejected. Sixteen Bishops subscrib'd to this Constitution (1). *Justinian*, who was highly displeased with it, sent an Order to the Synod, to blot *Vigilius's* Name out of the Church-Books, wherein was a List of those Bishops, who were mention'd in the publick Prayers (2). The Pope himself was banish'd (3); the *Tria Capitula* were rejected with Threats of Excommunication; and thus ended † this Synod, which is call'd the fifth general Council, the Circumstances whereof themselves shew the Cause of that Difficulty it met with, before it was universally receiv'd as such.

† June 2.

Vigilius complies, and obtains Leave to return to *Rome*, &c.

§ XXXII. THE *Romans*, and even *Narses* himself, interceded for the Pope, who had now been so long absent from *Rome*: But whilst he defended the *Tria Capitula*, all Intercession was in vain (1). He therefore, at last, published another Declaration, wherein, without making

§ XXXI. (1) See this Constitution, Tom. III. Concil. (ed HARD.) p. 10.

(2) See this Canon in BALUZIUS, in nov. Collect. Concil. p. 154.

(3) Baronius observes from Anastasius, that *Vigilius* was banish'd. Card. Norisius, c. 8. questions indeed Anastasius's Relation, but Pagius confirms it, ad A. 553. n. 33.

§ XXXII. (1) Card. Norisius blames *Vigilius's* Inconstancy, and p. 78, sums up his whole Deportment in the following Words: Ille, uti per fraudem summam dignitatem, expulso Silverio, usurpavit, ita eandem ex Cleri consensu postea obtentam, cum procul a sua sede per novennium quasi precario vixisset, denique in Sicilia cum vita pariter amisit. Fuit *Vigilius* Pontificiæ auctoritatis usque ad Principis contemptum tenacis-

simus assertor, ut ex rebus ab eo gestis inclaruit. Animi inconstantia, mutandæque sententiæ facilitas vitio eidem vertitur; nam in causa trium Capitulorum varius, atque a se ipso diversus non semel apparuit. Initio quidem, cum adhuc in Sicilia esset, tria Capitula defendebat, at illa se damnaturum dudum Theodoræ Augustæ promiserat, si Victori fides est. Cum Byzantium advenisset, ob damnata tria Capitula Mennam sacris interdixit, at paulo post Mennæ conciliatus eadem & ipse in Judicato damnavit. Deinde post triennium a sententia Judicati discedens, emissio novæ Constituto, eadem damnari posse negavit. Sed paucis mensibus in hac sententia stetit, nam data ad Eutychium epistola vim Constituti infregit, atque ad Synodum accedens tria Capitula proscriptit. The Circumstances he was in must serve for his Excuse, and Petrus de Marca de Conc. Sac. & Imp. Lib. 3. cap. 13. rather commends him for having bore them so well.

Mention

Mention of the *Synod*, he again condemned the *Tria Capitula* (2). He was, hereupon, permitted to return to *Rome*; and when, on this Occasion, he entreated the Emperor to remember *Italy*, *Justinian* caus'd the before-mention'd *Pragmatick Sanction* to be publish'd †. He died, on his † § xxvii. Return, in *Sicily*, about the Conclusion of the Year 554. The before-mention'd *Pelagius* ††, Deacon of the *Roman Church*, had likewise been †† xii. § 35 exil'd for vindicating the *Tria Capitula*: But he now complied, and succeeded *Vigilius* in the Papal Chair (3): However he thereby incurr'd so general an *Odium*, that there could not be three Bishops brought together, to consecrate him, and they were oblig'd to have the Ceremony perform'd by two Bishops and a Priest (4). *Justinian*, who was determin'd to establish a Peace in the Church, spar'd neither Rewards nor Persecutions (5), and by these Means gradually brought the Churches of *Africa* and *Illyricum* to a Compliance. Thus was this Flame by Degrees extinguish'd. It seem'd odd to Posterity, that both Parties should contend so warmly, and, at the same Time, agree to have the Doctrine of *Nestorius* remain condemned, which was the Subject the Council of *Chalcedon* assembled upon. *Paulinus*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and several Bishops in *Venetia* and *Istria*, persisted still in defending the *Tria Capitula*, and would not allow of a fifth Council, which caus'd a Schism, from whence many Com-motions arose, at the Time when the *Longobards* reign'd in *Italy*.

XXXIII. THEODEBALD, King of *Austrasia*, died without The State of Issue, A. 554. Two of his Grandfather's Brothers were yet alive: *Childebert*, King of *Paris*, who had no Son, and *Clotarius*, King of *Soissons*. the Kingdom of the Franks, &c. The latter aim'd at possessing the whole Kingdom, which had now no Sovereign, and intended to marry *Waldrada*, *Theodebald's* Widow, a Daughter of *Wacchus*, King of the *Longobards*. But the Bishops so vigorously oppos'd this Alliance, that he declin'd it, and married Queen *Waldrada* to *Garibald*, Duke of *Bavaria* (1). The *Saxons*, upon this

(2) T. 3. CONC. (HARD.) p. 240. PETRUS de MARCA wrote a particular Dissertation de Decreto Papæ Vigili pro Confirmatione Synodi, of which see Pagius ad A. 554. n. 3.

(5) BARONIUS is, indeed, highly disgusted at Justinian, on this Account: But Norisius excuses him sufficiently p. 79, and is seconded by Pagius, ad A. 553. n. 20. f.

(3) VICTOR. TUNUNENSIS. Pelagius, Romanus Archidiaconus, Trium præfatorum defensor Capitulum, Justiniani Principis persuasione de exilio redit, & condemnans ea, quæ dudum constantissime defendebat, Romanæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus, a prævaricatoribus ordinatur.

§ XXXIII. (1) GREGOR. L. 4. c. 9. Regnum ejus Chlothacharius Rex accepit, copulans Vuldetradam uxorem ejus fratri suo, sed increpitus a sacerdotibus reliquit eam, dans ei Garivaldum ducem. This is thought to be Garibald, Duke of Bavaria.

(4) NORISIUS, p. 80.

Revolution, made an Attempt to free themselves from the Tribute, which *Theodoric*, King of *Austrasia*, had forc'd them to submit to (2). They had instigated the neighbouring *Thuringians* to rebel : But *Clotarius* fell upon them with an Army, and carried the Day in a Battle on the *Weser*, whereby he obliged them to promise the same Tribute, they had paid to the former Kings of *Austrasia* (3). The next Year, they invaded his Dominions, and ravaged as far as *Deutz* (4), over-against *Cologne*. *Clotarius* himself suffer'd a signal Overthrow : But *Fredegarius* says, that, from this Time, the *Saxons* were oblig'd to deliver to the Kings of the *Franks* an annual Contribution of 500 Cows, and that it was not remitted 'till the Times of *Dagobertus* (5). *Chilperic*, the youngest Son of *Clotarius*, is extoll'd by a Poet of these Times for having accompanied his Father in several successful Expeditions against the *Britons*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Estiones* (6) : But these Accounts do not relate to all the *Saxons* in general, but only to such single Nations, as dwelt nearest to the Dominions of the *Franks*. *Childebert* died, *A.* 558, at *Paris*, and now the whole Kingdom of the *Franks* was united under *Clotarius*, who, thereupon, became far more powerful, than *Clovis*, his Father.

(2) *IBID.* c. 10. *Eo anno, rebellantibus Saxonibus, Chlothacharius Rex, commoto contra eos exercitu, maximam eorum partem delevit, pervagans totam Thoringiam ac devastans, pro eo, quod Saxonibus solatium præbuisent. APPEND. ad CHR. MARCELLINI: Saxones rebellantes juxta Wiseram fluvium magna cæde domuit. Marius in Chron. P. C. Basil. XV. Ind. 4. (A. 556) Franci totam Thoringiam pro eo, quod cum Saxonibus conjuraverat, vastaverunt.*

(3) *GRECOR.* c. 14. *Chlothacharius post mortem Theodebaldi cum regnum Franciæ suscepisset, atque illud circumiret, audivit a suis, iterata infania effervescente Saxones, sibi que esse rebelles; & quod tributa, quæ annis singulis consueverant ministrare, contemnerent reddere. His incitatus verbis ad eos dirigit. Cumque jam prope terminum eorum esset, Saxones legatos ad eum mittunt, dicentes: Non sumus contemptores Tui, & ea, quæ fratribus, ac nepotibus Tuis, reddere consuevimus, non negamus, &c. Valerius justly observes, that, instead of Fratribus, we must read Fratri; since Theodoric only can be said to have*

obtain'd a Tribute from the Saxons. Gregory says, of the Overthrow the Franks then suffer'd: Inito certamine, maxima ab adversariis internecione caduntur, tantaque ab utroque exercitu multitudo cecidit, ut nec æstimari nec numerari penitus possit. Tunc Chlothacharius valde confusus pacem petiit, dicens, se non sua voluntate super eos venisse.

(4) *IBID.* c. 16. *Exeuntesque de regione sua in Franciam venerunt; & usque ad Divitiam, civitatem, prædas egerunt.*

(5) *In Chron.* c. 74.

(6) *VENANTIUS FORTUNAT. Lib. 9. carm. 1.*

*Quem Geta, Vasco, tremunt, DANUS,
ESTIO, SAXO, BRITANNUS,
Cum Patre quos acie Te domitasse patet.
Terror & extremis Frisonibus atque Suevis,
Qui neque bella parant, sed Tua frena
rogant.*

§ XXXIV. THE *Franconian* Church had little or no Share in the Commotions, occasion'd by the *Tria Capitula*, tho' some Kings are, indeed, particularly extoll'd for their Approbation of them. As for their Constitution (1), the Laity had some Share with the Clergy in the Election of Bishops, but they were forc'd to apply to their Kings for the Confirmation of their Choice, and they sometimes dispos'd of a vacant See themselves. Each *Metropolitan* enjoy'd, in his Province, that Authority they had been invest'd with by the Councils of *Nice* and *Sardica*. Their chief Concern was at their *Synods*, and when any important Matters were brought on the Carpet, the Bishops of the whole Kingdom were assembled, but not without the Command, or at least Permission of the Kings. The Popes have, indeed, sometimes constituted the Bishops of *Arles*, in which City the *Prætorium Galliarum* was for some Time, their Vicars, and sent them the *Pallium*; from whence these have taken Occasion to assume a Sort of *Primacy*; tho' the other Churches would not suffer their Rights to be prejudic'd thereby (2): And with Regard to the *Pallium*, the Case was then very different from what it afterwards became †. It is § *Ibid.* in particular remarkable, that when *Auxanius*, Bishop of *Arles*, desir'd that Favour of Pope *Vigilius*, he did not grant it, 'till he had obtain'd the Emperor *Justinian's* Consent. I observ'd before, that the Monastick Life was introduc'd in *Gaul*, in the fourth Century, where it afterwards encreas'd greatly. In the *Burgundian* Dominions, the Monastery of *S. Maurice* had been long famous: And *S. Severinus*, who died A. 482, had built a famous Monastery at *Faviana* (4), in *Noricum*: *Fridelinus*, who liv'd in the Times of King *Clovis*, and of *Theodoric*, his Son, founded several Monasteries and Chapels, on the *Mosel*, on the Mountains of *Wassgow*, at *Strasburg*, at *Chur*, at *Glaris*, and at *Seckingen* (5). Each Monastery had its particular Rules, and the Abbot govern'd the Brethren, according either to the Dictates of his own Zeal, or the Rules left by his

The State of the Church under the Franks, &c.
† See the xxviiith Annotation.

§ XXXIV. (1) Of the Origin of the German Church, and the State of it under Constantine the Great, see Vol. I. B. vi. § 30, 31, 35, 36. And I treated also of the Rise of the Franconian Church, B. xi. § 19.

(2) PAGIUS, ad Ann. 595. n. 3.

(3) V. I. VII. 38.

(4) The Place is called *Favia*, *Fabia*, *Faviana*. Many Learned Men have taken it for the present Vienna: But *Lambecius*, Lib. 2. de Bibl. Cæs. p.

10. seq. refutes this at large, from the Life of *S. Severinus*. He is followed by *Pagius*, ad A. 454. n. 11. seq. and ad A. 824. n. 17. he says: *Faviana* lay in *Noricum Ripense*, and therefore on this Side of *Calenberg* (*Mons Cetius*), which separated *Noricum* from *Pannonia*; but *Vindobona*, the present *Vienna*, lies on the other Side and appertain'd then to *Panuonia*.

(5) COINTE ad An. 509. n. 7. seq.

Predecessor.

Predecessor. The Regulations of S. *Benedict*, who liv'd in this Century, and died A. 544, were afterwards almost universally receiv'd.

Particularly
of the Bishop-
ricks, which
afterwards
fell to the
Kingdom of
Germania, &c.

§ XXXV. I SHALL here only take Notice of those Bishopricks, which were afterwards included in the Kingdom of *Germania*, and flourish to this Day in the *German Church*. The Chair of *Triers* was, about this Time, fill'd by *Nicetius* (1), who was greatly esteem'd by the Kings of the *Franks*, and the whole Church. This, among others, the Letter testifies, which he wrote to the Emperor *Justinian*, when, soon before his Decease, he publish'd an Edict that seem'd to favour the Opinion of the *Eutychians* *. *Venantius Fortunatus* extols *Sidonius*, Bishop of *Mentz*, and his Zeal for the Benefit of that Church (2). As *Cologne* was look'd upon to be the Capital of the *Ripuarii*, so that Church, likewise, recover'd its former State; and, in the following Books, we shall find the Bishops of that See in high Esteem. Besides this, we meet with the Bishoprick of *Tongres*, in *Germania Secunda*, and the Bishops resided now at *Maastricht*. *Domitian*, Bishop of *Tongres*, assisted at the Council, which was held, A. 535, at *Auvergne*, as we find by his Subscription (3). Notwithstanding what the Cities of *Triers*, *Mentz* and *Cologne* suffer'd, in the former Wars (4), yet were those Churches not destroyed. It is rather probable †, that the Bishops of *Triers* retain'd their *Jus Metropolitanum* in *Belgica*, and those of *Mentz* in *Germania Prima*; and that the Bishopricks in *Ratia*, at *Augsburg*, and *Constantz*, which now devolved to the *Franconian Church*, acknowledg'd *Mentz* to be their *Metropolis*. The Bishops of *Cologne*, on the other Hand, probably maintain'd the Prerogatives of their Church in *Germania Secunda*. We may, moreover, easily imagine, that this Constitution receiv'd likewise some Shock from the great Revolutions in *Gaul*. It suffer'd yet more in the latter Times of the *Merovingian Kings*, when

† See the
xxviiith An-
not.

§ XXXV. (1) VEN. FORTUNATUS calls
Nicetius, L. 3. *carm.* 11.

Totius urbis amor, Pontificumque caput.

Carm. 12. he describes a strong and splendid Castle, which *Nicetius* caus'd to be built on the Mosel; and F. Browerus, in the Notes, p. 84. demonstrates this to be the Castle of *Bischofstein*, near *Coblentz*. *Venantius*, *carm.* 13. calls *Magne-ricus*, Bishop of *Triers*.

Culmen honorificum, Patrum Pater, Archi-
cerdos.

* *Ap. DU CHESNE, T. I. p. 852.*

(2) *Lib.* 9. *carm.* 9. where, among other Things, he says of him:

Jura Sacerdotum sacro moderamine servans.

(3) *COINTE, ad h. a. n.* 38.

(4) How far these three Cities suffer'd by the Enemy's Irruptions into *Gaul*, may be seen, Vol. I. B. 9. § 21.

S. Boni-

S. Boniface laid a new Foundation for the Church, in particular, distinguish'd by the Name of German.

§ XXXVI. AND after *Rætia* and *Vindelicia*, which had hitherto appertain'd to the Kingdom of *Italy*, were now, by the Abdication of *Vitiges*, fallen into the Hands of the *Franks*, and the *Bavarians* had extended their Dominions in *Noricum*, these Revolutions occasion'd the Bishopricks of those Countries to come by Degrees into the Community of the *Franconian* Church. In *Rætia*, was a Bishoprick at *Trent*, and *Chur*, and at *Windisch*, which in the Reign of *Clotarius I.* was remov'd to *Constance*, on the Lake of that Name. In *Rætiae secunda*, or *Vindelicia*, we find a Bishoprick to have been at *Augsburg*, and another at *Seeben*, which was afterwards remov'd to *Brixen* (1). Christianity had likewise been long introduced in *Noricum*, where several Bishopricks were founded. *Constantius*, Bishop of *Lorch* (2), the Capital in *Noricum Ripense*, is extol'd in the Life of *Severinus* (3). There was likewise Bishopricks at this Time, in *Noricum Mediterraneum*, at *Tiburnia*, which is the present *Villach*, in *Carinthia* (4), and at *Celeia*, now call'd *Cilley*. But it is very uncertain, whether the Bishop of *Lorch* enjoy'd a *jus Metropolitanum*, or how far that extended †. This indeed we know, that, about the same Time, *Aquileia* was the *Metropolis* of the Bishops of *Noricum Mediterraneum*. Thus at the Synod of *Grado*, A. 579, assisted likewise the Bishops of *Tiburnia*, of *Cilley* and of *Amona* (5), which last City belong'd properly to *Pannonia*, and the present *Laybach*, in *Upper-Carniola*, arose from its Ruins. As these Provinces suffer'd greatly in the common Devastations of the *Roman* Empire, it is probable their Ecclesiastical

Of the Bishopricks in *Rætia*, &c.

† See the XXVIII. Annot.

§ XXXVI. (1) F. le COINTE, ad A. 614. n. 13. affirms that this Change happen'd in the Reign of *Clotarius I.* (5) V. *Subscriptiones apud Norisium de Synod.* quint. p. 98.

(2) See of this City (*Laureacum*) Vol. I. III. 20.

(3) EUGIPPIUS in vita S. Severini, c. 30. where he treats of *Laureacum*: Mittens ad S. Constantium ejus loci Pontificem.

(4) CLUVERIUS's Conjecture, that *Tiburnia* is the present *Villach*, is almost universally received: But the Baron of *Valvafor*, affirms, in his *Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain*, L. 8. p. 572. that it is properly the Place, which is call'd im *Saal*.

Leoninus Tiborniensis.

Patritius Ep. S. E. Hemonensis.

Ingenuinus Ep. Secundæ Rætiae.

Agnellus S. E. Tridentinae.

Johannes Ep. S. E. Celciana.

It cannot be concluded from these Bishops having assisted at the Synod at *Grado*, that they acknowledg'd *Aquileia* to be their *Metropolis*: But with this we must have Recourse to the Words of the latter Writings, de A. 590, from that Synod, which are quoted in the next Note.

Polity fell likewise thereby to Decay. In *Rætia*, the Churches of *Augsburg* (6), *Chur*, and *Constance* did now, indeed, in some Measure, recover under the *Franks*; but *Trent* fell into the Hands of the *Longobards*. The Church afterwards sustain'd a fresh Storm in *Noricum*, when the *Hunns* and *Sclavi* laid all the Country waste: And it was re-establish'd in the eighth Century, by the *Bavarians*, who afterwards detach'd Colonies among the *Hunns* and *Sclavi*.

How far
Christianity
was known
in *Germania*
magna, &c.

† § II.

† See the
XXVIII.
Annot.

§ XXXVII. IN the last Place, I must likewise take Notice of the Conversion of some other German Nations: When the *Goths* embrac'd Christianity, in the fourth Century, at which Time their Kingdom was yet in a flourishing State, in *Germania* and *Sarmatia*, several Nations that were subject to them, profess'd it likewise. By this Means the *Vandals* and *Gepidæ* (1) were converted, and in some Manner probably some Seeds of it also reach'd the *Heruli* and *Rugi*. The *Rugi*, who serv'd *Odoacer* in *Italy*, and Part of whom maintain'd their Ground among the *Ostro-Goths*, were probably *Arians*. Of the *Heruli* I mention'd before †, that they were likewise partly of the same Sect, but that a whole *Herulian* Nation was in *Justinian's* Times baptiz'd, with their King, at *Constantinople*; and embrac'd the *Catholick* Faith. The *Thuringians* perhaps likewise received their first Knowledge of Christianity, from the *Goths* †. It was at least introduced among them in the Reign of *Hermanfrid*, their last King: *Theodorick*, King of *Italy*, would hardly have given his Niece in Marriage to a *Pagan* Prince: And the Children both of *Hermanfrid* and his Brother were of the *Christian*, and partly of the *Orthodox* Faith. The *Longobards* were likewise *Christians* before they went to *Italy* (2): And tho' *Procopius* places them among the True-Believers, at the Time of King *Audoin*, yet without Doubt both *Alboin*,

(6) That the Bishopricks of *Augsburg* and *Tiburnia*, adher'd to the *Franconian Church*, in this sixth Century, appears very plainly from the Letter, which the Bishops, assembled at the Synod at *Grado*, dispatch'd to the Emperor *Mauritius*; wherein they shew Cause, why they and *Severus* their Patriarch could not come to *Rome*: Quia *Galliarum* Episcopi vicini sunt, ad ipsorum sine dubio ordinationem accurrent, & dissolvetur *Metropolitana Aquileiensis Ecclesia*, sub vestro imperio constituta, per quam Deo propitio, ecclesias in gentibus possidet; ut quod ante annos jam fieri cœperat, & in tribus ecclesiis nostri concilii, id est, *BREMENSI*, *TIBURNENSI* & *AUGUSTANA* *Galliarum*

Episcopi constituerant sacerdotes: & nisi ejusdem tunc divæ memoriæ *Justiniani* principis jussione commotio partium nostrarum remota fuisset, pro nostris iniquitatibus pene omnes ecclesias, ad *Aquileiensem synodum* pertinentes, *Galliarum* sacerdotes pervaserant. The Word *Bremenfi* is an Error. Some Learned Men read instead of it *Breunensi*, or *Breonensi*. The *Breuni* or *Breones* dwell hereabouts, bordering on the *Vindelici*, but we do not find that they had any peculiar Bishop.

§ XXXVII. (1) Of the *Gepidæ* see above § IV.

(2) See above § V. not. 3.

who

who led them into *Italy*, and the Nation itself, were *Arians*, and had many *Heathens* among them. The *Alemanni* were indeed *Heathens* in general; but many of those who dwelt in *Rætia*, where the Church was establish'd, under the Dominion of the *Romans*, were probably converted about this Time. This we may, in particular, suppose of the two Dukes, *Leutharis* and *Bucelinus*; for else the latter could not have form'd any Hopes of obtaining the *Gothick* Crown, in *Italy*. Some learned Men attempt to discover, about this Time, Traces of *Christianity* among the *Bavarians*; and imagine Duke *Garibald* and his Family were *Christians* (3). The first Conversions were however feeble. Even many of the *Franks* in *Austrasia* were still *Pagans*, and among the Converts many Tares grew up amidst the good Seed. Hence it prov'd in succeeding Times, a laborious Task, to establish the *Christian* Religion among the *Ostro-Franks*, the *Thuringians*, *Alemanni* and *Bavarians*. The *Frisians* and *Saxons*, of all the *German* Nations, continued longest in the Obscurity of *Paganism*.

(3) PAGIUS ad A. 556. N. 17.



T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K XIV.

To the YEAR DCXIII.

SECT. I. **T**HE Death of Clotarius. Partition of the Kingdom among his Sons. II. History of the Empire under Justin II. Tiberius and Mauritius. III. The Destruction of the Kingdom of the Gepidæ. IV. The Abares extend their Confines in Dacia and Pannonia. Their Origin. V. They make Inroads on the Dominions of the King of Austrasia. VI. The Longobards march to Italy. VII. Their Irruptions into Gaul. Of those Saxons, who accompanied the Longobards to Italy. Their Incursions into Burgundy. They return to their own Country; where they have frequent Skirmishes with the Swabians. VIII. Clepho, King of the Longobards. The Dukes assume the Government after his Decease. Their Irruptions into the Franconian Provinces. The Longobards block up Rome. The Emperor Tiberius in vain demands the Aid of the Franks. IX. Civil Wars betwixt the Kings of the Franks. X. Sigebert comes to Paris. Chilperic escapes to Tournay. XI. Animosity between the two Queens, Brunehild and Fredegund. XII. Sigebert is proclaim'd King in Neustria, and immediately murder'd. XIII. Childebert King of Austrasia. Meroveus, Chilperic's Son, marries Queen Brunehild. XIV. The melancholy Fate of

of Meroveus. XV. Childebert enters into a League with Chilperic, against the King of Burgundy. XVI. History of the Wisi-Goths and Suevi. Theodemir, King of the Suevi, abandons the Arians. XVII. Wars betwixt Leovigild, King of the Wisi-Goths, and Hermenegild, his Son. Guntram from thence takes Occasion to make War with the Goths. XVIII. Chilperic is murder'd. The good and bad Qualities of this King. Of his Learning. XIX. Clotarius, his Son, succeeds him by the Assistance of the King of Burgundy. Differences between Guntram and Childebert. XX. A Person, by the Name of Gundobald, lays Claim to a Part of the Kingdom of the Franks, and is proclaim'd King. XXI. Guntram is reconcil'd to Childebert. Gundobald is murder'd. XXII. An Interview between Guntram and Childebert at Andlau. XXIII. The Wisi-Goths make themselves Masters of the Kingdom of the Suevi. Reccaredus embraces the Catholick Faith. Of the Name Flavius, which the Kings of the Wisi-Goths bore. XXIV. History of the Longobards. Autharis becomes King. The Emperor Mauritius makes a League with Childebert. The latter makes War with the Longobards. Autharis marries Theodelinda, the Bavarian Princess. XXV. Childebert sends Troops to Italy: But their Attempts prove abortive. XXVI. Agilulf, King of the Longobards. A Peace with the Franks. XXVII. The Consequence of the War betwixt the Exarchus and the Longobards. They march towards Rome. Pope Gregory I, commiserates the State of Italy. XXVIII. Of Queen Theodelinda. XXIX. The Bishops in Venetia and Istria persist in defending the Tria Capitula. A Synod at Marano. The Patriarchat erected at Grado. XXX. Guntram King of Burgundy dies. Childebert destroys the Kingdom of the Guarni. XXXI. Childebert dies. Theodebert succeeds in Austrasia. Theoderick in Burgundy. XXXII. The State of Britain. The Heptarchy of the Anglo-Saxons. The State of Christianity among the Britons and Scots. XXXIII. The Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. Of their Language, Stile and Laws. XXXIV. History of the two Kings Theodebert and Theoderick. They reduce Clotarius. Their Expedition against the Gascons, &c. XXXV. They fall into a Civil War. The Alemanni invade Burgundy. XXXVI. Theoderick vanquishes the King of Austrasia. XXXVII. He dies immediately after. Brunchild sets up Sigebert, his Son, for King. He is taken Prisoner by Clotarius, and murder'd. XXXVII. The miserable End of Queen Brunchild.

§ I. **T**HE Ostro-Gothick War in Italy has hitherto requir'd our chief Attention. In this Book the most remarable Events are the Destruction of the Kingdom of the Gepidæ, in Dacia, and the Expedition of the Longobards to Italy: The Wisi-Goths overcome the Suevi,

Suevi, and subject all *Spain* to their Dominion, which they establish more firmly by embracing the *Catholick* Faith: Whilst, in the mean Time, the Kings of the *Franks* destroy each other by their fatal Wars.

The Death
of *Clotarius*.
Partition of
the Kingdom

CLOTARIUS died *A.* 561, and the Kingdom was again divided among his four Sons (1). *Claribert* obtain'd that Share which before belong'd to *Childebert*, King of *Paris*; *Guntram's* Portion was *Orleans*, with *Burgundy*; and hence he is often call'd King of *Burgundy*; *Chilperic* had *Soissons*, and *Sigebert Austrasia*. *Claribert* died *A.* 572. *Venantius Fortunatus* extols him as a Prince of great Virtue and Capacity. At the Assembly of the Nobles he generally propos'd the wisest Schemes; his Ambassadors receiv'd their best Instructions from himself, and when he sat as Judge, they who had Justice on their Side, were sure of a good Verdict. He spoke *Latin* as fluently as his Mother-Tongue (2). He left no Son; but *Bertha* his Daughter is the more famous: She was afterwards married to *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, and promoted the Introduction of the *Christian* Religion among the *Anglo-Saxons*. His Brothers shar'd his Kingdom among them, and agreed that the City of *Paris* should remain in common to them all, and that none should repair thither without previous Notice given to the other two, upon Penalty of losing his whole Share. This Division caused many Wars and much Bloodshed: But I must first give some Account of the Empire.

§ I. (1) GREGORIUS TURON. L. 4. 22. And:

Charibertus, Gunthramus, Chilpericus, atque Sigibertus divisionem legitimam faciunt: deditque fors Chariberto regnum Childeberti, sedemque habere Parisiis. Guntchramno vero regnum Chlodomeris, ac tenere sedem Aurelianensem: Chilperico vero regnum Clothacarii patris ejus, cathedramque Sueffionas habere: Sigiberto quoque regnum Theuderici, sedemque habere Remensem.

Quid repetam maturum animum, qui tempore nostro

Antiqui Fabii de gravitate placet?

Si veniant aliquæ variato murmure causæ,
Pondera mox legum regis ab ore fluunt.

Quamvis confusas referant certamina voces,
Nodosæ litis solvere fila potes.

Obtinet adveniens fructum cui justa petuntur,
Quem sua causa fovet, præmia victor habet.

(2) L. 4. Carm. 4. The following Passages relate in particular to this:

Publica cura movens procures si congreget
omnes,

Spes est consilii, te monitore, sequi.

Hinc quoties felix legatio denique pergit,

Ingreditur caute quam tua lingua regit.

And at last of his Knowledge of both Languages:

Cum sis progenitus clara de gente Sigamber,
Floret in eloquio lingua latina Tuo.

Qualis es in propria docto sermone loquela
Qui nos Romanos vincis in eloquio!

Gregory on the other Hand, relates, Lib. 4. c. 26,
how ill he behav'd in his matrimonial State.

§ II. *JUSTINIAN* died, on the 14th of November, A. 565, in an advanced Age. However glorious his Reign appears, yet it is a Matter of Doubt, whether the Roman Empire, and the Nations appertaining thereunto, were Losers or Gainers by it. His Victories in Italy were highly expensive to the Country. On the other Hand, he, in a Manner, render'd the Empire tributary to the Persians, and was oblig'd to give up *Illyricum* a Prey to the *Gepidae*, *Longobards*, *Heruli*, *Hunns* and *Sclavi*. The Forces of the Empire consisted then of about 150,000 Men; which was a small Number, considering into how many and remote Provinces they were forc'd to be dispers'd (1). He was succeeded by *Justin II*, his Sister's Son. He renew'd, A. 571, the War with the Persians, which lasted twenty Years, and prov'd greatly burthensome to the Empire. The Emperor even enter'd into Alliance with the *Turks*, who became famous, about this Time (2), and pass'd several Times over the *Caucasus*, to infest the Persians. A. 574, *Justin* nominated *Tiberius Caesar*; and gave him the Surname of *Constantine*. He justly deserv'd so great a Name. The greatest Satisfaction he receiv'd from his Promotion, was the Opportunity of doing the more Good: And Gold lost all its Charms, in his Opinion, if attended with the Subject's Tears (3). He soon rais'd a large Army, in which were particularly many German

History of the
Empire in the
Reign of Justin II, &c.

§ II. (1) *AGATHIAS*, p. 157. B. Romano-
rum enim exercitus non tanti atque olim sub veteribus Imperatoribus fuerant, permanerant, sed ad minimam quandam portionem redacti non amplius magnitudini imperii pares erant. Cum enim universæ Romanorum vires sexcentis quadraginta quinque bellatorum millibus constare deberent, ægre tum temporis centum quinquaginta millibus constabant, atque harum quidem copiarum aliæ in Italia erant collocatæ, aliæ in Africa, aliæ in Hispania, aliæ apud Colchos, aliæ apud Alexandri urbem, & circa Theben Ægyptiam. Confederant vero paucæ etiam versus orientales Persarum fines. Neque enim illic pluribus opus erat, ob fœdera inita, induciasque firmiter pactas. Ita fere ad perquam exiguum portionem redactæ erant copiæ, atque occisæ, principum negligentia.

Imperator, ubi legit per interpretem literas, Scythice scriptas, legationem lubenti animo admisit. *Of the Scythian Letters I shall treat more largely elsewhere.*

(3) *EVAGRIUS* gives the following Description of *Tiberius*, Lib. 5. c. 13. Erat iste *Tiberius* corpore maxime procero, & robusto, & pulchritudinis excellentia omnium opinione major, adeo, ut non regibus solum & Imperatoribus, sed omnibus etiam hominibus, facile præstaret. Ac primum quod ad corporis formam attinet, ea principatu plane digna fuit. Quod autem spectat ad animum, illum mansuetudo & benignitas exornant. Divitias eas putavit, quæ cuique satis essent ad largiendum, non solum ad necessitatem, verum etiam ad affluentiam. Nam non istud modo considerabat, quod qui opis indigeant, illis beneficia accipienda sint: sed quod Imperatorem Romanum deceat liberaliter dare. Aurum vero adulterinum existimavit, quod cum subjectorum lacrymis collectum est.

(2) A. 568, the first Turkish Ambassy arriv'd at Constantinople, Menander describes it at large, p. 106, and says in particular, p. 108, A.

Troops,

† A. 582.

Troops, from the Countries along the *Rhine*, and gain'd a glorious Victory over King *Cosroës* (4): But the great Hopes that were form'd of his Government, when, after *Justin's* Death, A. 578, he succeeded, were soon frustrated by his own Decease. But a short Space before his Death †, he declar'd *Mauritius* his Successor, whom, on Account of his Valour, he had chosen for his Son-in-Law. The Emperors did, indeed, still assume a certain Share in directing the Affairs of the *West*; but with very little Effect; whilst the *Persians* cut out Work enough for them in *Asia*, and the *Abares* and *Sclavi*, in the Provinces of *Illyricum*: And the more the State of the Empire was weaken'd, by so much the more the *Franks*, the *Wisi-Goths*, and the *Longobards*, at Length, became powerful.

The Destruction of the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*.

§ III. THE Kingdom of the *Gepidæ* was wholly destroy'd in *Justin's* Reign: *Cunemund*, their King, resolv'd to take Revenge of the *Longobards* for the Overthrow of his Predecessor. *Alboin*, King of the *Longobards*, made a League with the *Abares*. The *Gepidæ* demanded the Emperor's Aid: But *Justin* left them to shift for themselves. *Alboin* defeated them in a bloody Battle, and their King was kill'd in the Field. The Use the Conqueror made of the unfortunate King's Body, may serve to shew us what Cruelty was, in those Times, practis'd in War: He caus'd a Drinking-Cup to be made of his Skull, a Thing very customary among the *Northern Nations* (1). The Hatred of an Enemy, among civiliz'd

(4) *IBID.* cap. 15. Idem Tiberius res ad bellum faciendum necessarias parare, ingentem cogere exercitum virorum facile præstantissimorum, TAM EX GENTIBUS TRANSALPINIS CIRCITER RHENUM INCOLENTIBUS, quam ex cisalpinis, quin etiam ex Massagetis, aliisque ex genere Scytharum: ex Pæonia præterea, Mysia, Illyria, & Isauria collectorum, adeo, ut prope centum quinquaginta turmas equitum lectissimorum instructas haberet: quorum subsidio Chosroem, qui statim post Daras expugnatas, tempore æstivo Armeniam invaserat, indeque iter adversus Cæsaream, urbem Cappadociæ primariam, susceperat, penitus profligavit.

§ III. (1) HERODOTUS relates this of the Scythians in general, Lib. 5, cap. 65. Plinius particularly of the Scythæ anthropophagis, Lib. 7, cap. 11. Priores Anthropophagos, quos ad Septentrionem esse diximus, decem dierum itinere

supra Borystenem amnem, ossibus humanorum capitum bibere, cutibusque cum capillo pro mantelibus ante pectora uti. Am. Marcellinus, Lib. 27. relates the same of the ancient Scordisci. Silius Italicus likewise taxes the ancient Celtæ with such inhuman Actions, Lib. 13.

At Celtæ vacui capiris circumdare gaudent
Ossa (nefas) auro & mensis ea pocula feryant.

The Instance we meet with in Livy, Lib. 23. c. 24. of the Boii, may serve to prove this. Bartholinus de causis contemptæ a Danis mortis, Lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 557. produces several Instances of Danes and other Northern Nations. Among the Diversions, they hop'd to enjoy with Odilius after this Life, that of drinking merrily out of human Skulls was one. The famous King Regnerus Lodbrock is introduc'd, in an ancient Poem, as committing himself, in the following Words, according to Bartholinus's Translation:

Bibemus

liz'd People, ceases after his Death. If, in ancient History, we regard it as a barbarous Act, that *Tomyris*, Queen of *Scythia*, caus'd the Head of *Cyrus* to be dipp'd in Blood; or that the *Parthians* cut off the Head of *Crassus*, when slain, and pour'd molten Gold down his Throat, with what Horror must we behold a Table, where the Guests drink out of the Skulls of Men! So strangely do the Customs of Nations differ. The *Egyptians* caus'd the Representation of a Skeleton to be carried about at their Banquets, that, by recollecting their Mortality, the Guests might moderate their Mirth. These People, on the other Hand, drink out of Skulls for Diversion, and thereby cherish a Kind of Fury, which they falsely interpret for Valour. Among the Prisoners was *Rosamunda*, the King's Daughter, whom *Alboin* afterwards, tho' to his great Misfortune, married. The *Gepidæ* never recover'd after this Overthrow. The *Abares* made themselves Masters of *Dacia*, which they, 'till then, had possess'd, and the whole Nation of itself dispers'd †. One Part remain'd among the *Abares*; from whose Posterity the *German* Inhabitants of *Transylvania* and *Upper-Hungary* are, by some, thought to have been descended (2). Part of them took Refuge under the Emperor, whence, probably, the Name of *Gepidicus* was inserted in the *Imperial* Title (3). Many went with the *Longobards* to *Italy* (4). This Fall of the *Gepidæ* prov'd fatal to the *Roman* Empire. *Justinian*, with Regard to the foreign Nations, always aim'd at keeping one Nation in Awe by the Means of another *: But, after the Destruction of the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*, the *Abares* and *Longobards* became so powerful, that they aim'd at greater Things; and as they were perfectly united, the Emperor could not put any Restraint upon them.

Bibemus cerevisiam brevi
Ex concavis Craniorum poculis
In præstantis Odini domicilio.

(2) LAZIUS de migrat. gent. p. 604, 605.

(3) See below, § XXIV.

(4) See below, § V.

* The Views of the Græcian Court, in this Respect, among others, appear from what Corippus writes to the Emperor Justin himself:

Illa colubrimodis Avarum gens dura capillis
Horribilis visu, crudisque asperrima bellis,
Imperio subjecta Tuo, servire parata,

VOL. II.

In media supplex defusus crinibus aula,
Exorat pacem, nec fidere millibus audet
Tot numerosa suis Romana lacescere signa:
Quæ toties victos numeret per prælia Francos,
Edomitosque Getas, captos stratosque tyrannos,
Longobardorum populos Gepidumque feroces,
Mutua per lato inter se vulnera campos
Miscentes feritate sua, cum milite tuto,
Alternas gentes Domini fortuna necaret,
Pars inimicorum cecidit tum magna tuorum,
Perfidia punita sua, nunc Marte peracto
Victores, victique Tua famulantur in aula.

But these Designs were frustrated in the Event.

B b

§ IV. THE

The *Abares*
extend their
Dominions in
Dacia, &c.
† See Annot.
XXX.

§ IV. THE *Abares* belong to the principal Branch of the *Hunns*, of whom we have already met with so many Colonies; but these were of *Asia* †. They being subdued by the *Turks*, many chose rather to leave their native Country, than to live subject to their Dominion. They sent Ambassadors, *A. 557*, to *Justinian*, to offer their Service against the Enemies of the *Roman Empire*. The Emperor made a League with them, intending to make Use of their Aid, to keep the People on the *Danube* in Awe. They overcame the *Utruguri* and *Antæ*, and first ravag'd about the Countries on the *Pontus Euxinus*, which, by the Ancients, were call'd *Scythia Minor*, at present *Bessarabia* (1). When *Justinian* died, they immediately sent an Ambassy to *Justin*, and, hoping it would the more terrify him, made large Demands: But *Justin* gave them to understand, that they were not even to expect, from him, the Sum they had annually receiv'd of his Predecessor (2). However, after they had assisted at the Destruction of the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*, they conquer'd *Dacia*, and when, soon after, the *Longobards* went to *Italy*, they extended their Dominions in *Pannonia*. They besieg'd *Sirmium* several Times, and so far gain'd their Point, that the Emperor *Tiberius*, at Length, caus'd it to be surrender'd to them, about the Year 581. Several *Sclavonian* Nations were likewise subject to them, and thus they erected a powerful Kingdom, which subsisted 'till the Time of *Charles, the Great*. He conquer'd them, and then the Name of *Hungarians* began first to be known (3). They had now an open Passage into the *Franconian* Provinces, in *Germania*, which they afterwards frequently visited.

The *Abares*
make an In-
road into the
King of *Aus-*
trasia's Domi-
nions.

§ V. THEY made the first Attempt, *A. 567*. They march'd along the *Danube*, turn'd to the Right towards the *Elb*, and fell into *Thuringia*. They had, perhaps, form'd the same Design, which *Attila* formerly laid, to penetrate into *Gaul*. *Sigebert* march'd to meet them, with an Army, and fought a successful Battle with them on the *Elb*. Their *Chan*, who might have concluded, from the first Battle, how difficult it would be to maintain his Ground, in a Country inhabited by People so brave, entreated a Peace of *Sigebert*, and returned Home (1). They again invaded *Thuringia*,

§ IV. (1) MENANDER, p. 99, seqq.

(2) IDEM, p. 102, D. Of this Ambassy see likewise Corippus de laudibus Justin, Lib. 3. 231. seq.

(3) MENAND. p. 100. C. and p. 109. B.

mentions the Ongori, an Hunnick Nation, who were, probably, the Ancestors of the Hungarians.

§ V. (1) GREGOR. Lib. 4. c. 23. Post. mortem Clotarii Regis Chuni Gallias adpetunt, contra quos Sigebertus exercitum dirigit, & gesto contra eos bello, vicit atque fugavit. Sed postea Rex

Thuringia, A. 571; *Sigebert* then lost the Day, and, with the Rest of his Army, was reduc'd to such Streights, that, for Want of Provisions, he was under a Necessity, either to perish, or fall into the Enemy's Hands. Hardly any one, at present, will give Credit to *Gregorius*, that the *Huns* ow'd their Victory more to their Magick Art, than to their Valour. The Means they made Use of were, without Doubt, as natural, as those of *Sigebert's* to defend himself. He sent to the *Chan* the most valuable Things he could procure, and thus bought a Peace. They agreed, that, during their Lives, they should attempt no Hostilities one against the other (2).

§ VI. THE Expedition of the *Longobards* into *Italy* is yet more memorable, as they had the good Fortune to erect a lasting and famous Kingdom, which, together with the Empire, was, at Length, united with *Germany*. Some Writers intimate, that *Narses*, being discontented, because *Justin* recall'd him, excited *Alboin* to this Attempt, which I shall not pretend to enquire into here †. He set out from *Pannonia*, A. 568, accompanied, besides his own Nation, by many *Abares*, *Gepidæ* and *Sclavi* (1); and more particularly by many Thousands of *Saxons*. He had

The Expedition of the *Longobards* into *Italy*.

† See Annot. xxxi.

Rex eorum amicitias cum eodem per legatos meruit. Menander mentions this Expedition very briefly, p. 103. C. after having related, that Justin, at his Accession, repell'd the *Abares*: At illi imperatoris fortitudinem admirati, longe ab eo profugientes, & terga vertentes, in Francorum regionem abierunt.

(2) GREGOR. Lib. 4. c. 29. Chuni vero iterum in Gallias venire conabantur. Adversus quos Sigebertus cum exercitu dirigit, habens secum magnam multitudinem virorum fortium. Cumque configere deberent, isti, magicis artibus instructi, diversas eis phantasias ostendunt, & eos valde superant. Fugiente autem exercitu Sigiberti, ipse inclusus a Chunis retinebatur, nisi postea, (ut erat elegans & versutus) quos non potuit superare virtute prælii, superavit arte donandi. Nam datis muneribus tædus cum Rege iniit, ut omnibus diebus vitæ suæ nulla inter se prælia commoverent. Paulus, Lib. 2. c. 10. speaks of both Expeditions together: Eo quoque tempore, comperta Huni, qui & *Avares*, morte

Clotarii Regis, super Sigisbertum, ejus filium irruunt. Quibus ille in Thuringia occurrens, eos juxta Albim fluvium potentissime superavit, eisdemque petentibus pacem dedit. And: Rursumque *Avares* a Sigeberto in locis, ubi & prius pugnantes, Francorum proterentes exercitum, victoriam sunt adepti. To this relates, probably, the following Passage in Menander, p. 110. B. Abari & Franci fœderibus invicem initis, cum pax firma inter eos esset, Bajanus, Abarorum Dux, significavit Sigiberto, Francorum Duci, suum exercitum commeatus inopia laborare: decere eum, qui Rex esset, & inter suos, minime negligere exercitum sibi fœdere conjunctum. Promittebat autem, si exercitum Abarorum necessariis rebus recreasset, se tertio die castra moturum, neque longiori tempore in his locis commoraturum. Hæc ubi Sigiberto sunt nunciata, statim legumina, oves, & boves ad Abaros misit.

§ VI. (1) PAUL. Lib. 2. c. 26. Certum est autem, tunc Alboin multos secum ex diversis, quas vel alii reges, vel ipse ceperat, gentibus ad Italianam

†† Forum Ju-
lii.

had first made a League with the *Abares*, and gave up *Pannonia* to them, on Condition, that they should restore it, if he did not succeed in *Italy*. He had no sooner gain'd a sure Footing in *Italy*, than he consider'd how to secure that Avenue, and creating *Gisulfus*, his Kinsman and Master of Horse, Duke of *Friuli* ††, left with him many brave *Longobards*, who fix'd their Habitations in that Country (2): This was the first Rise of that Dukedom, since so powerful. When he arriv'd at the River *Piave*, *Felix*, Bishop of *Trevigo*, came to meet him, to whom he granted whatever he desir'd, for the Benefit of his Church, probably in Order to gain the greater Confidence by this Instance of Magnanimity (3); *Trevigo*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and the other Cities in *Venetia*, excepting *Padua*, *Monsilice* and *Mantua*, were soon forc'd to submit (4). He took *Milan*, *A.* 570 (5), and caus'd it to be pillag'd. He met with no Resistance in all *Liguria*, except at *Pavia*, which City stood a Siege of three Years. During this Time, a Body of *Longobards* pass'd the *Po*, and extended themselves as far as *Tuscany* and *Æmia*, to prevent the *Exarchus* from attempting the Relief of *Pavia*. They took, among other Places, *Spoletto*, in *Umbria*, which became likewise the Capital of a powerful Dukedom; and they must even have reach'd *Benevento* at that Time (6), if we may give Credit to those who affirm this Dukedom to have been erected *A.* 571. It was a Custom among the *Longobards*, that Dukes were appointed in the large Cities, and over certain Districts, many of whom we meet with in History: But those of *Friuli*, *Spoletto* and *Benevento* became, in Process of Time, the most powerful. *Italy* was wholly defenceless and deserted. *Narses* had very much drain'd it, and

Italiam adduxisse, unde hodie eorum, in quibus habitant vicos, Gepidos, Bulgaros, Sarmatas, Pannonios, Suavos, Noricos, sive aliis hujusmodi nominibus appellamus.

(2)* PAUL. L. 2. c. 9. Dum Alboin animum intenderet, quem in his locis ducem constituere deberet, Gisulphum, ut fertur, suum nepotem, virum per omnia idoneum, qui eidem STRATOR erat, quem lingua propria MARPAHIS appellant, Foro-Julianæ civitati, & toti regioni illius præficere statuit. Qui Gisulphus non prius se regimen ejusdem civitatis & populi suscepturum edixit, nisi ei, quas ipse eligere voluisset, Longobardorum Faras, hoc est, generationes, vel lineas, tribueret. Factumque est, & annuente sibi Rege, quas optaverat Longobardorum præcipuas pro-

sapias, ut cum eo habitarent, accepit, & ita demum ductoris honorem adeptus est.

(3) IDEM, c. 12.

(4) IDEM, c. 14.

(5) IDEM, c. 25, seq.

(6) The Learned have taken great Pains to enquire, in what Year the Dukedom of Benevento was erected. V. Scip. Ammirato Dissert. Dei Duchî & Principi di Benevento: Anton. Caraccioli in Propyl. ad quatuor Chronica, and Cam. Peregrinus Diff. 1. de Duc. Benevent. This last is of Opinion, that Zoto was, *A.* 571, created Duke of Benevento by Alboin: And Giannoni is of the same Opinion, Lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 258. But, to this Time, all depends on meer Conjecture.

eneavour'd

endeavour'd to stifle all Remains of the ancient *Roman* Magnanimity. A Plague in *Liguria* had, not long before the Arrival of the *Longobards*, carried off many of the Inhabitants (7). The Country could expect but little Aid from the Emperor, because the *Persian* War commenc'd, *A. 571*, and the *Abares* and *Sclavi* ravag'd in *Illyricum*. The *Catholick* Party must, in particular, have been in great Consternation. *Alboin* was an *Arian*, and all the Endeavours of *Clodofuinth*, his first Consort, King *Clotarius's* Daughter, to convert him, had prov'd ineffectual (8). Many of his Men were *Pagans*. *Paulinus*, Patriarch of *Aglar* †, which, 'till † *Aquileia* then, had been the Capital of *Venetia*, fled, with the Treasure and Records of his Church, to *Grado*, a Fortrefs on the Sea-Coast. Hence that Place was, *A. 579*, appointed the constant Residence, and call'd *New-Aquileia*; whereupon the old City decay'd more and more. This Change became, in another Manner, advantageous to the Patriarch. As well he, as the other Bishops in *Venetia* and *Istria*, zealously defended the *Tria Capitula*, and refus'd to acknowledge the fifth Council (9). They were, on this Account, severely persecuted by Pope *Pelagius I*, and the Letter is still extant, wherein he persuades *Narses* to imprison *Paulinus*, and send him to *Constantinople* (10): But when the *Longobards* had gain'd a sure Footing in *Venetia*, and the other Provinces of *Italy*, the Emperor and Pope were forc'd to proceed with more Lenity.

§ VII. WHEN *Italy* was thus overspread, some Bodies of Troops invaded the bordering *Provence* *. They beat *Amatus*, the *Patricius*, Lieutenant in that Country, who was kill'd in the Field of Battle, together with a great Number of *Burgundians*; and the *Longobards* carried off large Spoils. *Guntram*, thereupon, constituted *Mummolus* a *Patricius*, who became renown'd in this Reign for his Valour. He reveng'd this Loss, the next Time they came, in a Battle near *Ambrun*. Their Irruptions into Gaul, &c.

THE *Saxons*, who had accompanied the *Longobards* into *Italy*, tried, nevertheless, their Fortune also in *Gaul*. They were encamp'd near *Establon*, in the Diocese of *Riez*, when *Mummolus* surpriz'd and defeated

(7) PAUL. II, 4, 5. What is here particularly said of *Narses*, appears likewise from other Passages, cited in the xxxist Annot. Faith. ap. Du Chesne, T. 1. ep. 8. p. 853.

(9) Conf. NORIS. de Synodo V. Diff. 10.

(10) T. V. Concil. LABB. p. 794.

(8) A Letter is extant, from *Nicetius* to this Queen, wherein he excites her to use her utmost Endeavours to convert her Spouse to the *Catholick* § VII. * These Invasions happen'd, most probably before *Alboin's* Death. v. PAGIUS ad An. 575. n. 2.

them ;

them ; whereupon they were oblig'd to restore all their Spoils, together with the Prisoners they had made, and to promise to return to their ancient native Country (1). The latter they complied the more readily with, because the *Longobards* would not suffer them to live according to their own Laws (2). They went back to *Italy*, to fetch their Wives and Children, and return'd in two Bodies thro' *Nizza* and *Ambrun*. It being then Harvest-Time, and the Corn not yet carried in, they could not resist that Temptation. They thresh'd the Corn, and consum'd it, as well as all the Cattle they met with, destroy'd the Olive-Trees and Vineyards, and ravag'd with Fire and Sword. But as they were about to pass over the *Rhône*, near *Lyons*, and to turn into the King of *Austrasia's* Dominions, *Mummolus* way-laid, and so terrified them, that they were forc'd to pay a considerable Sum in Gold, for the Damages they had done. *Sigebert* enjoin'd them to return to their own Country on the *Elb* (3); but a good Part thereof was already possess'd by others : For when the *Saxons* march'd out, King *Sigebert* had allow'd some *Swabians* to fix their Abode there. The *Saxons*, whose Number consisted of 26,000 Men who bore Arms, commanded them to depart, and when fair Means would not do, proceeded to Force : But, notwithstanding the *Swabians* had but about 6000 fighting Men, they gain'd such Advantage over the *Saxons*, in two Battles, that at last they were oblig'd to come to a Composition with them, to be contented with a third Part of the Country only (4).
Vitichind,

(1) GREGOR. Lib. 4. c. 37. says, they went into Italy with Alboin. Fredegarius, on the other Hand, pretends, that Theodebert sent them thither, to garrison those Places, which the Franks still possess'd in Italy.

(2) PAULUS DIACONUS writes thus, L. 3. c. 6. Certum est, hos Saxones ideo ad Italiam cum uxoribus, & parvulis advenisse, ut in ea habitare deberent. Sed quantum datur intelligi, noluerunt Longobardorum imperiis subiacere. Sed neque eis a Longobardis permissum est in proprio jure subsistere, ideoque æstimantur ad suam patriam repedasse.

(3) GREGORIUS, & PAULUS, l. c.

(4) GREGORIUS V. 15. At illi obtulerunt eis tertiam partem terræ, dicentes : Simul vivere sine consensione possumus. Sed illi contra eos irati,

eo quod ipsi hoc antea tenuissent, nullatenus pacificare voluerunt. Dehinc obtulerunt eis iterum isti medietatem : post hæc duas partes, sibi tertiam relinquentes. Nolentibus autem illis, obtulerunt cum terra omnia pecora, tantum ut a bello cessarent. Sed nec hoc illi adquiescentes, certamen expetunt. Et inter se ante certamen qualiter uxores Suavorum dividerent, & qui quam post eorum exitum acciperet, tractant ; putantes eos jam quasi interfectos habere. Sed Domini miseratione, quæ justitiam facit, in aliam partem voluntatem eorum retorfit. Nam confligentibus illis, erant autem viginti sex millia Saxonum, ex quibus viginti-millia ceciderunt : Suavorum quoque sex millia, ex quibus quadringenti, & octoginta tantum prostrati sunt, reliqui vero victoriam obtulerunt. Illi quoque, qui ex Saxonibus remanserant, detestati sunt ; nullum se eorum barbarum, neque capillos incisurum, nisi prius se de adversariis

Vitichind, a Monk in the Monastery of *Corbey*, on the *Weser*, who wrote in the Times of Emperor *Otto II*, mentions these *Swabians*, who lived amidst the *Saxons*, but retained their own Laws (5).

§ VIII. *ALBOIN* was murder'd, *A. 574*, at the Instigations of *Rosamund* his Confort (1). He had forc'd her, in a drunken Fit, to pledge him out of her Father's Skull. This Draught excited in her a Desire of revenging at once the Death of her Father, and the Overthrow of her Country-men. So different was she from *Tullia*, the Daughter of *Servius Tullius*, King of the *Romans*, who with Triumph drove over her Father's Corpse, when she heard that her Husband was made King. She was assisted in her Design, by *Hellmich*, the King's Armour-Bearer, who had been brought up with him, and had, on that Account, the greatest Share in his Confidence. She promis'd to marry him, and set the Crown on his Head; she had many Adherents among the *Gepidae* and *Longobards*, and she depended on the Aid of the *Exarchus* of *Ravenna*; who not being in a Capacity to make any open Attempt against the *Longobards*, strove at least to weaken them by Divisions. However, the greater Part of the Nation was enrag'd at *Alboin's* Murder, and elected *Clepho* King; whereupon *Rosamund*, with her Partizans, fled to *Ravenna*. *Clepho* was likewise murder'd, *A. 576*, after having reign'd eighteen Months (2). No King was chosen for the Space of ten Years after his Death. The Dukes, who, according to *Paulus Diaconus*, were thirty-five in Number, govern'd arbitrarily, every one in his own Dominions, which they extended more and more. The ancient Inhabitants were oblig'd every where to deliver them, as a Tribute, the third Part of their Crop (3). Some of these Dukes invaded the bordering Dominions

Clepho King
of the *Longo-*
bards, &c.

sariis ulciscerentur. Quibus iterum decertantibus, in majore excidio corruerunt. Et sic a bello cessatum est. This Relation is repeated by PAULUS DIACONUS, L. 3. c. 6.

Swabians dwell. See Meibom. in not. ad Vitichind. p. 670. Eckard Rer. Francic. T. 1. p. 84. These Swabians are likewise call'd North-Swabians, which Name will occur in the Sequel.

(5) *VITICHINDUS*, *Lib. 1. p. 634.* Suevi vero Transalpine illam, quam incolunt regionem, eo tempore invaserunt, quo Saxones cum Longobardis Italiam adire, ut eorum narrat historia, & ideo aliis legibus, quam Saxones utuntur. In the best Codices, we read Transbadani instead of Transalpine. In several ancient Saxon Records we find a Country mention'd by the Name of Swahigou, in the Diocese of Halberstadt, on the River Boda: which was the Country, wherein these Swa-

§ VIII. (1) *PAUL. L. 2. c. 28. See the Annotation concerning the Kings of the Longobards.*

(2) *PAGIUS ad An. 573, n. 3.*

(3) *PAUL. 2. 32.* His diebus multi nobilium Romanorum ob cupiditatem interfecti sunt, reliqui vero per hostes divisi, ut tertiam partem suarum frugum Longobardis persolverent, tributarii efficiuntur.

of

+ Martenach.
 ++ S.
 Mauritz.

of the King of *Burgundy*. *Amo* directed his Course to *Ambrun*; *Zaban*, Duke of *Pavia*, to *Valence*; and *Rodan* march'd towards *Grenoble*: But *Mummolus* bravely repell'd them all (4). Another Body ventur'd to pass over *Aosta*, and the *Appennine Alps*, into the present Country of *Valais*. They pillag'd *Oëtodurum* †. At *Agaunum* ††, the Inhabitants offer'd to resist, but were cut in Pieces. This Party was at last defeated, near *Bex*, by *Vilico* and *Theudfred*, two Generals of the King of *Burgundy* (5). The *Franks* had, on the other Hand, attack'd the *Longobards*, on the Borders of *Rætia*, and taken *Trent*: But their Duke was kill'd, and *Trent* fell again into the Hand of the *Longobards* (6). A Peace was thereupon concluded between the two Nations (7); but on what Conditions is uncertain (8). The *Longobards* block'd up *Rome*, A. 578 (9), and the *Romans* were hard put to it to resist them. The *Persian* War hinder'd the Emperor *Tiberius* from doing any Thing; and besides almost 100,000 *Sclavi* had invaded *Thrace*. He endeavour'd either to

(4) GREGOR. L. 4. c. 39.

(5) Of this Irruption *Marius* says, in Chron. ad Ind. VII. (574) Clebus Rex Longobardorum, a puero suo interfectus est, & eo anno Longobardi iterum in valle ingressi sunt, & Clusas obtinuerunt, & in Monasterio Sactorum Agaunensium diebus multis habitaverunt, & postea in Bacci pugnam contra exercitum Francorum commiserant, ubi pene ad integrum interfecti sunt, pauci fuga libertati. F. Pagius proves the Computation to be erroneous, and places it in the Year 576. *Fredegarius* relates this very Incident, in epit. c. 68. Taloardus, & Nuccio, Duces Longobardorum, per ostiola in Sidonense in territorium sunt ingressi, ad monasterium Sanctorum Agaunensium nimiam facientes stragem. Baccis villa, nec procul ab ipso monasterio, Duces & eorum exercitus, a Wiolico, & Theudofredo, Ducibus Guntrami, sunt interfecti. Wiolicus was the Son of Magnacharius, a Brother of Marcatrud, Guntram's Wife. We meet with Theudfred, as Duke of Burgundia ultra Jurana, in *Fredegar*. Chron. c. 16.

(6) PAUL. DIACON. L. 3. c. 9.

(7) That a Peace was made between the *Franks* and *Longobards*, appears in a Letter of A. 580, from Pope Pelagius II, to Aunaharius, Bishop of Auxerre. Concil. T. V. Labb. where he exhorts

him, to advise the Kings of the *Franks*, to break the Peace with the *Longobards*. Propter quod nihilominus admonemus, ut, quorum virtutem quaeritis, eorum templa a pollutione gentium liberari, in quantum vobis est possibile, festinetis, & vestris regibus instantissime suadeatis, quatenus ab amicitia & conjunctione nefandissimi hostis, Longobardorum, salubri se provisione segregare festinent.

(8) FREDEGAR. says in Chron. c. 45. that they resign'd *Aosta* and *Susa* to *Guntram*, and afterwards in *Mauritius's* Reign sent Ambassadors to him and *Childebert*, and promis'd an annual Tribute of 12,000 Guilders of Gold; that *Autharis* was not elected, without the Permission of the Kings of the *Franks*, and that both he and *Agilulf*, his Successor, constantly paid the Tribute, 'till *Clotarius II* remitted it to the latter. But this Relation will appear improbable, from what I shall say in the Sequel of *Autharis* and *Agilulf*.

(9) This appears from PAUL. L. 3. c. 20, where he treats of the Election of *Pelagius II*, who became Pope A. 578. Denique post Benedictum, Papam, Pelagius, Romanæ ecclesiæ, pontifex, absque iussione principis ordinatus est, eo quod Longobardi Romam per circuitum obsiderent, nec posset quis a Roma progredi.

set

set the *Longobards* at Variance with one another; or to prevail on the *Franks* to take up Arms against them (10). We find indeed that he made several Treaties with the latter (11): But the State of their Affairs, after *Sigebert's* Death, did not allow them to make any Attempt in *Italy*.

§ IX. I SHALL not here take Notice of all the Differences, that happen'd, in the mean Time, between the three Brothers, who then ruled over the *Franks*: nor do I meet with sufficient Circumstances of *Sigebert's* Exploits against the *Saxons*, *Frisians* and *Danes*, which a Poet of this Time greatly extolls *: But the War, which *Chilperic*,

Civil Wars
between the
Kings of the
Franks.

(10) Of this we find a Passage in MENANDER, p. 124. B. Circa quartum Imperii Tiberii Constantini annum, centum fere millia Sclavorum in Thraciam irruerunt, & Thraciam, multasque alias regiones prædati sunt. Cæsar misit in Italiam magnam auri quantitatem, usque ad centum triginta pondo, quæ Pamphronius nomine, dignitate Patricius, a seniori Roma ad Imperatorem attulerat. Is tunc ad Regiam venerat, ut precibus a Cæsare impetraret, ut Italiam, a Longobardorum excursionibus oppressam, in libertatem vindicaret. Cæsar vero, cui omnia præ bello Perfico nullius momenti erant, quippe qui totus in illud incumberet, exercitum mittere non potuit, neque bellum in Oriente & in Occidente simul sibi gerendum statuit. Sed pecunias dedit Pamphronio, quibus, si qua posset, aliquos Longobardorum persuaderet, ad Romanos transire, una cum eorum exercitu, & Italiam minime turbare. Quod efficerent, si in Orientem arma vertere vellent, & Romanis auxilium ferre. Si Longobardi renuerent, ut verisimile erat, bellatum foris ire, Francorum Ducem aliquos mercede sibi socios adjungeret, & hac ratione Longobardorum potentiam labefactaret, & infringeret.

(11) Of the Emperor Tiberius's Treaties with King Chilperic, we find an Account in GREGOR. Lib. 4. c. 2.

§ IX. * VENANT. FORTUNAT. Lib. 4. Carm. 2.

hic nomen avorum
Extendit bellante manu, cui de Patre virtus
VOL. II.

Quam Nabis ecce probat, Thoringia victa fatetur

Perficiens unam gemina de gente triumphum.

And Carm. 3.

Saxone Thuringi resonant, sua damna moventes
Unius ad laudem tot cecidisse viros

Lupus, Duke of Champagne, had fought bravely against the Saxons and Danes, of which Fortunatus says, Lib. 7. Carm. 7.

Quæ tibi sit virtus cum prosperitate superna,

SAXONIS & DANI gens cito victa probat.

BORDAA qua fluvius sinuoso gurgite currit,

Hic adversa acies Te duce cæsa ruit.

Dimidium vestris jussis tunc paruit agmen,

Quam merito vincit, qui Tua jussa facit!

Ferratæ tunicæ sudasti pondere victor,

Et sub pulvere nubea coruscus eras

Tamque diu pugnas acie fugiente secutus,

LAUGONA dum vitreis terminus esset aquis.

Qui fugiebat iners amnis dedit ille sepulcrum,

Pro duce felici flumina bella gerunt.

Bordaa is a River in Friesland, which is call'd Burdo, by Willibaldus, in vitæ Bonifacii. Laugona, or Lagana, is the Lahne, which falls into the Rhine near Lahnstein. What he says in Praise of Condo, King Sigebert's Demoficks, L. 7. Carm. 16. relates likewise to the Expedition against the Saxons.

Quæ fuerit virtus tristis Saxonia cantat.

C c

begun

begun, *A.* 573, brought upon him his Ruin. *Chilperic* laid Claim to some Countries, which, at the Partition after *Claribert's* Death, fell to *Sigebert's* Share, and himself invaded *Touraine* and *Poitou*. *Sigebert* rais'd a formidable Army in the Countries on this Side of the *Rhine*, in *Suevia*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony* and *Thuringia*. *Chilperic*, on the other Hand, endeavour'd to secure the King of *Burgundy's* Friendship, and caused particular Remonstrances to be made of the Danger of bringing a Number of raw unciviliz'd *Pagans* into the Heart of *Gaul*. *Sigebert* was come with his Army as far as the *Seine*, and *Chilperic*, who had caused all the Bridges to be broke down, and all the Boats to be seiz'd, was encamp'd on the opposite Side, to prevent his crossing the River. Necessity became now a Law to *Sigebert*, and he sent Word to the King of *Burgundy*, that he must either suffer him to pass thro' his Country, or expect him to come by Force. *Guntram* chose the former. This so terrified *Chilperic*, that he immediately retreated, and when *Sigebert*, according to ancient Custom among the *Germans*, challeng'd him to appoint Time and Place for a Battle, he, on the contrary, sued for a Peace. This was concluded, on Condition, that he should abandon *Touraine*, *Poitou*, *Limoges* and *Quercy*, and recall his Son out of *Aquitain*. The *German* Nations, who were commanded by the King of *Austrasia*, were dissatisfied with this Accommodation, which frustrated their Hopes of a considerable Booty. On their Return therefore, they made great Devastations, where ever they came; and would have proceeded to a general Mutiny, had not the King himself rode thro' their Ranks, and mitigated their Fury by fair Remonstrances: But he took Notice of the principal Ring-Leaders, whom he afterwards prosecuted and caused to be stoned (1).

*Sigebert comes
to Paris.*

§ X. As Necessity only prompted *Chilperic* to make a Peace, he renew'd the War again the next Year. He had an Interview with King *Guntram*, and perswaded him to a League against the King of *Austrasia*. He sent his Son over the *Loire* with an Army, and himself invaded *Champagne*, to detain *Sigebert* on that Side. This Prince, on the other Hand, levied Troops on this Side of the *Rhine*, on whom he placed the

(1) GREG. 4. 42. & 44. Vicos quoque, qui circa Parisiis erant, maxima tunc flamma consumsit, & tam domus, quam res reliquæ ab hoste direptæ sunt, ut etiam & captivi pucerentur. Obtestabatur enim Rex, ne hæc fierent: sed furorem gentium, quæ de ulteriore Rheni amnis parte venerant, superare non poterat, sed omnia patienter

ferebat, donec redire posset ad patriam. Tunc ex gentibus illis contra eum quidam murmuraverunt, cur se a certamine subtraxisset. Sed ille, ut erat intrepidus, ascenso equo ad eos dirigit, eosque verbis lenibus demulsit. Multos ex eis postea lapidibus obrui præcipiens.

greatest Confidence in this War. He soon defeated the Enemy's Attempts in *Champagne*, and came with his Army as far as *Paris*, whilst *Chilperic* retreated to *Roüan*. His Troops in *Touraine* likewise succeeded against *Theodebert*, who was himself kill'd. *Guntram* was unwilling again to endanger his Country, which had already been too much harass'd by the *Longobards* and *Saxons*: and, therefore, when he saw the bad State of *Chilperic's* Affairs, he made a Peace with *Sigebert*. This so terrified the former, that he fled from *Roüan* to *Tournay* (1). *Sigebert* had taken all the Places from *Paris* to *Roüan*, and, had not the *Franks* prevented him, would have given almost that whole Tract of Land, a Prey to his *German* Soldiers. He then went to *Paris*, where he met *Brunehild*, his Consort, with her Princes and both Princesses (2). It was publicly reported of her, that she incited the King, not to lay down Arms, 'till he had depriv'd his Brother both of Kingdom and Life (3).

§ XI. *BRUNEHILD* was a Daughter of *Athanagild*, King of the *Wisi-Goths* (1), and had her particular Reasons for hating *Chilperic* and *Fredegund*. The *Franks* had express'd great Joy at this Alliance; because the three Brothers had all married beneath their Station *. *Chilperic* had, before his

The Animosity betwixt the Queens *Brunehild* and *Fredegund*.

§ X. (1) GREGORIUS, L. 4. c. 45.

(2) IBID. cap. 46.

(3) Germanus Bishop of Paris endeavor'd, in a Letter, ap. du Chesne, T. I. p. 9. to bring her to more peaceable Thoughts. We there read, p. 856.

Vulgi verba iterantes, quæ nos maxime terrent Vestrae Pietati in notitiam deponimus, quæ ita disseminat, eloquentium ora detrahuntur, quasi vestro voto, consilio & instigatione dominus gloriosissimus SIGEBERTUS Rex tam ardue hanc velet perdere regionem. Non propterea hæc dicimus, quasi a vobis credatur: sed supplicamus, ut nulla occasio tribuatur dicendi, unde vobis tam maximum & periculosum generetur blasphemium.

§ XI. (1) Of *Sigebert's* and *Brunehild's* Nuptials, see *Gregorius*, L. 4. c. 27. He says of this Princess, who afterwards made so great a Figure in History: Erat puella ellegans opere, venusta aspectu, honesta moribus, atque decora, prudens consilio, & blanda colloquio. And: Et quia Arianae legi subiecta erat, per prædicationem Sacerdo-

tum, atque ipsius regis commonitionem conversa, beatam in unitate confessâ Trinitatem credidit, atque chrismata est. Venantius Fortunatus says, on Occasion of these Nuptials, Lib. 4. carm. 1.

Regia Cæsareo proficit aula jugo.

We cannot easily guess what he means by Cæsareum jugum, unless we conjecture that the Emperor Justinian adopted *Athanagild*, and that *Brunehild* is therefore call'd a Princess of the Imperial Extraction.

* The *Franks* disapprov'd of the Marriages of their Kings when beneath their Station. Some even pretended, that King *Guntram's* Sons had no Right to the Crown, because their Mother was at first a Servant: But *Gregory* testifies, that in his Time, the Sons of Kings were not demean'd on Account of their Mother's Station., Lib. 5. c. 21. Sed Sagittarius felle commotus, hanc rationem dure suscipiens, ut erat levis ac vanus, & in sermonibus inrationabilibus profluus, declamare plurima de Rege coepit, ac dicere, quod filii ejus regnum capere non pos-

his Father's Death, a Wife, nam'd *Andovera*, by whom he had his three Sons, *Theodebert*, *Meroveus* and *Clovis*, but was divorc'd from her, and now divided his Affection between several other Persons, among whom, *Fredegund* had the greatest Influence over him. But his Brother's Example induc'd him to marry the other *Gothick* Princess, *Gailefuintb*, Queen *Brunehild*'s elder Sister. On Occasion of this Marriage, he promis'd, indeed, to give up all his other Amours, and the Nuptials were celebrated at *Roüan*, with great Demonstrations of Joy (2): But his former Love for *Fredegund* nevertheless soon reviv'd, and the Flame now broke out with the greater Violence, by having been so long suppress'd. This excited the Queen's Jealousy, and she thereupon declar'd her Resolution of returning to *Spain*, when she was unexpectedly found dead one Morning in her Bed. *Chilperic* was so little solicitous to remove the Suspicion of having caus'd her Death, that soon after he publickly married *Fredegund*. This lessen'd him greatly in the Esteem of all the *Franks* (3). *Brunehild* in particular press'd her Husband to revenge her Sister's Death, and tho' an immediate War did not ensue, yet the Animosity continued. *Fredegund* was as vigilant to maintain her Ground, as *Brunehild* was to ruin her: And thus the Ambition of these two Kings, and an equal Desire in each of encreasing their Power, being aggravated by the Passions of their Wives, the Disorders occasion'd thereby, were the greater. On such Occasions, Love and Hatred, Jealousy and Revenge are ripe for any Attempt, run any Hazard, call Perfidy, Poison and Murder to their Aid, and put the Welfare of whole Nations to the Stake.

Sigebert declared King of *Neustria*, and soon after murder'd.

§ XII. THE present Juncture seem'd favourable to *Sigebert* and his Queen, for the Execution of their Revenge. Queen *Radegundis*, who resided in her Convent at *Potiers*, was highly afflicted at these Divisions,

sensit, eo, quod mater eorum ex familia Magnacharii quondam adscita, Regis thorum adiisset: ignorans, quod, prætermisissis nunc generibus feminarum, Regis vocitantur liberi, qui de Regibus fuerint procreati.

(2) GREGORIUS, L. 4. c. 28. VENANT. FORTUNATUS sings her Nuptials, Conversion and Death, L. 6. carm. 7.

Jungitur ergo thoro regali culmine virgo
Et magno meruit plebis amore coli.

Hos quoque muneribus permulcens, vocibus illos

Et licet ignotos sic facit esse suos.

Utque fidelis ei sit gens armata PER ARMA JURAT, JURE SUO SE QUOQUE LEGE LIGAT.

Regnabat placido componens tramite vitam,
Pauperibus tribuens advena mater erat;
Quoque magis possit Regno superasse perenni
Catholicæ fidei conciliata placet.

(3) GREGOR. IBID.

and

and in her Letters to both Kings, exhorted them to Unity (1). *Germanus*, Bishop of *Paris*, also admonish'd *Sigebert* in pressing Terms. But when the Nobles of *Chilperic's* Kingdom offer'd to acknowledge him for their King, he left his Queen and Children at *Paris*, detach'd some Troops to besiege *Tournay*, and went himself to *Vitri*, where the *Franks* of the Kingdom of *Soissons* were met together. Here, according to the Custom of the Nation, he was plac'd on a Shield, and proclaim'd King (2). On this Occasion, *Fredegund* had Recourse to a Method, in which she had succeeded more than once before. She, by great Promises, engag'd two desperate Villains to undertake the Murder of *Sigebert* (3). They went into the Camp at *Vitri*, and, when, under a feign'd Pretence, they were admitted to the King's Presence, they both stabb'd him at once, with poison'd Knives, infomuch that he fell to the Ground, and immediately †† A. 575. expir'd (4). According to the Account given of him in History, he might have acquir'd the Fame of a most glorious Monarch, had he not been involv'd in those fatal Wars with his Brothers. At this News, the Siege of *Tournay* was immediately rais'd. In the Camp at *Vitri*, not only the *Franks*, who were *Chilperic's* Subjects, return'd to their Allegiance; but many *Austrasians* likewise submitted to him (5).

§ XIII. *CHILPERIC* caus'd Queen *Brunebild* and her Children *Childebert* to be confin'd at *Paris*: But Duke *Gundobald* secur'd *Childebert*, King of *Austrasia*, &c. *Sigebert's* Son, who was about five Years of Age, and brought him in Safety to *Metz*, where the *Austrasians* joyfully proclaim'd him King, and entreated King *Guntram*, his Uncle, to take him into his Protection. *Chilperic* caus'd Queen *Brunebild* to be brought to *Roüan*: But she found an Opportunity, even in his own Family, both to save herself,

§. XII. (1) *The Pains Queen Radegund, of whom I treated before, B. II. § 48, took on this Account, are describ'd by Baudonivia in her Life. p. 339. Semper de pace sollicita, de patriæ salute curiosa, quandoquidem inter se regna movebantur, quia totos diligebat Reges, pro omnium vita orabat, & nos sine intermissione pro eorum stabilitate orare docebat. Ubi eos inter se amartudinem movere audisset, tota tremebat, & quales litteras uni, tales alteri dirigebat, ut inter se non bella nec arma tractarent, sed pacem firmarent, ut patria ne periret. Similiter & ad eorum procures dirigebat, ut præcellis regibus consilia salutifera ministrarent, ut eis regnantibus, populi & patria salubrior redderetur.* Congregationi suæ assiduas vigilias imponebat: &, ut sine intermissione pro eis orarent, cum lacrymis docebat. Se vero in quanto cruciatu affligebat quis hoc verbis explere valeat?

(2) GREGOR. L. 4. c. 46. Veniente autem illo ad villam, cui nomen est victoriacum, collectus est ad eum omnis exercitus, IMPOSITUMQUE SUPER CLYPEO, REGEM SIBI statuunt.

(3) IBID.

(4) IBID. l. c. He says: Cum cultris validis, quos vulgo SCRAMA SAXOS appellant.

(5) IBID. L. 5. c. 3.

and

and to take her Revenge at the same Time. *Meroveus*, his eldest Prince, enter'd with her into Engagements to marry her. Her Youth, the Agreeableness of her Person, and her Understanding, were, on this Occasion, as advantageous to her, as the Hatred *Meroveus* bore to *Fredegund*, his Mother-in-Law. When his Father sent him with an Army to *Poitou*, he went suddenly to *Roüan*, and was there married to *Brunebild*, by *Prætextatus*, Bishop of that Place, who had baptiz'd him, and was zealously devoted to him. *Chilperic* was thunder-struck at this News, and *Fredegund* yet more; since she had not only *Brunebild* and *Meroveus*, but likewise *Audovera*, the Mother of the latter, who was still living, in a Convent, to be apprehensive of. *Chilperic* went himself to *Roüan*, the better to extinguish the Flame in its Birth: But *Meroveus* and *Brunebild* fled into the Church of *St. Martin*, a secure *Asylum* to the Unfortunate. *Chilperic* could not get them out by any other Means, but by a Promise on Oath, to confirm their Marriage. He embrac'd the young Couple, and took them to dine at his Table (1). *Meroveus* was immediately after forc'd to follow his Father, and *Brunebild* was watch'd more narrowly than before; but at *Childebert's* Intercession, she soon obtain'd the Liberty of repairing to *Metz*.

The strange
Fate of *Me-
rovens*.

§ XIV. SOON after this, some Troops from *Champagne* appear'd unexpectedly before *Soissons*; and *Fredegund*, who was then in the City, escap'd not without Difficulty: But *Chilperic* came in Time, and dispers'd the Enemies: Now as it was highly probable, that *Meroveus* was privy to this Attempt, that he might at the same Time take Revenge of both his Father and Mother-in-Law, and pave his Way to the Throne, *Fredegund* found it easy to prevail on the King to disarm his Son, and put him under Confinement (1). He was sent to a Monastery in the Country of *Maine*, and consecrated a Priest. From hence indeed he escap'd to *Tours*, to *St. Martin's* Tomb, and farther to *Austrasia*: But *Brunebild* was herself oppos'd by a numerous Faction, and could not prevail on the Court publicly to espouse his Interest (2). Whilst he lay thus conceal'd, the Inhabitants of *Terouanne* sent him an Offer, that they would revolt from his Father, and acknowledge him their lawful Sovereign: But he no sooner came to them, than they confin'd him, and gave Notice of it

§ XIII. (1) GREGOR. L. 5. c. 2. Rex vero adveniens, cum in multis ingeniis eos exinde auferre niteretur, & ille dolose eum putantes facere, non crederent: juravit eis dicens: Si, inquit, Dei voluntas fuerit, ipse hos separare non

conaretur. Hæc illis sacramentis accipientes, de basilica egressi sunt. Exosculatifque, & dignanter acceptis, epulatus est cum eis.

§ XIV. (1) GREGORIUS, L. 5. c. 3.

(2) IDEM, L. 5. c. 14.

to *Chilperic*. The King found him dead; they pretended, that in Despair he had desir'd *Gail*, his faithful Companion, to put an End to his Life: But a much more probable Report was even then current, that he had been murder'd at the Instigations of *Fredegund* (3). By dispatching another Son of the former Marriage, she could form the more certain Hopes of having the Succession settled on her Children: But she was greatly disapointed. Her three Sons were, in a short Time, all snatch'd away by Death: and thus *Clovis*, a Son of *Audovera*, was the only remaining Heir. This Prince perhaps incautiously discover'd his Intentions, with Regard to his Step-Mother: But she was beforehand with him, and caus'd him to be accus'd to the King, that the three other Princes had been poison'd at his Instigation. He was imprison'd, and, by the Queen's Command, privately dispatch'd in his Confinement; but the King was made to believe, that he laid violent Hands on himself †. *Audovera*, † A. 581. his Mother was likewise murder'd (4).

§ XV. IN *Austrasia*, a close Alliance was for some Time preserv'd with the King of *Burgundy*. As this Prince had just been depriv'd of both his Sons, he adopted *Childebert*, at a Convention near *Pont-Pierre* (1). But the Faction, which oppos'd Queen *Brunebild*, began soon after to be turbulent, and was headed by *Ægidius* Bishop of *Rheims*, who had long been a great Favourite with *Fredegund* (2). As this Faction could not gain ground, whilst the good Understanding with *Burgundy* subsisted, they brought it to bear, that *Guntram's* Friendship was set aside, A. 581, and a Treaty made with *Chilperic* (3), by Virtue of which he was to retain *Senlis*, *Meaux*, *Tours*, *Poitou*, and other Districts of the Kingdom

(3) IDEM, L. 5. c. 19.

(4) IDEM, L. 5. c. 40.

§ XV. (1) GREGOR. L. 5. c. 18. Post hæc Guntramnus, Rex, ad Childebertum, nepotem suum legatos mittit, pacem petens, ac deprecans eum videre. Tunc ille cum proceribus suis ad eum venit. Qui ad pontem, quem Petreum vocant, conjuncti sunt, consalutantes atque invicem exosculantes se. Guntramnus Rex ait: Evenit impulsu peccatorum meorum, ut absque liberis remanerem; & ideo peto, ut hic nepos meus mihi sit filius. Et imponens eum supra cathedram suam, cunctam ei regnum tradidit, dicens: Una nos parma protegat, una nos hasta defendat. Quod si filios habuero,

te nihilominus tanquam unum ex his reputabo, ut illa cum meis tecum sit charitas, quam tibi ego hodie polliceor, teste Deo. Proceres vero Childeberti similiter pro eodem polliciti sunt. Et manducantes simul atque bibentes, dignisque se muneribus honorantes, pacifice discesserunt: ad Chilpericum, Regem legatos mittentes, ut redderet, quod de eorum regno imminuerat. Quod si differret, campum præpararet ad bellum. Quod ille despiciens, apud Sueffionas atque Parisios circos ædificare præcepit eos populis spectaculum præbens.

(2) IDEM, L. 5. c. 19. *fn.*

(3) IDEM, L. 6. c. 1. & 3.

of *Paris*, which, after *Claribert's* Death, fell to the King of *Austrasia's* Share. The two Kings even enter'd into an Alliance against *Guntram*. The Bishop flatter'd the Court with the agreeable Representation, that *Chilperic*, who had then lost all his Princes, had no other Heir but *Childebert*. *Lupus* Duke of *Champagne*, on whom *Venantius Fortunatus* bestows great Praises (4), was the chief Support of the other Party, which sided with Queen *Brunehild* and the *Burgundian* Court. His Adversaries were resolv'd upon his Fall, by Force, and *Ursio* and *Berthefried* challeng'd him to a Combat. *Brunehild* took a Shield and Sword, and, mounting a Horse, rode into the tumultuous Crowd: *Ursio* called out to her, "to take heed, lest she might be trampled to Death by their Horses; it was sufficient she had govern'd under her Husband; her Son was now King, and they were entrusted with the Preservation of his Kingdom." But *Brunehild* nevertheless would not desist, 'till she had so far carried her Point, that the Combat was put a Stop to (5). *Lupus* being, notwithstanding this, diffident of his Safety, retir'd to *Burgundy*. *Chilperic* immediatly detach'd Troops into *Acquitain*, to the Countries appertaining to *Guntram*. He went in Person, A. 583, to besiege *Melun*, which at the Partition of *Claribert's* Kingdom was likewise fallen to *Guntram's* Share: But the *Burgundian* King came unexpectedly upon him, and partly defeated, and in Part dispers'd *Chilperic's* Army. As he was naturally more fond of Peace than War, he took Advantage of this Victory to incline his Brother to a Peace. They agreed, that their mutual Grievances should be amicably accommodated by their States. (6) *Childebert* was marching to *Chilperic's* Aid: But his Army, dissatisfied with this Peace, mutinied against those who advised him to it; and Bishop *Ægidius* would have been in Danger of his Life, had he not found Means to escape to *Rheims* (7). We find, on the other Hand, soon after, *Guntram* and *Childebert* arming themselves against *Chilperic*, and the latter retreating

(4) *Lib. 7. carm. 7. seq.*

(5) *GRÆGOR. L. 6. c. 4.* Quod cernens *Brunechildis*, Regina, condolens fidelis sui insecutiones injustas, præcingens se viriliter, inrupit medios hostium caneos, dicens: Nolite, o Viri, nolite malum hoc facere, nolite persequi innocentem: nolite pro uno homine committere prælium, quo solatium regionis intreat. Hæc illa loquente, respondit *Ursio*: Recede a nobis, o mulier; sufficiat Tibi sub viro tenuisse regnum: Nunc autem filius tuus regnat, regnumque ejus non tua, sed nostra tuitione salvatur: Tu vero

recede a nobis, ne te ungulæ equorum nostrorum cum terra confodiant. Hæc & alia cum diutissime inter se potuissent, obtinuit Reginæ industria, ne pugnarent.

(6) *IDEM, L. 5. c. 29.* Mane autem concurrentibus legatis pacem fecerunt, pollicentes alter alterutrum, ut quicquid sacerdotes, vel seniores populi judicarent, pars parti componeret, quæ terminum legis excesserat.

(7) *IDEM, L. 6. c. 31.*

for fear of them to *Cambray* (8). The Revolution, which happen'd in *Spain*, greatly influenc'd the Designs of the *Franconian* Kings.

§ XVI. But here I must first take Notice of the State of *Spain*, where the Kingdoms of the *Wist-Goths* and *Suevi* yet flourish'd. I observ'd in its proper Place †, that *Athanagild* rebell'd against King *Agila*, and entertained *Justinian's* Aid. This was an Opportunity of introducing the Imperial Arms into *Spain*, after *Africa*, *Italy* and *Sicily* had been subdued. After *Agila's* Death, the *Goths* elected *Athanagild*; but then he was at a Loss how to get rid of the *Imperialists*, who were in Possession of several Places. He died, *A.* 567, and *Livva* was chosen King at *Narbonne*. He admitted his Brother, *Leovigild*, *A.* 569, to a Share in the Government, and left to him the Provinces of *Spain*. He retain'd for himself all the Dominions of the *Goths* in *Gaul*. *Leovigild* married *Gundasuinth*, *Athanagild's* Widow, in Order the better to unite the several Factions in the Nation; and after his Brother's Decease he remain'd Sovereign of all the *Gothick* Kingdom. The *Suevi* (1) reign'd in those Countries, in which are the Arch-Bishopricks of *Braga* and *Lugo*, and the Bishopricks thereunto belonging (*). According to this Account they possess'd the greatest Part of the present Kingdom of *Portugal*, *Gallicia*, a Part of *Asturia* and *Leon*. They were at first *Catholicks*; but King *Remismund* profess'd *Arianism* (2). *Ariamirus* turn'd again to the *Catholick* Faith, of which the Council of *Braga*, held *A.* 560 (3), and that of *Lugo*, held *A.* 569 (4), shew excellent Memorials. This Conversion was in a great Measure effected by *Martin*, Abbot of *Dumo*, who became afterwards Archbishop of *Braga* (5), and

(8) IDEM, L. 6. c. 41.

§ XVI. (1) We must here look back to the History of the Kingdom of the *Suevi*, Vol. I. B. x. § 11, 12.

(*) To the Arch-Bishoprick of *Braga* appertain'd: *Cale*, *Porto*. *Lamecum*, *Lamego*. *Conimbrica*, *Coimbra*. *Viseum*, *Viseo*. *Egitania* is said to have lain where *Guimaranes* is now.

Under the Arch-Bishop of *Lugo*, whose Bishop belongs now to *Compostella* were:

Lucus Asturum, whose Ruins afterwards gave Rise to *Ovieto*. Vol. II.

Auria, *Orense*.

Asturia, *Astorga*.

Ira Flavia. From the Ruins of this City was built *Compostella*: Whither the Bishop's Seat was likewise remov'd, who afterwards obtain'd the Arch-Episcopal Dignity.

Tude, *Tuy*.

Bretonia. Is now a small Village, nam'd *Bretagna*. The Bishop's See is remov'd to *Mondonedo*.

(2) See the Annotation of the Kings of the *Suevi*.

(3) V. ACTA CONCIL. BRACARENENSIS ap AGU. T. 2. p. 292.

(4) V. ACTA CONCIL. LUCENSIS, IBID p. 299.

(5) This *Martin* is by some Learned Men mistaken for a Native of Greece. Of him see GREGORIUS TURON,

and is from thence call'd the Apostle of the *Suevi*. He was a Native of *Pannonia*, but had been a long while in the *East*, and came at last to *Gallicia*. He had likewise collected the most useful Positions of the ancient Councils (6), which were receiv'd at the Council of *Lugo*, as Rules to be follow'd in spiritual Matters. Two moral Treaties of his are, besides this, extant (7), one of which treats of the four Cardinal Virtues, and is address'd to the King himself.

Differences
betwixt *Leovigild*, and *Hermenegild* his
Sons, &c.

§ XVII. *LEOVIGILD* had two Sons by his first Marriage, *Hermenegild* and *Reccaredus*. He admitted the eldest to be his Co-Adjutor in the Government, with a View, of fixing the Succession the more securely in his Family (*), and married him to *Ingundis*, Daughter of *Sigebert*, King of *Austrasia*, who was at the same Time a Grand-Daughter of *Gundasuinth*, his second Wife. It was hoped, that by this Alliance, as well the Royal *Gothick*, as the *Franconian* Families would be the more closely united: But the very Reverse ensued. The first Animosity arose from a Difference of Religion. Queen *Gundasuinth* endeavour'd to persuade the *Franconian* Princess to turn to the *Arian* Community; but she persisted zealously in the Profession she had been brought up in (1); and, on the contrary, prevail'd on her Husband, by the Assistance of *Leander* (2), Bishop of *Sevil*, to be converted to the *Catholick* Religion. This alone would have render'd his Name glorious, had he not proceeded farther: But he rebell'd against his Father, which occasion'd a bloody War (3). From the few and obscure Accounts we have thereof, it appears,

TURON, L. 5. c. 38. and *VENANT. FORTUNATUS*, L. 4. c. 1, 2. His Life is related at large in *Actis SS. Antu. ad D. XX. Mart.* and in *Act. SS. Ord. Bened. T. I. p. 257.* *enlis relates this only of the Elder. And the Tears of Reccaredus's Reign can be better calculated, if we admit, that the Father declar'd him King in Hermenegild's Room, and not 'till then.*

(6) See this Collection. ap. *AGUIRRE*. T. II. p. 325. *GRATIAN*, made use of it in his *Decretum*. Thus ex. gr. Can. 15. proter *Ecclesiasticas Dist. XVIII.* was taken from thence.

(7) *BIBLIOTH. PATR. T. X.* Other Works, and particularly Letters of his, have been found in Spain. *Card. D' Aguirre* T. II. p. 299. gave us Hopes of seeing them in Print: But this has not yet been done.

§ XVII. * *GREGORY* says, that he took both Sons for Partners in the Government. *Joh. Bielari-*

(1) *GREGORIUS*, L. 5. c. 39.

(2) *V. Vita S. LEANDRI* in *ACT. SS. ANTVERP.* ad D. XIII. Martii.

(3) The ancient Writers are too severe in their Censures of *Hermenegild*. *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS*, L. 6. c. 43. *Nesciens miser judicium sibi imminere divinum, qui contra genitorem, quamlibet hæreticum, talia cogitaret.* *ISIDORUS*, says, *Er. DCVIII.* *Ermingildum deinde imperiis suis tyrannizantem, exsuperavit.* This is the Opinion of the most eminent Writers: *Mariana*, who displays all his Eloquence in Praise of *Hermenegild*, yet

pears, that *Hermenegild* depended chiefly on the Zeal of the *Catholicks*. *Mirus* †, King of the *Suevi*, whose Father, as I mention'd before, embrac'd the *Catholick* Faith, enter'd into Alliance with him. He likewise secured the *Imperial* Troops, which still possess'd several Cities on the Sea-Coast, in *Spain*; and even sent the Bishop of *Sevil* to *Constantinople*, to demand more Succours of the Emperor (4). *Leovigild*, about this Time, conven'd the Bishops of his Sect at *Toledo*, to try, if an Union of the *Catholicks* and *Arians* could be effected. The latter declar'd themselves somewhat nearer to the Sentiments of the *Orthodox*, probably with a View of diverting their Zeal for the young King's Service (5). *Leovigild* set out with an Army, A. 583, and block'd him up in *Sevil*. *Mirus*, King of the *Suevi*, was coming to the Son's Assistance; but *Leovigild* so reduc'd him, that he was forc'd to quit the Party, and, in a certain Measure, himself to acknowledge *Leovigild* for his Sovereign. *Hermenegild* ventur'd nevertheless, with the Aid of the *Imperialists*, to offer his Father Battle: But *Leovigild* had secretly corrupted their General with 30,000 Pieces of Gold, which prevail'd on them to abandon him before the Fight begun. *Hermenegild* took Refuge in a Church. His Father entic'd him out of this *Asylum*, by gentle Means; but, in a Manner, carried him in Triumph into *Toledo*, declar'd him unworthy of the Royal Dignity, and caus'd him to be imprison'd. He was murder'd, the next Year, at *Tarragona*. The Circumstances of this Murder were even then differently related (6): But the *Spanish* Church reveres him as a Martyr (7). *Ingundis*, his Wife, and *Athanasgild*, his Son, remain'd in the Hands of the *Imperialists*, who sent them to *Constantinople*, under Pretence, that there they would meet with Protection: And the Prince arriv'd actually there, but *Ingundis* died by the Way. Young *Athanasgild* receiv'd afterwards great Favours of Queen *Bruneild* and *Childebert* (8). The Court of *Austrasia*, as well as that of *Burgundy*, threaten'd to side with *Hermenegild*. *Leovigild*, on the other Hand, strove the more earnestly to secure the Friendship of *Chilperic*, who besides gladly embrac'd any Opportunity of doing Prejudice to his Brother and Nephew. A Match was even con-

get says at last: *Inerant Hermenegildo simplicitas, & libertas, quæ, nisi modus accedit, in exitium vertuntur.* F. Daniel p. 190 follows Gregory's Opinion.

Arians at that Time made, appears from Gregor. Turonens. L. 6. c. 18. and 40.

(6) See the Annotation of *Hermenegild*, in the Series of the *Wise-Gothick Kings*.

(4) This Ambassy is mention'd by GREGORIUS M. in *Præf. Expos. lib. Job.*

(7) See his Life in ACT. SS. ANTWERP. ad D. XIII. April.

(5) This Synod is taken Notice of by JOH. BICLAR. ad An. XII. *Leovigildi.* What Concessions the

(8) See below § XXIV.

D d 2

cluded

cluded betwixt *Reccaredus*, the other *Gothick* Prince, and *Chilperic's* Daughter. The Nuptials were celebrated at *Paris*, where the Princess was put into the Hands of the Ambassadors (9), and then set out on her Journey with a very considerable Dowry (10): This Marriage, however, was not consummated. *Chilperic* was murder'd immediately after, and the Princess forc'd to return. *Guntram*, on the other Hand, actually made War with the *Wisi-Goths* in *Septimania*, which border'd on his Dominions, under Pretence of revenging *Hermenegild's* Death (11); but the View of conquering that Country was perhaps his strongest Motive.

Chilperic is murder'd, &c.
† A. 584.

§ XVIII. WHEN *Chilperic*, one Evening †, return'd from the Chace to *Chelles*, and was about to dismount, he was kill'd by an Assassine (1). The real Circumstances of this Murder were never brought to Light: *Childebert* charg'd *Fredegund* with having herself contriv'd it (2), and *Prætextatus*, Bishop of *Rouan*, accus'd her of it to her Face. *Guntram* suspected *Theodorus*, Bishop of *Marseilles*, and *Fredegund* accus'd the Chamberlain *Eberulfus*. The Relation of *Fredegarius*, that *Childebert* hir'd the Assassine, is the less probable, since even *Fredegund* did not re-criminate him with that Charge, when he imputed the Murder to her. *Gregorius* calls *Chilperic* the *Nero* and *Herod* of his Time. This Prelate might indeed appear prejudic'd, because he had several Times personal Differences with *Chilperic*: But the whole Course of his Life justifies the Comparifon. Historians take Notice of his Propensity to Splendor (3),

(9) GREGOR. relates the Beginning of these Negotiations, L. 4. c. 44. How the Princess was betroth'd, L. 6. c. 34. and at last, how she was married to the Ambassadors: Convocatis melioribus Francis, reliquisque fidelibus, nuptias celebravit filix suæ, traditaque legatis Gothorum, magnos ei thesauros dedit.

(10) IDEM ibid. He says among other Things: Tanta fuit multitudo rerum, ut aurum argentumque, & reliqua ornamenta quinquaginta plaustra levarent. Franci vero multa munera obtulerunt: alii aurum, alii argentum, nonnulli equos, plerique vestimenta, & unusquisque, ut potuit, donativum dedit.

(11) IDEM, L. 6. c. 34. & L. 7. c. 21.

§ XVIII. (1) GREGOR. L. 6. c. 46.

(2) We may conclude from the Relation in the *Gesta Francorum* and in *Aimoinus*, what Turn

those who endeavour'd to create Suspicion of the Queen, gave of this Matter: We there read; That the Queen carried on an Intrigue with *Landericus*, who afterwards became Major domus, under *Clotarius*, that the King detected her one Morning, when he was going out upon the Chace, and that she agreed with her Lover to prevent the Punishment they had Reason to expect, by causing the King to be murder'd, so soon as he return'd from hunting.

(3) GREGORIUS, L. 7. c. 2. mentions a golden Vessel of fifty Pounds, which King *Chilperic* shew'd him as a Piece, that he had caus'd to be made in Honour of the *Franconian Nation*: Tunc ego No. gentum villam ad occursum Regis abieram: ibique nobis Rex missorium magnum, quod ex auro gemmisque fabricaverat in quinquaginta librarum pondere ostendit, dicens: ego hæc ad exornandam, atque nobilitandam Francorum gentem feci. Sed & plurima adhuc, si vita comes fuerit, faciam. and

and publick Spectacles (4), and at the same Time we find great Complaints of the Load of Taxes he impos'd on the People (5). He is generally accounted a learned Prince, and may herein be compar'd to *Trasamund*, King of the *Vandals*, and *Theodebat*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*. He even enter'd into *Theological* Enquiries, when so many Disputes were at this Time carried on about the Article of the Trinity. But in this he prov'd unsuccessful; for he thereby fell into the same Error, on Account of which the Church had long before condemn'd *Sabellius* *. He was fond of Poetry, and wrote whole Volumes in *Latin Verse*. *Venantius Fortunatus* extolls them greatly (6); but the Bishop of *Tours* is of a very different Opinion (7). He likewise invented four new Letters, and order'd them to be inserted in the Alphabet (8): But these Letters had the same Fate with those, which the Emperor *Claudius* attempted to introduce, and which were never heard of more.

(4) IDEM, L. 5. c. 38. Quod ille despicies apud Sueffionas atque Parisios circos ædificare præcepit, in eis populo spectaculum præbiturus. *The Franks were particularly fond of Caroussels, Turnaments, &c. of which we find another Instance in Gregor. L. 8. c. 36.*

(5) *An Instance of this we read in Gregor. L. 5. c. 29.* Chilpericus vero Rex descriptiones novas & graves in omni regno suo fieri iussit. Qua de causa multi relinquentes civitates illas, vel possessiones proprias, alia regna petierunt: satius ducentes alibi peregrinari, quam tali periculo subiacere. Statutum enim fuerat, ut possessor de propria terra unam amphoram vini per aripennem redderet. Sed & aliæ functiones infligebantur multæ, tam de reliquis terris, quam de mancipiis: quod impleri non poterat.

* GREGOR. L. 5. c. 45.

(6) VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS, who speaks in Praise of Chilperic and Fredegund, flatters him particularly in the following Lines, L. 9. Carm. 1.

Cui simul arma favent, & littera constat amore,
Hinc virtute potens, doctus & inde places.
Inter utrumque sagax, armis & jure probatus,
Bellifer hinc radias, legifer inde micat.

De virtute pater, reparatur avunculus ore,
Doctrinæ studio vincis & omne genus.
Regibus æqualis de carmine major, haberis
Dogmate vel qualis non fuit ante parens.
Te arma ferunt generi similem, sed littera
præfert.

Sic veterum Regum par simul atque prior
Admirande mihi nimium Rex, cujus opime
Prælia robur agit, carmina lima polit.

(7) GREGOR. L. 5. c. 45. Scripsit alios libros idem Rex versibus, quasi Sedulium imitatus, sed versiculi illi nulli penitus metricæ conveniunt rationi. *Add. vi. 46.*

(8) IDEM, L. 5. c. 45. Addidit autem & litteras litteris nostris, id est ω , sicuti Græci habent α , β , γ , δ , quorum characteres subscripsimus. Hi sunt ω Ψ Z Δ . Et misit epistolas in universas civitates regni sui, ut sic pueri docerentur, ac libri antiquitus scripti, planati pumice rescriberentur. *This, perhaps, alludes to the Franconian Alphabet. The Franks had their Letters, or Runen, as well as the other German Nations. Venantius Fortunatus probably means them, when he says. L. 7. Carm. 18.*

Barbara fraxineis pingatur RUNA tabellis:

(9) SÜETONIUS in Claudio, c. 41.

§ XIX. FRE-

Is succeeded
by Clotarius,
his Son, &c.

§ XIX. *FREDEGUND* stood now in Need of all her Arts and good Fortune: Her Hopes depended wholly on a Prince, who was born not long before the King's Death, and of whom many Doubts were yet rais'd, whether he was really the King's Son (1). She fled for Refuge to *Ragnemodus*, Bishop of *Paris*, into the Cathedral, and sent Ambassadors to *Guntram*, to entreat his Assistance for herself and her Son. The King of *Burgundy* was a Prince of great Equity and Benevolence, and, which prov'd most advantageous to *Fredegund*, was not in the best Intelligence with the Court of *Austrasia*. He repair'd to *Paris* himself (2), where the Queen practis'd all her Arts to win him. He undertook the Guardianship, and caus'd Homage to be receiv'd in his own, and young *Clotarius's* Name (3). *Childebert*, on this Occasion, hop'd to revenge *Fredegund's* Treatment of himself and his Mother, and hasten'd to *Paris*; but his Journey prov'd fruitless. *Guntram* endeavour'd now to appropriate to himself all the Countries left by *Charibert*, King of *Paris*, and seiz'd on those Parts, which *Chilperic* possess'd (4), not one Person in his whole Kingdom daring to oppose him. *Childebert*, likewise, laid Claim to some of these Dominions: He sent Ambassadors to the King of *Burgundy*, not only to assert that Right, but likewise to demand Justice on *Fredegund*, to whom he imputed the Murder of his Father, and even of *Chilperic* (5). The King referr'd them to a Con-

§ XIX. (1) *Guntram afterwards always doubted, whether this Prince was Chilperic's Son, till Fredegund gave him a solemn Assurance of it upon Oath, Gregor. L. 8. c. 9. Post hæc Rex Parisius venit, & coram omnibus loqui cœpit, dicens: Germanus meus, Chilpericus, moriens dicitur filium reliquisse, cujus nutritores, matre deprecante, petierunt, ut eum de sancto lavacro in Dominici Natalis solemnitate deberem excipere: & non venerunt. Rogaverunt deinceps, ut ad sanctum Pascha baptizaretur. Sed nec tunc allatus est infans. Deprecati sunt autem tertio, ut ad festivitatem sancti Johannis exhiberetur. Sed nec tunc venit. Moverunt itaque me per tempus sterile de loco, ubi habitabam: veni igitur, & ecce absconditur, nec ostenditur mihi puer, unde, quantum intelligo, nihil est, quod promittitur: sed, ut credo, alicujus de leudibus nostris fit filius. Nam si de stirpe nostra fuisset, ad me utique fuisset deportatus. Ideoque noveritis, quia a me non suscipitur, nisi certa de eo cognoscam indicia. Hæc audiens Fredegundis, Regina, conjunctis*

Prioribus regni sui, id est, tribus Episcopis, & trecentis viris optimis, sacramenta dederunt, hunc a Chilperico, Rege, generatum fuisse: & sic suspicio ab animo Regis ablata est.

(2) *IDEM, L. 8. c. 4, 5.*

(3) *GREGOR. L. 7. c. 7. Priores quoque de regno Chilperici, ut erat Ansovaldus, & reliqui, ad filium ejus, qui erat, ut superius diximus, quatuor mensium, se collegerunt, quem Chlotarium vocitaverunt, exigentes sacramenta per civitates, quæ ad Chilpericum prius adspexerant, ut scilicet fideles esse debeant Guntramno Regi, ac nepoti suo Chlotario.*

(4) *IDEM, L. 7. c. 6, 12.*

(5) *IDEM, L. 7. c. 7. Legati iterum Childeberti ad antedictum Regem veniunt, Fredegundem, Reginam, inquirentes, atque dicentes: Redde homicidam, quæ amitam meam fugillavit, quæ patrem interfecit, & patrum, quæ ipsos quoque consobrinos meos gladio interfecit.*

vention,

vention he had summon'd to *Paris* (6): But here their Negotiations were entirely fruitless. The King declar'd *Fredegund's* Innocence, and, besides, treated the Ambassadors in a very unfriendly Manner. He reprov'd the Bishop of *Rheims* for his Treachery, and *Guntram Boso* for having entic'd a Miller's Son into the Kingdom, with Intent to raise him to the Throne; in which he alluded to *Gundobald*, whose Attempt I shall relate below. The Ambassadors answer'd with equal Indiscretion: One of them told the King to his Face, that the same Steel, which had laid his two Brothers in their Graves, was prepar'd for him; on which such Animosities arose, on both Sides, that the King caus'd Dirt to be thrown at the Ambassadors, when they departed (7). He gave *Vandrevuil* to Queen *Fredegund* for her Residence, and appointed a particular Senat to administer the Government (8). He likewise enquir'd, at whose Instigations, King *Chilperic* had been murder'd? *Fredegund* accus'd *Eberulfus*, the Chamberlain, whose Enemy she was on other Accounts, and he was executed for the same at *Tours*, in the Court before the Monastery of *S. Martin* (9).

§ XX. ANOTHER Affair was, in the mean Time, on the Carpet, concerning a Person, nam'd *Gundobald*, who pretended to be Son to King *Clotarius I.* but was not acknowledg'd by him, as such. He had first repair'd to *Narses* in *Italy*, and at last to *Constantinople*, and was every where treated as a *Franconian* Prince. Some Nobles of *Childebert's*, but more of *Guntram's* Kingdom, who were disaffected to the Court, and glad to fish in troubled Water, fix'd their Views on him, that they might, in his Name, execute their own Schemes; and *Guntram Boso* is said to have concerted with him, at *Constantinople*, the first Plan of his Coming to *Gaul*. *Gundobald*, thereupon, embark'd, *A. 582*, with his two Sons, and landed at *Marseilles*, half of which City belong'd to *Burgundy*, and the other half to *Austrasia*. Here he was receiv'd with great Honours, by *Theodorus*, the Bishop: But at first Matters would not favour him, and he therefore removed to one of those Isles, which are not far distant

Gundobald lays Claim to a Part of the *Franconian* Kingdom, &c.

(6) He answers the Ambassadors: In placito, sunt eam omnes meliores natu regni Chilperici, quod habemus, cuncta decernimus quid oporteat fieri.

(7) GREGOR. *ibid.* c. 14.

(8) IDEM, c. 19. *Fredegundem* quoque, *Reginam*, ad villam *Rotojalensem*, quæ in *Rotomajensi termino sita est*, abire præcepit. Secutique

Episcopo, qui de *Rothomago* summotus fuerat, ad filium ejus se transfulerant: promittentes, quod ab eis studiosissime nutriretur.

(9) IDEM, L. 7. c. 29.

from *Marfeilles* (1). However, at *Chilperic's* Death, he again took Heart, and repair'd to *Avignon*, where *Mummolus* receiv'd him, and laid Claim to the Kingdom of *Paris*, that, being a Son of *Clotarius*, he might have his Share in the Countries left by that Prince (2). From thence he proceeded to *Limosin*, and was, according to the Custom of the *Franks*, plac'd on a Shield at *Brive*, and proclaim'd King, in *December*, *A. 584* (3). He not only made himself Master of several Places in *Angouleme* and *Perigord*, but *Toulouse* and *Bordeaux* likewise surrender'd; and it appear'd every Day, more and more, that the Chief of the Nobles were in a strict Confederacy with him: But what is most surprizing, Queen *Brunebild* was accus'd of a secret Correspondence with him, and of having even intended to marry him (4): Nor did *Frede Gund* less earnestly solicit his Friendship (5). Both Princeesses had, on other Occasions, sufficiently discover'd, what they were ready to sacrifice, to gratify their Ambition for Governing.

Guntram
makes Peace
with *Childebert*, &c.

§ XXI. *GUNTRAM*, therefore, wisely resolv'd to unite with *Childebert*. He invited him to *Chalons*, there renew'd the Desire he had express'd, eight Years before, at *Pont-Pierre*, and, in the Presence of the Nobles, deliver'd to him the Spear (1), which he made Use of instead of a Scepter. He exhorted the *Franks*, who were come with him, to be more faithful Subjects to him, than they had hitherto been, since he was now of an Age to govern himself (2). He detected to the young King the whole

§ XX. (1) GREGOR. L. 6.

(2) IDEM, L. 7. c. 26, 27.

(3) IDEM, L. 7. c. 10. Ibiq. parmae suppositus Rex est levatus. Sed cum tertio, cum eodem gyrarent, cecidisse fertur, ita, ut vix manibus circumstantium sustentari potuisset.

(4) GREGOR. L. 7. c. 33. Tunc ei reddidit Rex Guntramnus omnia, quæ pater ejus Sigebertus habuerat, obtestans, ne ad matrem accederet, ne forte aliquis daretur aditus qualiter ad Gundovaldum scriberet, aut ab eo scripta susciperet. We find farther Traces of this Correspondence, c. 34. And, L. 11. c. 28. King Guntram says to one of Brunechild's Servants; Non sufficit, o infelicissime hominum, quod impudico consilio Ballomerem illum, quem Gundovaldum vocitatis, ad conjugium arcessistis? &c.

(5) IDEM, L. 7. c. 39.

§ XXI. (1) GREGORIUS, L. 7. c. 33. Rex Guntramnus, data in manu Regis Childeberti hasta, ait: Hoc est indicium, quod tibi omne regnum meum tradidi. Ex hoc nunc vade, & omnes civitates meas, tanquam tuas proprias, sub tui juris dominationem subijce. Nihil enim, facientibus peccatis, de stirpe mea remansit, nisi tu tantum, qui mei fratris es filius. Tu enim hæres in omni regno meo succede, ceteris exheredibus factis.

(2) IBID. Deinde cum ad convivium convenissent, cohortabatur Guntramnus Rex omnem exercitum, dicens: Videte, o Viri, quia filius meus Childebertus jam vir magnus effectus est. Videte & cavete, ne eum pro parvulo habeatis. Relinquitte nunc perversitates atque præsumptiones, quas exercetis, quia Rex est, cui vos nunc deservire

whole Conspiracy, and, among other good Admonitions, advis'd him to beware of his own Mother (3). *Guntram's* Troops overtook *Gundobald* on the River *Dordonne*: But he was unwilling to hazard a Battle, and therefore march'd, with his Adherents, into *Lugdunum Convenarum* †, † *S. Bertrand.* in the Country of *Cominges*. There *Leudegisil* besieg'd him: But as it was a strong Place, and the Siege prov'd tedious, he made a private Offer to *Mummolus*, to procure for him the King's Pardon, if he would deliver up the Impostor; for so *Gundobald* was call'd. *Mummolus* and his Confidants consented. They insinuated to *Gundobald*, that *Guntram*, having no Children, seem'd inclin'd to acknowledge him for his Brother, and that therefore he would do well to surrender himself. They carried him out of the Fortrefs, partly by gentle Means, and partly by Force, and there deliver'd him to Persons, whom *Leudegisil* had sent to receive him. He perceiv'd the Treachery; but had not much Time to exclaim against it; for one of his Companions push'd him down from the Precipice they stood upon, and at the Foot of it he was put to Death. However, *Mummolus* was himself disappointed in the Fruits of his double Treachery. The King refus'd to perform the Promise his General had made, but caus'd him to be kill'd, and his Estate to be confiscated (4).

§ XXII. *GUNTRAM*, after this, was taken up in his Wars with *An Interview* the *Goths*, and *Childebert* with the *Longobards*: Intestine Broils were, *betwixt Gun-* likewise, still fomented in the Nation: For *Brunebild* administer'd the *tram and Chil-* Government in her Son's Name; but many Nobles oppos'd her, and *debert at And-* *Fredegund* industriously rais'd frequent Disorders, sometimes in one Place, and sometimes in another. *Guntram* and *Childebert* had another Interview, *A. 587*, at *Andlau*, which Place was situate on the Frontiers of both Kingdoms. *Childebert* was accompany'd by his whole Family; *Brunebild*, his Mother, *Clodosuinth*, his Sister, *Faileuba*, his Wife, and both Princes: And Persons of the most eminent Rank in *Austrasia* and *Burgundy* were present (1). The principal Design of this Conference was to settle whatever had either hitherto obstructed the good Understanding betwixt the two Courts, or might contribute to the future Establishment thereof. The whole Treaty, as it was then concluded, is still extant (2).

vire debetis. Valesius imagines, L. 12. p. 230. that Guntram hereby declar'd King Childebert, who was then turn'd of fourteen, to be of Age: But Gregory mentions yet, in the Sequel, a Kind of Guardianship, L. 8. c. 22. Hoc tempore & Vandelinus, nutritor Childeberti Regis obiit; sed in locum ejus nullus est subrogatus, eo quod

Regina mater curam velit propriam habere de filio.

(3) See § XXI. *not. 4.*

(4) *IBID. c. 38-43.*

§ XXII. (1) *GREGOR. L. 9. c. 10.*

(2) *IBID. c. 20.*

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Both Kings promised, besides the common Assurances of Friendship and Affection, to suffer each other's Subjects to trade freely in all their Dominions; upon all Occasions to see Justice done them; not to give Shelter to Rebels; and to surrender Deserters: The Differences, relating to the Claim of each to Part of *Charibert's* Share, were accommodated, and if either of the two Kings should dy without Male-Issue, it was agreed, that the other should succeed him. No Mention was, on this Occasion, made of young *Clotarius*, tho' he was as nearly allied to King *Guntram*, as *Childebert*; probably, because the Kings had a Power, with the Nation's Consent, to dispose of their Dominions, without so strict a Regard to Affinity. *Guntram*, however, either doubted, whether *Clotarius* was his Brother's legitimate Son, or else bore no great Affection to him; because both *Chilperic* his Father, and more particularly *Fredegund*, had, on many Occasions, given him Tokens of their Enmity. *Childebert*, at his Return, severely punish'd several of his Nobles, who had introduc'd Innovations in his Absence, and even conspir'd to take away his Life. *Ursio*, *Berthefredus* and *Rauchingus* were put to Death; others fled, among whom in particular was *Leudefred*, Duke of *Alemannia*. He thereby forfeited his Dukedom, which was given to *Unceleno* (3). *Egidius*, Bishop of *Rheims*, was indeed pardon'd at Court (4), and reconcil'd to *Lupus*: But he was soon after prosecuted, and depos'd in a Synod. Among other Things laid to his Charge, he was convicted of having counterfeited certain Deeds (5), in Order to get Possession of some Crown-Lands, under Pretence, that they were granted him by the King.

The West-Goths make themselves Masters of the Kingdom of the Suevi, &c.

§ XXIII. I SHALL now resume the History of the *Goths* and *Lombards*, which will give a farther Light to that of the *Franks*. *Leovigild* had subdu'd the Kingdom of the *Suevi*, A. 585. *Miro* (call'd likewise *Theodemirus*) died, and was succeeded by *Euricus*, his Son: But *Audeca*, who had married the King's Daughter, dethron'd, and confin'd him in a Monastery. *Leovigild* fell upon *Audeca*, and forc'd him likewise to embrace an Ecclesiastical Life, and the Nation to acknow-

(3) FREDEGAR: in *Chronic. n. 8.* Leudefredus, Alemannorum Dux, in offensam antedicti Regis incidit, etiam & latebram dedit. Ordinatus est loco ipsius Uncilenus Dux.

(4) GREGOR. L. 9. c. 14.

(5) IBID. L. 10. c. 19. When he was examin'd about some Crown-Lands, he answer'd, that they were given him by the King, and that he could

produce the Grant. Villas vero, quas memoras, per istius Regis chartas emerui. Tunc proferente easdem in publico, negat Rex, se largitum fuisse: requisitusque Otho, qui tum Referendarius fuerat, cujus ibi subscriptio meditata tenebatur, adfuit; negat, se subscripsisse. Conficta enim erat manus ejus in hujus præceptionis scripto.

ledge himself their Sovereign. A Commotion was, indeed, rais'd by a Person, nam'd *Maluricus*, but it was soon quell'd (1). Thus was all *Spain* brought under one Scepter, excepting some Cities that adher'd to the *Roman* Empire, in which were Garrisons, that were not expell'd 'till the Time of King *Sisebutus*. The Army, which *Guntram* had sent to *Septimania*, had indeed but little Success: However, *Leovigild* continu'd to solicit a Peace with the *Franks*, 'till he died, *A.* 586. As he rais'd the *Gothick* Power to a very great Height, so likewise he amended their Laws (2), and added some Splendor to the external Appearance of their Kings; being the first who wore the Purple, and, at publick Assemblies, sat in a Chair of State, rais'd above the Rest (3). The *Ostro-Goths* had before imitated the Emperors in these Points; but the *Wisi-Goths* had observ'd but little Distinction in their external Pomp. *Reccaredus*, his Son, profess'd the *Catholick* Faith, immediately upon his Accession to the Throne, and was follow'd by the *Goths*, as well as the Residue of *Arians* among the *Suevi* (4). *Ariamirus* had already re-introduc'd the *Catholick* Religion among the latter, and *Leovigild* had likewise given great Indulgences to the *Wisi-Goths*, insomuch, that now there wanted little more to unite the Minds of the People, as well in Point of Faith, as Obedience. At the Council of *Toledo*, the King produced the Articles of his Faith: to which he, and the Queen, the Bishops, and some Nobles subscrib'd: And here we find, at the same Time, what was then the real Difference between the *Catholicks* and *Arians*. In this Assembly, wholsom Measures were likewise taken, to regulate this, as it were, new Church; and, together with the Unity of Faith, to introduce an Uniformity in Rites and Ceremonies, which the Vulgar generally most regard (5). This Conversion was not only distinguish'd by having been brought to pass without Persecution; but was likewise the best Method of gaining the

§ XXIII. (1) Of this see the Annotation concerning the Kings of the *Svevi*.

(2) *ISIDORUS* in *Chron. Goth.* In legibus quoque ea, quæ ab Eurico incondita constituta videbantur, correxit, plurimas leges prætermittas adjiciens, plerasque superfluas auferens,

(3) *IBID.* Primusque inter suos regali veste opertus folio refedit. Nam ante eum & habitus & confectus communis, ut genti, ita & Regibus erat.

King is introduc'd, as saying: Adest enim omnis gens Gothorum inclita, & fere omnium gentium genuina virilitate opinata, quæ licet suorum pravitate Doctorum, a fidei hætenus, vel unitate fuerit Ecclesiæ Catholicæ segregata, toto nunc tamen mecum assensu concordans, ejus ecclesiæ communioni participatur: And further: Quin imo & Suevorum gentis infinita multitudo, quam præsidio cœlesti nostro Regno subjecimus, alieno licet in hæresin deductam vitio, nostro tamen ad veritatis originem studio revocavimus.

(4) In the ACT. CONC. TOLETAN. III. the ACT. CONCIL. TOLETAN. III. ap. AGUIRRE. T. II. p. 338.

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entire

† § XVII.

entire Affection of the Provinces. *Leander*, Bishop of *Sevil*, who contributed greatly thereto, had before, during his Stay at *Constantinople* †, establish'd a close Intimacy with *Gregorius* (6), who then resided there, as *Responsalis* from Pope *Pelagius*; but, about this Time, was himself made Pope. His Joy was the greater, as he could now send him an Account of these plentiful Fruits of his Labours: And nothing can be more worthy our Attention, than *Gregory's* Answer, with which, at the same Time, he sent him the *Pallium* (7). By another Letter of the Pope's, it appears, the King desir'd him to procure for him, from *Constantinople*, the Treaty *Justinian* had made with *Athanasius*. *Gregory* tells him, that all *Justinian's* Archives were consum'd by Fire, and that the King ought not in Prudence to search after a Treaty, which would, perhaps, not prove the most to his own Advantage (8). The *Franconian* War was, indeed, continu'd in *Septimania*, by *Guntram*, King of *Burgundy* (9), But *Claudius*, Duke of *Lusitania*, defeated the *Franconian* Army near *Carcassone*, A. 589 (10), and we find no Account of any Action after that. *Reccaredus* was, on the contrary, reconcil'd to *Childebert*, and apply'd to him for *Clodofwinth*, his other Sister, without any farther Regard to *Chilperic's* Daughter, who led an unhappy Life with Queen *Fredegund*. The King and *Brunebild*, his Mother, at first pretended, that nothing could be concluded without *Guntram's* Consent. This Prince, indeed, at last approv'd of the Match (11), but whether

(6) GREGOR. in præf. expositione in Jobum: Dudum Te, frater beatissime, in Constantinopolitana Urbe cognoscens, cum me illic Sedis Apostolicæ responsa constringerent, & Te illuc iuncta pro causis fidei Wisigothorum legatio perduxisset, omne in Tuis auribus, quod mihi de me displicebat, exposui, &c.

(7) GREGOR. M. L. 9. 121.

(8) IBID. L. 9. ep. 122. Ante longum tempus dulcissima mihi vestra Excellentia, Neapolitano quodam juvene veniente, mandare curaverat, ut piissimo Imperatori scriberem, quatenus pacta in Chartophylacio requireret, quæ dudum inter piæ memoriæ Justinianum principem, & jura regni vestri fuerant, emissâ, ut ex his colligeret, quid vobis servare debuisset. Sed ad hoc faciendum duæ res mihi vehementer obstiterunt. Una, quia Chartophylacium, prædicti piæ memoriæ Justiniani principis tempore, ita, surripiente subito flamma, incensum est, ut omnino ex

ejus temporibus pene nulla charta remaneret. Alia autem, quia; quod nulli dicendum est, ea, quæ contra te sunt, apud temetipsum debes documenta requirere, atque hæc pro me in medium proferre. Ex qua re hortor, ut vestra Excellentia suis moribus congrua disponat, &, quæquæ ad pacem pertinent, studiose peragat, ut regni vestri tempora, per longa sint annorum curricula in magna laude memoranda.

(9) That the War in Septimania was renew'd, A. 589, is demonstrated in particular by Pagius, ad A. 589, n. 9, 11.

(10) JO. BICLARIENSIS, in Chron. represents the Overthrow of the Franks, as very great. Gregor. confesses, L. 9. c. 31. that 5000 Men were kill'd, and 2000 taken Prisoners.

(11) GREGOR. L. 9. c. 20.

it was actually consummated, is uncertain. *Reccaredus* may, in a Manner, be esteem'd the second Founder of the *Wisi-Gothick* Monarchy. He assum'd the Name of *Flavius*, which the Kings of the *Ostro-Goths* in *Italy*, and likewise, about this Time, *Autharis*, King of the *Longobards*, bore, probably in Imitation of the *Roman* Emperors (12). We likewise find, that after him, the Kings of the *Wisi-Goths* were anointed and crown'd. His Merits in the Cause of Religion occasion'd, among other Encomiums, his being stil'd *Christianissimus* and *Catholicus*, which latter was afterwards appropriated to the Kings of *Spain*, as a Title of Honour. According to *Isidorus* (13), there could be no Character drawn more excellent, than this Prince deserv'd : And *Spain* has had Reason to extol, in this *Wisi-Gothick* Prince, those very Virtues, for which *Trajan* and *Theodosius*, both *Spaniards* by Birth, were so highly esteem'd by the whole *Roman* Empire.

§ XXIV. THE Arms of the Emperor and of the *Longobards* now re-founded throughout *Italy*. *Mauritius* prepared for a vigorous Attack on the latter, and Pope *Pelagius*, II, left no Stone unturn'd to encourage this his Zeal (1). The *Longobards* easily perceiv'd, that they would be enabled to make a better Resistance, under the Command of a King, and elected *Autharis* the Son of *Clephas*, who assum'd the Name of *Flavius*, which the Kings of the *Ostro-Goths* had likewise, in former Times, born. The Dukes resign'd one half of their Estates, that the King might be

History of the
Longobards.
Autharis be-
comes King.
&c.

(12) BLONDELLUS in Affert. Geneal. Franc. p. 425 seq. treats at large of the Use and Signification of the Name *Flavius*.

(13) ISIDORUS in Chron. Gotb. Provincias autem pater prælio conquiisvit, iste pace conservavit, æquitate disposuit, moderamine rexit. Fuit autem placidus, mitis, egregiæ bonitatis, tantamque in vulgus gratiam habuit, & tantam in animo benignitatem gessit, ut, in omnium mentibus influens, etiam malos ad affectum sui amoris attraheret : adeo liberalis, ut opes privatorum, ecclesiarum prædia direpta a patre, & fisco adsociata, juri proprio restitueret. Adeo quoque clemens fuit, ut populi tributa sæpe indulgentiæ largitione donaret. Multos etiam ditavit rebus, plurimos sublimavit honoribus, opes suas in miseris, thesauros suos in egenis recondens, sciens ad hoc illi fuisse collatum regnum, ut eo salubriter uteretur, bonis initiis bonum finem adeptus.

§ XXIV. (1) PELAGIUS writes to Gregory his Responsalis at Court : T. V. Council. Labb. p. 939. Loquimini ergo, & tractate pariter, quomodo nostris possitis celeriter subvenire periculis : quia ita hic coangustata est respublica, ut nisi Deus piissimi in corde principis inspiraverit, ut insitam sibi misericordiam suis famulis largiatur, & super illam Diacoposin, vel unum magistrum militum, & unum ducem dignetur concedere, in omni sumus angustia destituti : quia maxime partes Romanæ omni præsidio vacuatæ videntur, Exarchus scribit, nullum nobis posse remedium facere : quippe qui nec ad illas partes custodiendas se testatur posse sufficere. Imperet ergo illi Dominus nostris velociter periculis subvenire, antequam nefandissimæ gentis exercitus loca, quæ adhuc a republica detinentur, Deo sibi contrario, quod absit, prævaleant occupare. The Letter is dated IV. Non. Octobr. Indict. III.

provided

provided with a proper Revenue: And a more favourable Partition was made in Regard to the ancient Land-Proprietors (2). It is at all Hands allow'd, that *Autharis* laid, as it were, a fresh Foundation for the Establishment of the Kingdom of the *Longobards*. And here the Regulation of *Feodal Tenures*, which contains a Part of their Polity, is particularly remarkable: By Virtue of this, their Kings had a continual Army in Readiness, without Expences; and Persons of all Ranks, in the Nation, fought the more bravely, as they had a Kind of Property in the Lands of the Kingdom they were to defend. The Emperor enter'd into a Treaty with the King of *Austrasia*, against the *Longobards*. This King had still some Claim on *Italy*, in Respect to those Places, which King *Theodebert* had taken; and now he had particular Cause to solicit the Emperor's Friendship, since that Court had sided with *Hermenegild* in *Spain*, and Queen *Ingundis*, *Childebert's* Sister, remain'd with her Son in the Hands of the *Imperialists*. Several Letters, relating to those Treaties, are still extant (3). *Childebert*, in his Letter, styles the Emperor *Dominus gloriosus ac semper Augustus*, and *Pater*. The Beginning of the Emperor's Letter, on the other Hand, runs thus: *In Nomine Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, Imperator Caesar Flavius Mauritius Tiberius, Fidelis in Christo, Mansuetus, Maximus, Beneficus, Pacificus, Alemannicus, Gothicus, Anticus, Vandalicus, Erulicus, Gepidicus, Africanus, Pius, Felix, Inclitus, Victor ac Triumphator, semper Augustus, Childeberto, Viro glorioso, Regi Francorum*. The King is neither stil'd *Lord*, nor *Son*, and *Mauritius* concludes only with the Compliment, which the Emperors usually paid to the *Præfecti Prætorii, Magistri Militiæ* and *Patricii*: *Divinitas te servet per multos annos, parens carissime, atque amantissime*. *Childebert* went himself to *Italy*, A. 584, being then about fourteen Years of Age: But the *Longobards* made such advantageous Offers, that they prevail'd on him to go back (4). The Emperor exclaim'd greatly against this Conduct, and de-

(2) PAULUS, L. 3. c. 16. Hujus in diebus ob restaurationem regni, duces, qui tunc erant, omnem subitantiarum suarum medietatem regalibus usibus tribuunt, ut esse posset, unde Rex ipse, five qui ei adhærent, ejusque obsequiis per diversa officia dediti, alerentur. Populi tamen aggravati pro Longobardis hospitia partiuntur. *I shall elsewhere take Occasion to treat of the Origin of these Tenures.*

(3) AP. DU CHESNE. T. I. ep. 25. f.

(4) GREGOR. L. 6. c. 42. Childebertus vero Rex in Italiam abiit. Quod cum audissent Lon-

gobardi, timentes ne ab ejus exercitu cæderentur, subdiderunt se ditioni ejus, multa ei dantes munera ac promittentes, se parti ejus esse fideles atque subjectos: patratique cum his omnibus quæ voluit Rex, in Gallias est regressus, atque exercitum commoveri præcepit, quem in Hispaniam dirigi jussit, sed quievit. Ab Imperatore autem Mauritio ante hos annos quinquaginta millia solidorum acceperat, ut Longobardos de Italia extruderet. Audito autem Imperatore, quod cum his in pace conjunctus est pecuniam repetebat: sed hic, fidus a solatiis, ne responsum quidem pro hac re voluit reddere.

manded the 50,000 Guilders of Gold, which he had disburs'd on this Account, to be restored : Now as the Emperor's Friendship was expedient on Account of Queen *Ingundis*, and *Athanasild* her Son, *Childebert* sent a fresh Army into *Italy*, the next Year † : But it serv'd to no End, because the Commanders of it were divided (5). Hereupon an amicable Treaty was again set on Foot with *Autharis*, and an Offer was even made him of *Clodofuinth*, King *Childebert's* Sister, in Marriage : But the Face of Affairs was suddenly chang'd, when *Reccaredus*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, was soon after reconcil'd to the Court of *Austrasia*, and demanded the same Princess ; whereupon the Negotiation with the *Longobards* was laid aside, and a fresh Treaty was concluded with the Emperor (6). *Autharis*, on the other Hand fix'd his Views on this Friendship with the *Bavarians*, whose Frontiers join'd with his, and was betroth'd to *Theodelinda*, Duke *Garibald's* Daughter (7). The *Franks* declar'd War against the Duke, in Order to prevent this Match ; for they were apprehensive the *Bavarians* would build so much on this new Alliance, as to cast off the *Franconian* Yoke themselves. *Theodelinda* fled, with *Gundobald*, her Brother, to her intended Spouse, who was coming

† A. 585.

(5) GREGOR. L. 8. c. 18. Childebertus vero Rex compellentibus missis Imperialibus, qui aurum, quod anno superiore datum fuerat, requirebat, exercitum in Italiam dirigit. Sonus enim erat, sororem suam Ingundem jam Constantinopolin fuisse translata. Sed cum duces inter se altercarentur, regressi sunt, sine ullius lucri conquisitione. PAULUS DIACONUS repeats this Relation, L. 3. c. 22. How strongly the Court of Austrasia in particular endeavour'd to prevail on the Emperor, to deliver to them the Gothick Prince Athanasild, appears from the Letters cited in Du Chesne. Among the Rest we find one of Brunehild, ep. 34. to the Empress Anastasia, Mauritius's Mother-in Law, in which are the following Words. Et quia, Augusta tranquillissima, casu faciente parvuli nepotis mei didicit peregrinare infantia, & ipsa innocentia annis teneris coepit esse captiva, rogo per Redemptorem omnium gentium, sic vobis non videatis subtrahi piissimum Theodosium, nec ab amplexu matris dulcis filius separetur, sic vestra lumina semper exhilaret sua presentia, simul & matris visera Augusto delectentur de partu ; ut jubeatis agere favente Christo qualiter meum recipere merear parvulum, in amplexu ut refri-

gerentur viscera, quæ de nepotis absentia gravissimo dolore suspirant : ut, quæ amisi filiam, vel dulce pignus ex ipsa quod mihi remansit non perdam ; & quæ de morte generi crucior, per vos cito exhilarer nepote redeunte captivo.

(6) IDEM, L. 9. c. 25. Igitur Childebertus Rex cum petentibus Longobardis, sororem suam Regiorum esse conjugem acceptis muneribus promississet ; advenientibus Gothorum legatis ipsam, eo quod gentem illam ad fidem Catholicam conversam fuisse cognosceret, repromisit : ac legationem ad Imperatorem direxit, ut quod prius non fecerat, nunc contra Longobardorum gentem debellans, cum ejus consilio, eos ab Italia removeret. Nihilominus & exercitum suum ad regionem ipsam capeffendam direxit. Commotis ducibus cum exercitu illuc abeuntibus, confligunt pariter : sed nostris valde cæsis, multi prostrati, nonnulli capti, plurimi etiam per fugam lapsi, vix in patriam redierunt ; tantaque ibi fuit strages de Francorum exercitu, ut olim similis non recolatur. PAUL. DIACONUS relates the same, L. 3. c. 27, 28.

(7) PAUL, DIACONUS, L. 3. c. 29.

to fetch her, and met her below *Verona* (8). History affords us no farther Account of what happen'd then in *Bavaria*, nor of *Garibald's* ensuing Fate. We only find, that about *A. 595*, *Childebert* created *Tassilo*, Duke, or, as *Paulus Diaconus* calls him, King of *Bavaria*, and that he soon after signaliz'd his Valour against the *Sclavi*, who inhabited the adjoining Country of *Carniola* (9).

Childebert
sends Troops
into *Italy*, but
in vain.

§ XXV. *CHILDEBERT*, tho' he could not prevail on his Kinsman, the King of *Burgundy*, to send Auxiliaries against the *Longobards* (1); nevertheless sent another Army into *Italy*, *A. 588*. But it was defeated by the *Longobards* (2), and King *Autharis* amus'd *Childebert* for some Time with fruitless Negotiations (3). It was hop'd, that the Expedition of *A. 590*, would have been the more successful, as *Romanus* the *Exarchus* of *Ravenna*, at the same Time, fell upon the *Longobards* on the other Side. The *Franconian* Troops were headed by twenty general Officers, among whom *Andovald* and *Chedinus* were the Chief. They march'd through *Retia* in the following Manner: *Andovald* pass'd over Mount *St. Gotthard's* and *Belizone*, towards *Liguria*; and *Chedinus* took his Way thro' *Cibur* and *Chiavenna* to *Venetia*. The latter took several Places

(8) *IBID.* Denique post aliquod tempus, cum propter Francorum adventum, perturbatio Garibaldo Regi advenisset, Theudelinda ejus filia cum suo germano, nomine Gunduald, ad Italiam confugit, seque adventare Authari sponso nuntiavit. Cui statim ille obviam cum magno apparatu, nuptias celebraturus, in campo Sardis, qui supra Veronam est, occurrens, eandem cunctis lætantibus in conjugium Idus Maias accepit. (*A. 589.*)

(9) *IDEM*, *L. 4. c. 7.* His diebus Tassilo a Childeberto, Rege Francorum, apud Bajoariam Rex ordinatus est, qui mox cum exercitu in Sclavorum provinciam introiens, patrata victoria, ad solum proprium cum maxima præda remeavit.

§ XXV. (1) *GREGOR. L. 9. c. 20.* Childebert's Ambassador makes the following Entreaty to the King of Burgundy: Deprecatur etiam pietatem vestram, ut ei solatium contra Longobardos tribuatis, qualiter expulsi de Italia, pars illa quam genitor suus vindicavit vivens, ad eum revertatur; reliqua vero pars per vestrum suumque solatium, Imperatoris ditionibus restituatur. But the King

reply'd: Non possum in Italiam exercitum meum dirigere, ut ultro eos morti tradam. Gravissima enim lues Italiam nunc devastat.

(2) See § XXIV. not. 6.

(3) *GREGORIUS relates these Negotiations, L. 9. c. 22.* Interea Childebertus, Rex, exercitum commovet, & in Italiam ad debellandam Longobardorum gentem, cum eisdem pergere parat. Sed Longobardi his auditis legatos cum muneribus mittunt, dicentes: Sit amicitia inter nos, & non pereamus, ac dissolvamus certum ditioni Tuar tributum. Ac ubicunque necessarium contra inimicos fuerit, ferre auxilium non pigebit. Hæc Childebertus, Rex, audiens, ad Guntchramnum, Regem, legatos dirigit, qui ea, quæ ab his offerebatur, in ejus auribus intimarent. Sed ille non obviis de hac conniventia, consilium ad confirmandam pacem præbuit. Childebertus vero, Rex, jussit exercitum in loco residere, misitque legatos ad Longobardos, ut si, quæ promiserant, confirmarent, exercitus reverteret ad propria: sed minime est impletum.

in the Country about *Trent*, and the River *Adige*: But *Autharis* was retreated into *Pavia*, and had order'd his Subjects to repair with their Cattle and Provisions into the fortify'd Places, and to avoid all Occasions of coming to a Battle. The Consequence happen'd to answer his Wishes. The unusual Inclemency of the Weather, and slender Accommodations, caus'd the *Franks* to return by Swarms (4). *Romanus*, on the other Hand, had taken *Modena*, *Mantua* and *Altino*: But when he propos'd to *Cbedinus*, to besiege *Pavia* with their united Forces, this General had already made a Truce with the *Longobards*, for ten Months; by Virtue of which, some Places on the Confines of *Rætia*, which 'till then, had been in Dispute, were to remain in the Hands of the *Franks*. *Romanus* made heavy Remonstrances to the King, as well on Account of this Truce, as that the *Franks* had committed great Depredations, wherever they came, tho' as Friends, had consum'd their Edifices by Fire, and dragg'd the Inhabitants into Captivity (5). In another Letter, he relates, that the Dukes of *Reggio*, *Parma* and *Piacenza* were come to him to *Mantua*, and, fearing a Siege, had subjected themselves to the Emperor; and begs, at the same Time, that another Army may be sent into *Italy* before the Harvest (6).

§ XXVI. *AUTHARIS*, on the other Hand, endeavour'd to have *Agilulf*, King the Truce converted to a lasting Peace; and entreated the Mediation of *Guntram*, King of *Burgundy* (1). He died indeed the same Year (2); ^{of the Longobards. A} Peace with ^{but the Franks.}

(4) Of this Expedition see GREGOR. L. 10. c. 3. who concludes his Relation thus: Per tres menses Italiani pervagantes cum nihil proficerent, neque se de inimicis ulcisci possent, eo quod se in locis communissent firmissimis, neque Regem capere, de quo ultio fieret, qui se infra Ticinenses munierat muros, infirmatus ærum intemperantia exercitus ac fame attritus, redire ad propria distinavit, subdens etiam illud, acceptis sacramentis, Regis ditionibus, quod pater ejus prius habuerat, de quibus locis & captivos & alias abduxere prædas. Et sic regredientes ita fame conficiebantur, ut prius & arma & vestimenta ad cœmendum victum dederent, quam locum genitalem contingerent. We must here have Recourse to Paul. Diacon. L. 3. c. 30, and to the two Letters of the Exarchus cited in the Sequel.

(5) Ep. 39. apud DU CHESNE. Vol. II.

(6) IBID. ep. 40.

§ XXVI. (1) GREGOR. L. 10. c. 3. Longobardorum Rex legationem ad Guntchramnum Regem cum hujuscemodi verbis direxit: Nos, piissime Rex, subjecti atque fideles vobis, gentique vestræ, sicut patribus vestris, fuimus, & esse desideramus. Nunc autem desistite a persecutione nostra, & sit pax nobis, & concordia, ut, ubi necessarium fuerit, contra inimicos auxilium præbeamus, ut vestra scilicet nostraque gente salvata, ac nos pacificos cognoscentes, terreantur magis adversarii, qui in circuitu obstrepunt, de amicitia, quam de nostra discordia gratulentur! Pacificæ hæc Guntchramnus Rex verba suscepit, misitque eos ad nepotem suum, Childebertum Regem.

(2) *Autharis had before, by an Edict, prohibited the Longobards to baptize their Children as Catholics.*
F f

but the Negotiations were nevertheless continued. The *Longobards* so highly esteem'd Queen *Theodelinda*, that they declar'd they would acknowledge for their King, whomsoever she should chuse for her Consort. This Honour was conferr'd on *Agilulf*, Duke of *Turin*, a Relation of her first Husband (3), who was proclaim'd King, at an Assembly of the whole Nation, at *Milan*, in following Year 591, in the Month of *May* (4). He sent *Eovinus*, Duke of *Trent*, to the *Franconian* Court, to conclude the Peace; and, at the same Time, *Agnellus*, Bishop of that Place, to redeem those Prisoners whom the *Franks* had carried into Captivity. Queen *Bruneild* had already releas'd many of them out of her own Purse (5). The Articles of the Peace are not particularly handed down to us in History: But we may conclude from the Circumstances the *Franks* and *Longobards*, were then in, and from the Regard which was had to this Peace, that the Terms were very equitable. And we need not wonder, that this War was discontinu'd. *Childebert* acted almost in the same Manner with *Mauritius*, as *Theodebert* had before done with *Justinian*. Had the Emperor obtain'd a quiet Possession of *Italy*, the *Franks* would not have been secure: And since of five Expeditions, four had proved unsuccessful, the latter had but little Prospect of making any Conquests of themselves. The *Franks* were, after this, so deeply engag'd at Home, that none of their Kings, 'till *Pipin's* Time, interpos'd in the Affairs of *Italy*.

Continuation
of the War
between the
Exarchus and
the *Longo-
bards*.

§ XXVII. But had the *Longobards* paid never so dear for their Peace with the *Franks*, it would have answer'd their End; since now they had their Hands free to act against the Emperor. The *Exarchus* had taken from them *Perugia*, and some other Places (1): However, the King not only re-took *Perugia*; but carried his Forces to *Rome* itself. *Gregory I*, then Pope, whom the Church surnam'd the *Great*, was descended from a noble Family in *Rome*, and before he embraced an Ecclesiastical Life had

licks. Pope Gregory mentions this, L. 1. c. 17. ad universos Episcopos Italia: Quoniam nefandissimus Autharis in hac, quæ nuper expleta est, Paschale solemnitate, Longobardorum filios in fide catholica baptizari prohibuit: pro qua culpa eum divina majestas extinxit, ut solemnitatem Paschæ ulterius non videret, vestram fraternitatem decet cunctos per loca vestra Longobardos admonere: ut, quia ubique gravis mortalitas imminet, eosdem filios suos in Ariana hæresi baptizatos, ad catholicam fidem concilient, quatenus super eos iram Domini omnipotentis placent.

(3) PAULUS, L. 3. c. 34.

(4) IBID. Congregatis in unum Longobardis, postea mense Maio, ab omnibus in regnum apud Mediolanum levatus est.

(5) IDEM, L. 4. c. 1.

(6) FREDEGARIUS relates some Circumstances of this Peace, which I mention'd above, § VIII. not. 8. He is follow'd by F. Daniel, p. 237. But I have already shewn, in the same Passage, how uncertain this is.

§ XVIII. (1) About A. 592.

possess'd

possess'd great Offices in the State *. How little soever remain'd of the ancient Constitution of the *Roman Empire* in *Italy*, yet he made Use of this Name (2), for the Benefit of his Country; especially when the *Exarchus* happen'd to be dilatory (3). He was employ'd in expounding the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, in his Sermons, when the King approach'd the City (4). *Rome* was incapable of standing a long Siege (5). Many Soldiers had been taken from thence to garrison other Places, and particularly *Narni* and *Perugia*; and Provisions begun to be scarce (6). *Gregorius*, *Praefectus Urbis*, and *Castorius Magister Militum* neglected indeed no-

* *Conf. La vie de S. Gregoire, par le P. de SAINTE-MARTHE, p. 6. f.*

(2) *The Word Respublica is us'd by the Greek and Latin Writers of this Time to denote the Roman Empire.*

(3) *An Instance of this we see in his Letter to Constantine, Bishop of Milan, L. 4. ep. 2. Si autem videritis, quia cum Patritio nihil facit Ago, Longobardorum Rex, de nobis ei promittite, quia paratus sum in causa ipsius impendere, si ipse utiliter aliquid cum republica voluerit ordinare.*

(4) *Hom. in Ezech. 22. Nemo autem me reprehendat, si post hanc locutionem cessavero, quia sicut omnes cernitis, nostrae tribulationes excreverunt. Undique gladiis circumfusi sumus, undique imminens mortis periculum timemus. Alii detruncatis ad nos manibus redeunt, alii capti, alii interempti nunciantur. Jam cogor linguam ab expositione retinere: quia tædet animam vitae meae. He says, moreover, in præf. ad L. 11. sup. Ezech. Quia multis curis prementibus Ezechielis, Prophetæ, librum coram charitate vestra totum per ordinem perscrutari non licuit; bonis desideriis placuit parere, ut saltem extrema ejus visio, quæ ei facta est de ædificio in monte constituto, quæ & cunctis est visionibus ejus obscurior, exponi debuisset. Et quidem voluntati vestræ me parere necesse est. Sed duo sunt, quæ hac in re perturbant animum meum, unum, quod hæc eadem visio tantæ obscuritatis nebulis tegitur,*

ut vix in ea aliquid intellectu interlucente videatur. Aliud, quod jam Agilulfum, Longobardorum Regem, ad obsidionem nostram summopere festinantem, Padum transisse cognovimus; unde pensate, fratres charissimi, in caliginosis & mysticis sensibus penetrare quid valeat meas misera, timoris sui perturbationibus occupata. He complains, L. 5. ep. 4. of having himself seen the Roman Subjects dragg'd into Slavery by the Longobards, with Ropes about their Necks: Post hoc plaga gravior fuit adventus Agilulfi, ita, ut oculis meis cernerem Romanos, more canum, in collis funibus ligatos, qui ad Franciam ducebantur venales.

(5) *GREGOR. L. 5. ep. 40. Si enim possum, has celeriter plagas enumero. Primum, quod mihi pax subducta est, quam cum Longobardis in Tuscia positis, sine ullo Reipublicæ dispendio feceram. Deinde corrupta pace de Romana civitate milites ablatis sunt. Et quidem alii ab hostibus occisi, alii vero Narniis & Perusii positi, &, ut Perusium teneretur, Roma relicta est. He exclaims against the Exarchus's slender Preparations, L. 2. ep. 46.*

(6) *This appears from the same Letter: Et quia nos, qui intra civitatem fuimus, Deo protegente, manus ejus evasimus, quæsitum est, unde culpabiles esse videremur: videlicet cur frumenta defuerint, quæ in hac urbe diu multa servari non possunt, sicut in alia suggestione plenius judicavi.*

F f 2 thing

thing (7): And *Innocentius*, Lieutenant in *Africa*, equip'd a Fleet for the Service of the distressed City (8): But nothing prov'd so serviceable, as a Sum of Mony, whereby the King was prevail'd on to retire, and which the Pope found Means to raise. He complains, on this Account, in a Letter to the Empress, that he was, as it were, an Under-Paymaster of the Army (9). The Court, notwithstanding this, was dissatisfied with the Pope's Conduct (10): But he exclaim'd much more severely against the Oppressions, practis'd throughout all *Italy* by the *Imperial* Civil Officers; and, as an Instance, observ'd, that even the Pagans, in *Corfica*, were permitted, in Consideration of a certain Sum of Mony, to pursue their Idolatry (11). The Inhabitants of *Rome*, and indeed all *Italy*, must undoubtedly have been highly affected, when they saw the favourite Courtiers of *Constantinople*, and even sometimes Eunuchs, making their magnificent Entries into *Rome* (12), and, as it were, triumphing over the *Romans* themselves; when, in general, they were only solicitous how to fill their own Purses. We need not wonder to find, in Times so grievous and melancholy, that many retir'd into Monasteries, for the Sake of Ease and Safety; and this was carried so far, that the Emperor *Mauritius* prohibited (13) the Admission of any one into a Monastery, who was in

(7) *IBID.* Sed de gloriosis viris, Gregorio, Præfecto, & Castorio, Magistro militum, non mediocriter sum afflictus: quia & omnia, quæ potuerunt fieri, nullo modo facere neglexerunt & labores vigiliarum & custodiæ civitatis, in eadem obsessione vehementissime pertulerunt, & post hæc omnia, gravi dominorum indignatione percussi sunt.

(8) *This appears from a Letter of the Pope's, wherein he thanks him for this Care, and says, that there is no farther Occasion for it: Cognoscetes igitur, quale stadium in præparandis dromonibus gesseritis, sollicitudinem vestram desiderato nuntio relevamus, indicantes, cum Longobardorum Rege usque ad mensem Martium IV. Indictionis de pace, propitiante Domino, convenisse.*

(9) *L. 5. ep. 21.* Viginti autem jam & septem annos ducimus, quod in hac urbe inter Longobardorum gladios vivimus. Quibus quam multa hac ab ecclesia quotidianis diebus erogentur, ut inter eos vivere possimus, suggerenda non sunt. Sed breviter indico, quia sicut in *Ravennæ* partibus Dominorum Pietas apud exercitum *Italiæ*

faccellarium habet, qui, causis supervenientibus, quotidianas expensas faciat; ita & in hac urbe in causis talibus eorum faccellarius ego sum.

(10) *The Pope vindicates himself very warmly, L. 5. ep. 40. which begins thus: In serenissimis jussionibus suis Dominorum Pietas, dum me de quibusdam redarguere studuit, parcendo mihi minime pepercit. Nam in iis urbane simplicitatis vocabulo fatuum me appellat.*

(11) *Vid. L. 5. ep. 41.*

(12) *Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, p. 22, observes, that the Exarchus usually made a splendid Entry into Rome.*

(13) *The Pope, indeed, sent this Order to the Monasteries, but made pressing Remonstrances to the Emperor against it, L. 3. ep. 65. which he concludes thus: Ego, qui jussioni subjectus, eandem legem per diversas terrarum partes transmitti feci: & quia lex ipsa omnipotenti Deo minime concordat, ecce per suggestionis meæ paginam serenissimis Dominis nuntiavi. Utrobique ergo, quæ debui, exsolvi, qui & Imperatori obedientiam præbui, & pro Deo, quod sensi, minime tacui.*

the

the Service of the Publick, or had ever receiv'd any Salary as such *. *Gregory* makes, in particular, heavy Complaints of *Romanus*, then *Exarchus*, and, among other Charges, blames him for refusing to make Peace with the *Longobards*, tho' his Force was unequal to theirs (14). Besides this, *John*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, gave a fresh Handle to set the Emperor and Pope at Variance, by assuming the Title of *Episcopus Oecumenicus*. *Gregorius* inveigh'd greatly against this Innovation, and stiled himself, on the contrary, *Servus Servorum Dei*: But the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* had many Opportunities of insinuating themselves into Favour at Court, and of infusing into the Emperors their Hatred or Dislike of the Popes. The greater, on the other Hand, was the Renown of *Agilulf*. The good Understanding he lived in with the *Abares*, prov'd of great Advantage to him, not only as they cut off the Passage of the Imperial Troops by Land, to *Italy*, and made Work for them in *Illyricum*; but likewise with Regard to the *Franks*, to whom the *Can* sent a Message, that he would resent any Hostilities they should attempt against the *Longobards* (15). At Length, by the Pope's Mediation, a Truce was agreed on, *A. 599* (16). The Letters (17) are extant, which he wrote on this Subject to the King and Queen. As *Theodelinda* had contributed greatly thereunto, the Pope exhorts her to cherish in her Husband a peaceable Disposition towards the *Romans*, and to represent to him the Benefit he might expect from a more close Alliance with them (18). *Callinicus*, the *Exarchus*, without any Provocation, again broke

* *IBID.* In qua lege subjunctum est, ut nulli, QUI IN MANU SIGNATUS EST, converti liceat. *Vegetius* observes, that the Soldiers were mark'd in the Arm, or Hand. He says, L. 2. c. 5. Victuris in cute punctis milites scripti, & inserti jurare solent. We find, likewise, Traces thereof, L. 3. Cod. de Fabricens. Stigmata (hoc est nota publica) Fabricensium brachiis, ad imitationem Tyrorum infligantur, ut hoc saltem modo possint latitantes agnosci.

(14) *GREGORIUS* complains on this Head, L. 2. ep. 46. And L. 5. ep. 42. he writes to a Bishop, who was very intimate with the *Exarchus*: Quæ, frater sanctissime, de amici vestri, Domini Romani, persona in hac terra patimur, loqui minime valemus. Breviter tamen dico, quia ejus in nos malitia gladios Longobardorum vicit; ita,

ut benigniores videantur hostes, qui nos interimunt, quam Reipublicæ judices, qui nos malitia sua, rapinis atque fallaciis, in cogitatione consumunt.

(15) *PÄULUS*, L. 4. c. 25. Hac tempestate *Agilulf* legati egressi a *Cacano* pacem perpetuam factam cum *Abaribus* nuntiarunt. Legatus quoque *Cacani* cum eis adveniens, ad *Gallias* perrexit, denuntians *Francorum* Regibus, ut sicut cum *Avaribus*, ita pacem habeant cum *Longobardis*.

(16) *PAULUS*, L. 4. c. 13. add. *GREGORIUS*, L. 9. ep. 98.

(17) L. 9. ep. 42. and 43.

(18) *IBID.* ep. 43. Salutantes vos præterea paterna dilectione hortamur, ut apud excellentissimum

broke with the King, by invading *Parma* (19), and carrying *Godschalc*, the Duke, with his Consort, who was the King's Daughter, Captives to *Ravenna* (20). *Agilulf*, on the other Hand, destroy'd *Padua*, and many of the Inhabitants fled to *Venice* for Safety (21). He likewise took *Monfice* (22), *Cremona* and *Mantua*, with the Assistance of some *Sclavi*, sent him by the Can of the *Abares* (23). A fresh Cessation of Arms was thereupon concluded. *Agilulf* admitted *Adebwald*, his Son, A. 605, to a Partnership in the Government (24), and reign'd, with great Glory, 'till the Year 616.

Of Queen Theodelinda.

† *Modoecia*.

§ XXVIII. *Theodelinda*, his Consort, was no less famous, than he (1). She left an excellent Monument to the Kingdom of the *Longobards*, in the Palace, which she built at *Mozza* †, near *Milan*. She there caus'd those Exploits, whereby the *Longobards* had gain'd most Renown, to be represented in Paintings, which were yet in Being, in the Time of *Paulus* (2), and thereby gradually instill'd in that unpolish'd Nation a Love of those Arts, which perpetuate the Memory of glorious Deeds, and, at the same Time, excite in the Spectator a Desire of imitating them. There likewise she built in Honour of *S. John*, the Baptist, whom the *Longobards* rever'd as their Tutelar-Saint, that famous Church, wherein several *German* Emperors were crown'd afterwards, as Kings of *Italy*. Diverse Things are still preserv'd there, in Memory of her, and, among

mum conjugem vestrum ita agatis, quatenus Christianæ Reipublicæ societatem non rejiciat. Nam sicut & vos scire credimus, multis modis est utile, si se ad ejus amicitiam conferre voluerit. Vos ergo more vestro, quæ ad gratiam & conciliationem partim pertinent, semper studete, atque, ubi causa mercedis se dederit, laborate, ut bona vestra amplius ante omnipotentis Dei oculos commendetis.

(19) *PAULUS*, L. 4. c. 21.

(20) *IDEM*, L. 4. c. 24.

(21) *DANDOL*. in *Chronic*.

(22) *PAULUS*, L. 4. c. 26.

(23) *IDEM*, L. 4. c. 29. *Agilulfus*, Rex, egressus *Mediolano*, mense *Julio*, obsedit civitatem *Cremonensem* cum *Sclavis*, quos ei *Cacanus*, Rex *Avarorum*, in solatium miserat, & cepit eam XII. Kal. *Septembris* & ad solum usque destruxit. Pari etiam modo expugnavit *Mantuum*,

& interruptis muris ejus cum arietibus, dans veniam militibus, qui erant in ea, revertendi *Ravennam*, ingressus in eam die *Iduum Septembrium*. (A. 603.)

(24) *IDEM*, L. 4. c. 31. Levatus est *Adoaldus*, Rex super *Longobardos* apud *Mediolanum* in circo, in præsentia patris sui, *Agilulfi*, Regis, adstantibus legatis *Theudeberti*, Regis *Francorum*.

§ XXVIII (1) *F. ALEXIUS DE LEDESMA* wrote a particular Treatise concerning this Queen, but it has very much the Appearance of a Romance: After him *Zucchio* wrote her History.

(2) *PAULUS*, L. 3. c. 23. Ibi etiam præfata Regina suum palatium condidit, in quo aliquid & de *Longobardorum* gestis depingi fecit, &c.

others,

others, a Crown of Gold, which is said to have been given by King *Agilulf* (3); but in particular the Crown, call'd the Iron Crown, which was formerly us'd at the Coronation of the *German* Emperors in *Italy*. It is made of pure Gold, without any Alloy: A Ring of Iron surrounds the Inside, which is said to have been forg'd from a Nail of our Saviour's Cross, and thence it is call'd the Iron Crown: But we cannot well give Credit to the Historians of *Milan*, when they pretend, that *Theodelinda* appropriated it for the Coronation of their Kings*. This Queen is generally extoll'd for having wrought the Conversion of her Husband (5); and, in this Respect, might be compar'd to *Clotildis*, Queen of the *Franks*, and *Ingundis*, Wife of *Hermenegild*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*. This, however, is not yet fully prov'd, and it is much more probable, that *Agilulf* remain'd in the Community of the *Arians* (6), tho' he did

(3) FONTANINI de Corona Ferrea Longobard. c. 9. *We there read these Words: AGILULF. GRAT. DI. VIR GLOR. REX TOTIUS ITAL. SCO. JOHANNI BAPTISTE IN ECCLESIA MODICA. I doubt whether this Inscription is so ancient, as it is pretended to be.*

(4) This is affirmed not only by *Zucchio*, but even by *Sigonius de Regn. Ital.* p. 27. *Loco inde accessit dignitas, postquam corona, de qua dixi, ferrea ibi custodiri, atque ea ibi coronari Reges sunt coepti. Sic enim Mediolanenses produnt annales, Mediolanensem Archiepiscopum eo jure a Gregorio Pont. decoratum, ut vacante Italix Regno, ipse post XIV dies suffraganeorum suorum concilium advocaret, atque ex eorum sententia regem constitueret, eumque corona ferrea, a Theodelinda instituta, Modetiae redimeret. Quod jus a Rege ullo Longobardorum usurpatum, Paulus nusquam ostendit. Imo morem eis fuisse ait, ut hastam Regi declarato porrigerent. Verum ne auctoritatem prorsus Mediolanensibus abrogem, illud facit, quod coronam hanc ferream post Carolum Magnum omnibus Italix Regibus video deinceps fuisse solemnem. Et, quod hoc muneris Gregorium Theodelindæ petenti tribuisse, non sit absolum, vel ut gratiam reginæ referret, cui plurimum se debere ipse in Epistolis confitetur: vel ut Archiepiscopo accessionem dignitatis adjungeret, quam superioribus annis Longobardorum*

immanitate afflictam prostratamque fuisse, sentiret.

* Conf. MURATOR. de Cor. Ferr. p. 12. seq. *But admitting, that Queen Theodelinda gave this Crown, yet it is improbable, that she appropriated it to Coronations; that Ceremony not appearing to have been then in Use among the Longobards. This Crown is become more famous by the learned Writings of Fontanini and Muratorius.*

(5) *We need not wonder to find so many modern Writers of this Opinion, since Paulus was so before them, L. 4. c. 6.*

(6) *From S. Columbanus's Letter to Pope Boniface IV, it appears plainly, that Agilulf continued an Arian. Columbanus wrote this Letter in Vindication of the Tria Capitula, and even at the Instances of the said King. To this, in particular, relate the following Passages: Quippe quia non sine miraculo reor esse, quod video: Reges namque Arianam hanc labem in hac diu regione, calcando fidem Catholicam, firmarunt; nunc nostram rogant roborari fidem. And elsewhere he says: Dolor namque suus (sc. Agilulfi) est schisma populi, pro Regina, pro filio, FORTE ET PRO SE IP SO. Fertur enim dixisse, SI CERTUM SCIRET, ET IPSE CREDERET.*

not

not persecute the *Catholicks*. But *Adelwald*, her Son, was baptiz'd a *Catholick*, at which Pope *Gregory* express'd an uncommon Joy (7). This Pope cultivated her Friendship, with great Affiduity, not only by Letters, but likewise by sending her, now and then, his Writings (8), or small Presents to her Children (9). She sided with those who refus'd their Consent to the Repeal of the *Tria Capitula*: The Pope, therefore, proceeded with great Caution in the Point of acknowledging the fifth *Synod* (10).

The Bishops
in *Venetia* and
Istria persist
in vindicating
the *Tria Capitu-*
tula.

§ XXIX. WITH REGARD to this last Circumstance, *Gregory* attempted, about the Year 590, to hold a *Synod* at *Rome*, to obtain a Decree there, wholly to reject the *Tria Capitula*, and to acknowledge the fifth Council. He summon'd thither *Severus*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, together with the Bishops in *Venetia* and *Istria*, and referr'd, for that End, to an Edict of the Emperor's (1): But the Bishops in *Venetia*, who, as I observ'd before, still defended the *Capitula*, assembled at *Marano*, and sent their Excuses to the Emperor (2), that they could not conveniently be absent from their Churches, because the *Franks* would then find it an easy Matter to make themselves Masters of several of them, as

(7) GREGORIUS M. L. 14. ep. 12. ad Theodelindam: scripta quæ ad nos dudum a Genuensibus partibus transmissis, gaudii vestri nos fecere participes: propterea quod omnipotentis Dei gratia, & filium vobis donatum, & quod valde Excellentie vestræ est laudabile, catholicæ eum fidei novimus sociatum.

(8) PAULUS observes, L. 4. c. 5. that the Pope sent his Dialogues to Queen Theodelinda.

(9) GREGORIUS M. says to the Queen, in the before-cited Letter, L. 14. ep. 14. Excellentissimo autem filio nostro Adalouvaldo Regi transmittere phylacteria curavimus, id est, crucem cum ligno sancto crucis Domini & lectionem St. Evangelii, theca Persicâ inclusam, filia quoque meæ, sorori ejus, tres annulos transmissi, duos cum hyacinthis, & unum cum albula: quæ eis per vos peto dari, ut apud eos nostra caritas, ex vestra Excellentia condiaur.

tinu'd to make, may be seen in Gregor. L. 4. ep. 3, & 39. Constantius, Bishop of Milan, had been unwilling to deliver, to the Queen, a Letter from the Pope, because Mention was therein made of the fifth Synod, which Justinian caus'd to be held at Constantinople; The Pope answer'd thereto, in the before-cited ep. 39. Quod autem scripsistis, quia epistolam meam Regina, Theodelindæ, transmittere minime voluistis, pro eo quod in ea quinta synodus nominabatur; si eam exinde scandalizari posse credidistis, recte factum est, ut minime transmitteretur. Unde nunc ita facimus, sicut vobis placuit, ut quatuor Synodos solummodo laudaremus. The Letter, which Gregory alter'd by Constantius's Advice, is ep. 38. L. 4.

§ XXIX. (1) L. 1. epist. 16. Juxta Christianissimi & Serenissimi rerum Domini iussu-nem, &c.

(2) See this Letter in Baronius, in App. ad T. IX.

(10) What Contentions this Controversy still con-

had

had already been done at some Places (3). *Severus* himself held a particular Convention with the Bishops in *Istria* *, where they agreed, to appeal to the Emperor (4), and actually made Remonstrances to him. *Mauritius* therefore wrote to the Pope, and desir'd him, in Regard to the State of *Italy*, not to be too pressing on the Bishops of *Venetia* and *Istria* (5): After which he proceeded with more Lenity in this Matter: But when *Severus* died, *A.* 605, the Bishops were divided among themselves. The Partizans of the Emperor and the *Roman Church*, chose *Candidian* at *Grado*; the others elected, at *Aquileia*, *John*, to be their Patriarch, with the Assistance of the King of the *Longobards*, and of the Duke of *Friuli* (6). Thus two Patriarchs were chosen, who both remain'd such, even after the Dispute, which had occasion'd this Division, had long been buried in Oblivion. Those of *Aquileia* were, in succeeding Times, frequently call'd Patriarchs of *Friaul*, after *Calixtus* had fix'd his Residence in *Friuli* (7). They now reside at *Udino*, not far distant from that City. The Cathedral may, indeed, still be seen at *Aquileia*; but we can hardly find the Ground whereon the City stood (8). The Patriarchat of *Grado* was, *A.* 1451, remov'd by Pope *Nicholas V.* to *Venice* (9).

(3) *This Passage was added above, to not. 6, of L. 13. § 26.*

* *The Cities of Venetia were named above, L. 12. § 21. Istria was formerly included in Gallia Transpadana, as the last Province towards the Frontiers of Illyricum. The following Cities appertain'd thereto:*

<i>Tergeste,</i>	<i>Trieste,</i>
<i>Justinopolis,</i>	<i>Capo d' Istria,</i>
<i>Parentium,</i>	<i>Parentino,</i>
<i>Pola,</i>	<i>Pola.</i>

(4) *NORIS. de Synod. V. c. 9. § 5.*

(5) *Quia igitur & Tua sanctitas cognoscit præsentem status rerum Italicarum confusionem, & quod oportet temporibus competenter versari, jubemus Tuam sanctitatem, nullatenus molestiam, iisdem Episcopis inferre; sed concedere eos otiosos esse, quousque per providentiam Dei, & partes Italiæ pacè aliter constituantur, & Episcopi Istriæ seu Venetiarum, iterum ad pristinum ordinem redigantur. An Order of this Kind was likewise sent to the Exarch, Romanus.*

(6) *PAULUS, L. 4. c. 34. His diebus defuncto Severo, Patriarcha, ordinatur Johannes, Abbas, in Aquileia vetere, cum consensu Regis, & Gislelphi, Ducis. In Grados quoque ordinatus est a Romanis Candidianus, Antistes. And farther he says: Candidiano quoque defuncto apud Grados, ordinatus Patriarcha, Epiphanius, qui fuerat primicerius notariorum, ab Episcopis, qui erant sub Romanis, & ex eo tempore cœperunt duo esse Patriarchæ.*

(7) *PAULUS, L. 6. c. 51.*

(8) *Vid. MADRIS. del antico stato d' Aquileia, p. 9, seq.*

(9) *Laurentius Justinianus 1432. factus est Episcopus Castellanus, & ann. 1451. post Dominici, Patriarchæ Gradenfis, obitum, a Nicolao V. Papa, constitutus est primus Venetiarum Patriarcha, nec deinceps auditum Patriarchæ Gradenfis, aut Episcopi Castellani nomen, Gradenfis Episcopatus dignitate Venetiis translata, & Episcopo Castellano ad patriarchalem titulum eveſto. COINTE, ad An. 810. 38.*

Guntram,
King of Bur-
gundy, dies.
Childebert ex-
tirpates the
Guarni.

§ XXX. GUNTRAM, King of *Burgundy*, died, *A.* 593. Tho' this Prince was involv'd in frequent Wars, yet he seems to have been more fond of the Arts cultivated in Time of Peace. His Concern for Religion; his Desire of preserving a good Understanding in the Royal Family; and his Humanity to his Subjects, whom he studied to favour (1), render'd him one of the most fortunate, and most glorious Kings in the *Merovingian* Line. The Nation, on this Account, unmindful of some Excesses (2), to which he was led by the Depravity of those Times, rever'd him, as a Saint, after his Death (3): Princes gain more Honour by so spontaneous a Declaration of a whole Nation, than they could by being deify'd in ancient *Rome*, which was sometimes forc'd to erect Temples and Altars in Honour of her Emperors, even amidst the Monuments of their Cruelty. *Childebert* now obtain'd likewise *Burgundy*, pursuant to the Treaties subsisting. I shall not here detain the Reader with the Wars, he immediately after carried on against his Kinsman *Clotarius* and the *Britons*, but only relate the Destruction of the Kingdom of the *Guarni* (4). This Nation was govern'd by her own Kings, of whom Mention is here and there made in the *German* History; and the last Notice we have of them, is of *Hermegiscus*, whose Wife was the Daughter of *Theoderick*, King of *Austrasia*, and whose Son, *Radiger*, became famous by the Adventure *Procopius* relates of him (5). According to the same Relation, the *Guarni* must have dwelt then between the *Elb* and the *Rhine*, and their Dominions have reach'd as far as the Sea. They rebell'd, about this Time, against *Childebert*, and suffer'd, on this Occasion, so signal an Overthrow †, that their Name is not, after this, mention'd in the History of the *Franks* (6). The Residue of them seems

† *A.* 595.

§ XXX. (1) I shall here only quote a Passage from Gregory, L. 8. c. 1. as an Instance of the King's Humanity to his Subjects: Digressus vero a Niverno ad Aurelianensem urbem venit, magnum se tunc civibus suis præbens. Nam per domos eorum invitatus adibat, & prandia data libabat: multum ab his muneratus, muneraque ipsis profusa benignitate largitus est.

(2) We meet with some Instances, in Gregory, of Guntram's too great Readiness to shed human Blood: Particularly, L. 5. c. 36, where he is said, at the Instances of Queen *Austrechildis*, to have caus'd two Physicians to be put to Death, be-

cause they had not been successful in restoring her to her Health.

(3) See his Life in the *Act. SS. Antwerp.* ad D. XXVIII. Martii.

(4) Of the *Varni*, see the II Annotation.

(5) *PROCOPIUS. de B. Goth. L. 4. c. 20.*

(6) *FREDEGARIUS, c. 15. Eo anno exercitus Childeberti cum Varnis, qui rebellare conaverunt, fortiter dimicavit, & ita Varni trucidati ac victi sunt, ut parum ex istis remansisset. From the Words, rebellare conaverunt, we might conclude, that the Varni were before, in some Measure, subject to the Franks.*

to

to have been conceal'd among the neighbouring *Saxons* and *Frisians*, with whom they, besides, probably possess'd many Things in common.

§ XXXI. THE Union of *Austrasia* and *Burgundy* increas'd the Hopes, which the *Franks* had already form'd of *Childebert's* excellent Qualities (1), when he was snatch'd away by Death, A. 596, in the 26th Year of his Age. *Theodebert*, his eldest Son, tho' not begotten in Wedlock, succeeded in *Austrasia*, and chose *Metz* for his Residence; *Theoderick* obtain'd, besides the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, some Countries, which had before appertain'd to *Austrasia*, viz. *Alsace*, *Sundgow* and *Turgow*, together with a Part of *Champagne*; and *Orleans* remain'd the Capital of this Kingdom (2). *Bruneild* secured to herself the Guardianship of both her Grand-sons (3): She remain'd herself at *Theodebert's* Court, and entrusted the Government of *Burgundy* to some Persons of Fidelity, on whom she could rely. Among these, we find in particular *Syagrius*, Bishop of *Autun*. She entreated Pope *Gregory* to send him the *Pallium*, which he refus'd to do without the Emperor's Knowledge (4). Now, as the Royal Dignity was devolv'd, throughout the whole Kingdom of the *Franks*, to three Princes, all then Minors, and the Power was lodg'd in the Hands of *Bruneild* and *Frede Gund*, we may easily conceive what mischievous Events must ensue. The latter took Advantage of the Consternation, which *Childebert's* Death had caus'd in the Kingdom, and surpris'd *Paris*, with some adjacent Places, before his Sons expected any Hostilities. They, at last, appeared at the Head of their Troops, and an Engagement ensued, near the *Seyne*, where *Clotarius* carried the Day (5). Thus *Frede Gund*, who accompanied him to the Field, had

§ XXXI. (1) How great a Prince *Childebert* then was, appears from Pope *Gregory's* Words, when he saith to this King, L. 6. ep. 6. Quanto ceteros homines regia dignitas antecedit, tanto ceterarum gentium regna regni vestri profecto culmen excellit. Esse autem Regem, quia sunt & alii, non mirum est: sed esse catholicum, quod alii non merentur, hoc satis est.

(2) FREDEGARIUS, c. 16.

(3) Tho' this Affair about the Guardianship seems pretty obscure, yet it is very probable, that the same fell now into *Bruneild's* Hands. Conf. DANIEL. T. 1. p. 252, fin. and 245.

(4) GREGOR. L. 9. ep. 11. ad *Bruneilden*, *Reginam*: Susceptis itaque epistolis vestris valde nobis Excellentiae vestrae studium placuisse signamus, atque fratri & coepiscopo nostro, *Syagrio*, pallium dirigere secundum postulationem vestram volumus. Propter quod & Serenissimi Domini Imperatoris, quantum nobis Diaconus noster, qui ad eum responsa ecclesiae faciebat, innotuit, prona voluntas est, & concedi hoc omnino desiderat, &c. The 108th Letter, in this Book, is directed to *Syagrius* himself, when he sent him the *Pallium*.

(5) FREDEGARIUS, c. 17. Eo anno *Frede-gundis* cum filio, *Clotario*, Rege, *Parisios*, vel *G g 2* reliquas

had the Satisfaction, before her Death (6), to see her Son's first Triumph over the Grand-sons of her Enemy.

The State of
Britain, &c.

§ XXXII. I MUST not here omit the Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons*, because they plentifully rewarded the *Franks* for the Pains they took in bringing the same to pass, by using the like Endeavours afterwards among the *German Nations* in *Germania*. After their Establishment in *Britain*, they had but little Share in the Transactions of the other *Germans*; for their Wars with the Inhabitants of that Island, and their intestine Divisions, gave them sufficient Employment: *Britain* was, about this Time, inhabited by four different Nations. The ancient *Britons*, after having suffer'd many Overthrows from the *Saxons*, were retreated into the Countries, now call'd *Wales* and *Cornwall*, where, for some Time, they yet maintain'd their Liberty. The *Saxons* possess'd the other Southern Part, as far as the *Esk* and *Tweed*, and the Mountains between those Rivers. The North-Part was inhabited, *Westwards*, by the *Scots*, who were come from *Ireland*, but were originally of *Spanish* Extraction: *Eastwards* by the *Picts*, who were come from the *North-East*, and remotest Parts of *Scythia*, and were distinguished by this Appellation, because they painted various Figures on their Bodies. The *Saxon Nations* had establish'd seven Kingdoms. The *Jutes* founded the Kingdom of *Kent*, in which was included the *Isle of Wight*: The *Angles* possess'd *Mercia*, *East-Anglia* and *Northumberland*: The *Saxons*, *Essex*, (*East-Saxony*) *Wessex* (*West-Saxony*) and *Sussex* (*South-Saxony*). After all these Kingdoms were united into one, by *Egbert*, they were comprehended under the Denomination of *England*. Tho' each was govern'd by a separate King, yet they had one and the same Constitution, common to them all. The whole Nation met in a general Assembly, and always chose one of these Kings as Chief over the Rest. This King presided at the Convention, and headed their Army, when they were all concerned in the same War: And hence we may likewise trace their original Descent; for the *Saxons*, who remain'd in *Germany*, had almost the same Constitution. As to the State of Religion, *Christianity* had been introduc'd into *Bri-*

reliquas civitates ritu barbaro occupavit, & contra filios Childeberti, Regis, Theudebertum & Theudericum, movit exercitum, loco nominato Latefao. Castra uterque ex adverso ponentes, Clotarius super Theudebertum, & Theudericum irruens, eorum exercitum graviter trucidavit.

597, takes Notice of some Circumstances, which were inserted in her History, but were, in all Probability, fictitious.

§ XXXII. (1) Of these Picts, and whether they were of German Extraction, see XXXII Annotation.

(6) She died, A. 598. F. le Cointe, ad A.

tain,

tain, and flourish'd there, while it was yet under the Dominion of the Roman Empire, and the Light of the Gospel had extended itself to the Scots in Ireland: The Britons retain'd their Bishops, even amidst the Calamities they suffer'd, by the Irruptions of the Saxons (2): But they differ'd in some particular Rites from the Church of Rome, especially in the Celebration of Easter (3). This Controversy was of a long Date. The Eastern Christians, at first, celebrated this Feast at the same Time with the Jewish Passover, which was kept at a stated Time: For it falls on the first Full-Moon after the *Æquinox* in the Spring, and consequently on the fourteenth Day of the Month (4), which, as well as the Year, is, by the Jews, regulated according to the Course of the Moon. The Western Church, on the other Hand, appointed the Feast to be kept on the next ensuing Sunday. This Distinction created, at first, no Division among the True-Believers (5): But when it arose to a Controversy, the Nicene Council decreed, that Easter should, in Honour of our Saviour's Resurrection, be every where kept, according to the Custom of the Western Church, on the Sunday after the Full-Moon (6): But a fresh Scruple arose; how to proceed, in Case the Full-Moon happen'd on a Sunday. The Church of Rome deferr'd it to the following Sunday: And, for better Information, a particular Calculation was made. This was call'd the *Cyclus Paschalis*, and, in most Provinces, the Metropolitan Bishop gave annually Notice to the other Bishops, when Lent was to be at an End, and Easter to be celebrated. Other Churches, on the contrary, and particularly the Britons and Scots, kept Easter, in this Case, on the same Sunday, when the Full-Moon appear'd; hence they were likewise distinguish'd by the Name of *Quartadecimani* (7).

§ XXXIII. THE

(2) SPELMANN in *Præf. ad Concil. Angl.* Usserius, in *Antiqu. Eccl. Britannicæ*. Stillingfleet in *Origin*. &c.

(3) The very Word Easter is deriv'd from the Anglo Saxon Tongue. Beda, de *temporum ratione*, c. 13. Aprilis EOSTUR MONATH, qui nunc Paschalis mensis interpretatur, quondam a Dea illorum, quæ EOSTRE vocabatur, & cui in illo festa celebrant, nomen habuit.

(4) Quarta decima Luna. Hence those were call'd Quartadecimani, who celebrated Easter on the same Day with the Jewish Passover.

(5) SOCRATES, L. 5. c. 22. Certe Apostolus

& Evangelistæ, nusquam servitutis jugum illis imposuerunt, qui ad prædicationem fidei accessissent: Sed Paschæ diem aliosque festos dies, arbitrio æquitatque eorum, qui beneficia illis diebus acceperant, colendos reliquerunt. Proinde quoniam homines festos dies amant, propterea quod laborum remissionem ipsis afferunt, singuli locatim, prout cuique libitum fuit, salutaris passionis memoriam ex quadam consuetudine celebrant. Nam nec Servator, neque Apostoli id observandum esse nobis lege aliqua præscripserunt.

(6) EUSEB. de *Vit. Constant.* L. 3. c. 17. sq.

(7) What Pains were taken to introduce an uniform Celebration of Easter among the Anglo-Saxons, and Scots, appears from Beda, L. 3. c. 25. and L. 5.

Conversion of
the Anglo-
Saxons. Of
their Lan-
guage, &c.

† Durover-
num.

§ XXXIII. THE Hatred, which the *Britons* bore to the *Saxons*, was the Reason, why they had no Regard for their Conversion *. Another Opportunity was determin'd for them by Providence. *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, who, in the Manner I have already mention'd, now presided over the *Saxon* Kings, had married *Bertha*, the Daughter of *Charibert*, King of *Paris*. The free Exercise of her Religion was one of the Marriage-Articles, and *Leuthard*, a *Franconian* Bishop, was permitted to attend her. She perform'd her Devotion in an ancient Church near the Residence, *Canterbury* †, which yet remain'd from the Times of the *Britons*. Her Devotion was the more edifying, because from her most tender Years she had been instructed in the Sciences, then in Vogue, of which her Father himself was a great Admirer. The Nation begun, by Degrees, to believe, that the Doctrine of the only True GOD was far preferable to their Pagan Superstition (1) : But as the *Franconian* Bishops were not sufficiently zealous to enliven these growing Hopes, Pope *Gregory* the Great resolv'd himself to send Labourers into this Vineyard. After *Arianism* had been suppress'd throughout all *Gaul* and *Spain*, it was a Subject worthy of his Care, to consider on Means, whereby a powerful Kingdom might be converted, and the Authority of the See of *Rome* establish'd over the Remains of the ancient *British* Church. He chose, for this Purpose, *Austin*, a Monk of the Monastery of *S. Andrew*, at *Rome*, of which he had himself been formerly a Member, and gave him Letters to some Bishops in *Gaul*, to Queen *Bruneild*, and to her two Grand-Sons, the Kings of *Burgundy* and *Austrasia* (2). *Austin*, and his Companions, were favourably receiv'd at both Courts; they met with great Encouragement, and as their Ignorance of the Language and Manners of the Nation, which they were to convert, was no small Impediment, took with them some *Franconian* Priests, who understood both the *Latin* and *English* Tongues (3). They landed, about forty in Number, in the Isle of *Thanet*,

L. 5. c. 16. We find particulars, L. 5. c. 24. that the *Britons* retained their ancient Custom longest, and even to A. 731, when *Beda* concluded his Book.

§ XXXIII. * *BEDA*, L. 1. c. 22. Et hoc addebant, ut nunquam genti *Saxonum*, sive *Anglorum*, secum *BRITANNIAM* incolenti, verbum fidei prædicando committerent.

(1) The Pope says himself, that the Anglo-Saxons were greatly inclin'd to Christianity, L. 6.

ep. 58. ad Reges *Theodericum* & *Theodebertum*: Pervenit ad nos, *Anglorum* gentem ad fidem Christianam, Deo miserante, desideranter velle converti, sed sacerdotes e vicino negligere, & desideria eorum cessare sua adhortatione succendere. Such is, likewise, the Import of ep. 59, directed to Queen *Bruneild*.

(2) *GREGORIUS M.* L. 6. ep. 58 & 59.

(3) *BEDA*, L. 1. c. 25. Acceperunt autem præcipiente beato Papa, *Gregorio*, de gente *Francorum* interpretes.

near

near the Coasts of *Kent*. *Austin* had no sooner sent Notice of his Arrival, than the King himself repair'd thither, gave Ear to their Proposal (4), and permitted them to preach. When their Labours succeeded, *Austin* returned to *Gaul*, in Order to be consecrated a Bishop (5). After his Return to *England*, several Thousands were baptiz'd at *Chriftmas*, *A. 597*, whereupon the Pope sent him the *Pallium*, and constituted him his Vicar. The Queen was, on every Occasion, so assiduous, that the Pope compares her to *S. Helen*, *Constantine's* Mother (6), and exhorts her to be particularly solicitous about the Conversion of her Consort (7), which

(4) *BEDA* relates this first Discourse with the following Circumstances: Post dies ergo aliquot venit ad insulam Rex, & residens sub Dio, iussit Augustinum cum sociis ad suum ibidem advenire colloquium. Caverat autem, ne in aliquam domum ad se introirent, veteri usus augurio, ne superventu suo, si quid maleficæ artis habuissent, eum superando deciperent. At illi non dæmoniaci, sed divina virtute præditi veniebant, crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, & imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam, letaniasque canentes, pro sua simul & eorum, propter quos, & ad quos venerant, salute æterna Domino supplicabant.

acta est, plus quam decem millia Angli ab eodem nuntiati sunt fratre & coepiscopo nostro baptizati. The Name *Germania* is frequently us'd, in these Times, to denote the Dominions of the Franks in general, or *Austrasia* in particular. Many Letters are extant from Popes, directed ad Episcopos Germaniarum & Galliarum. *Childebert* says, in a Letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople (ap. Du Chesne, T. 1. p. 874.) Gloriosi Apostolatus vestri præcellens opinio quæ sit, loca singula percurrere implevit, ut etiam ad nos Germaniam peragraret. *Beda* says, that he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Arles.

(5) Pope Gregory calls *Austin*, ordinatum a Germaniarum Episcopis. L. 8. ep. 30. ad Eulogium, Episcopum Alexandrinum: Quoniam vero in bonis, quæ agitis, scio, quod & aliis congaudetis, vestræ vobis gratiæ vicem reddo, & non dissimilia nuncio: quia dum gens Anglorum in mundi angulo posita, in cultu lignorum ac lapidum perfidia nunciusque remaneret, ex vestræ mihi orationis adjutorio placuit, ut ad eam monasterii mei monachum in prædicationem transmittere, Deo auctore, debuissim. Qui data a me licentia, a GERMANIARUM EPISCOPIS, Episcopus factus, cum eorum quoque solatiis, ad prædictam gentem in finem mundi perductus est, & jam de ejus salute & opere ad nos scripta pervenerunt: quia tantis miraculis vel ipse, vel hi, qui cum eo transmissi sunt, in gente eadem coruscant, ut Apostolorum virtutes in signis, quæ exhibent, imitari videantur. In solemnitate autem Dominiæ nativitatis, quæ hac prima Indictione trans-

(6) Queen *Bertha's* Zeal is commended by Gregory, L. 11. ep. 29. Omnipotentem Deum benediximus, qui conversionem gentis Anglorum mercedi vestræ dignatus est propitius reservare. Nam sicut per recordandæ memoriæ Helenam, matrem piissimi Constantini, Imperatoris, ad Christianam fidem corda Romanorum accendit, ita & per gloriæ vestræ studium in Anglorum gente ejus misericordiam confidimus operari.

(7) He exhorts her to convert her Spouse, Ibid. Et quidem jamdudum gloriosi filii nostri, conjugis vestri, animos prudentiæ vestræ bono, sicut revera Christiani, debuistis inflectere, ut pro regni & animæ suæ salute fidem, quam colitis, sequeretur: quatenus & de eo, & per eum, de totius gentis conversione, digna vobis in cœlestibus gaudiis retributio nasceretur. Nam postquam, sicut diximus, & recta fide gloria vestra munita, & LITERIS DOCTA est, hoc vobis nec tardum, nec debuit esse difficile. Et quoniam, Deo volente,

which soon after ensu'd (8). But it would be foreign to my Purpose, to relate here the Circumstances, how the *Christian* Religion gain'd daily more Ground throughout the seven Kingdoms, and that the *Scots* and *Britons* at last conform'd to the Church of *Rome* (9). The *Anglo-Saxons*, with their Faith, obtain'd likewise a new Method of writing, and, by Degrees, forgot their former Letters, which, 'till then, had been common to them, as well as other *German* Nations (10). They now begun to bring their Laws into Form, in Writing, some of which, by King *Ethelbert* himself, are still extant. These, and as many other Writings, as are transmitted to us in the *Anglo-Saxon* Tongue, contain a Treasure of the ancient *Northern* Dialects, whereas, on the contrary, other *German* Nations retain very few Traces of their Language.

History of the
two Kings,
Theodebert and
Theoderick, &c.
† A. 599.

§ XXXIV. *BRUNEHILD* had as many Adversaries in *Austrasia*, as formerly, and the King was, at Length, prevail'd on to dismiss her from Court. She repair'd † to her other Grand-Son in *Burgundy*, where she was receiv'd with greater Honours (1). A good Understanding subsisted, nevertheless, for some Time, betwixt the two Brothers. In the Year 600, they march'd against *Clotarius*, and took from him the greatest Part of his Dominions, insomuch, that he retain'd no more, than a Tract of Land betwixt the *Seyne*, the *Ifere*, and the Sea (2). Both
Kings

lente, aptum nunc tempus est, agite, ut, divina gratia cooperante, cum augmento possitis, quod neglectum est, reparare. Itaque mentem gloriosi conjugis vestri in dilectione Christianæ fidei, adhortatione assidua, roborate, vestra illi sollicitudo augmentum in Deum amoris infundat, atque ita animos ejus, etiam pro subjectæ sibi gentis plenissima conversione succendat, ut & magnum omnipotenti Domino devotionis vestræ studio sacrificium offerat, & ea, quæ de vobis narrata sunt, & crescant, & vera esse modis omnibus approbentur: quia bona vestra non solum jam apud Romanos, qui pro vita vestra fortius oraverunt, sed etiam per diversa loca, & usque ad Constantinopolin, ad serenissimum principem pervenerunt.

(8) BEDA, Lib. I. c. 32. Add. Gregorius, L. II. ep. 66. ad *Ethelbertum* Regem. Pagius's Calculation, that he was baptiz'd, A. 597, proves false. Usserius, in Ind. Chronol. ad Antiq. Eccles. Britan. places it in the Year 599. But the

Pope's Letter, which I cited before, Not. 6 and 7, is dated Indictione IV. (601.); and *Ethelbert* was not yet baptiz'd at that Time. He is styled a Saint. See his Life in the Act. SS. Antv. ad D. 24 Februar.

(9) RAPIN THOYRAS makes some good Observations on *Austin's* Person and Conversions, T. I. p. 270.

(10) Of this see the 33d Annotation.

§ XXXIV. (1) FREDEGAR. cap. 19.

(2) IDEM, c. 20. Theudericus & Theudebertus, Reges, contra Chlotarium Regem movent exercitum, & super fluvium, Aroannam, nec procul a Doremello, vico, prælio configentes junxerunt. Ibique exercitus Chlotarii gravissime trucidatus est. Ipsoque cum his, qui remanserunt, in fugam verso, pagos & civitates ripæ Sigonæ, quæ se ad Chlotarium tradiderant, depopulantur

Kings likewise tried their Fortune, *A. 602*, against the *Gascons* (3). This was a *Spanish* Nation, dwelling near the *Pyrenean* Mountains, about where the Countries of *Ipuscoa* and *Navarre* are now situate. They had maintain'd a Kind of Liberty, and sometimes infested the *Goths* in *Spain*; and, at other Times, made Incursions into *Aquitain*, which border'd on their Country. Both Kings were warlike and valiant, the usual Characteristick of the *Franks*. *Theodebert* is, at the same Time, describ'd as simple and cruel, and indeed he murder'd *Bilichild*, his own Wife. *Theoderick* was a good-natur'd Prince: But Queen *Bruneild* is accus'd, in History, of having misled him by her Advice. She directed all Affairs in *Burgundy*, according to her own private Views. As those, who were her Favourites, rais'd themselves to great Fortunes; so her Displeasure prov'd fatal to those, who had the Misfortune to fall under it. In Order to enjoy this Power the longer, she perswaded the King not to marry (4), fearing, lest a Queen should lessen her Authority. This Fear was founded on Experience: For Queen *Bilichild*, of *Austrasia*, was her greatest Adversary there, and aim'd most at her Ruin; tho' she had, in her Infancy, bought her as a Slave, and given her an Education (5). On the other Hand, the King was encourag'd in various Amours; and when, at last, he married, in the Year 607, *Ermenberga*, Daughter of *Viderick*, King of the *Wisi-Goths* in *Spain*, *Bruneild* and *Theudelana*, his Sister, gave him such an Aversion to his Consort, that he sent her back the next Year (6). Her Father, enrag'd at this Treatment, enter'd into a

populantur & vastantur. Civitates ruptæ nimis, pluritas captivorum ab exercitu Theuderici & Theodeberti exinde deducitur. Chlotarius oppressus, vellet, nollet, per pactionis vinculum firmavit, ut inter Sigonam & Ligerem, usque mare Oceanum, vel Britannorum limitem, pars Theuderici haberet: & per Sigonam & Isarem Ducatum integrum Denteleni, usque Oceanum mare, Theodebertus reciperet. Duodecim tantum pagi inter Iseram & Sigonam, & mare lititoris Oceani, Chlotario remanserunt.

(3) IDEM, c. 21. Theodebertus & Theudericus exercitum contra Vascones dirigunt, ipsoque Deo auxiliante, dejectos suæ dominationi redigunt & tributarios faciunt. Ducem super ipsos, nomine Genialem, instituunt, qui eos feliciter dominavit.

(4) IDEM, c. 36. Add. Jonas in Vit. S. Co-
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lumbani. This Author is greatly enrag'd at Queen *Bruneild*, because his Saint was forc'd, by her Order, to quit the Monastery at Luxevil.

(5) FREDEGAR. c. 35.

(6) IDEM, cap. 30. seq. Theudericus Aridum, Episcopum Lugdunensem, Rocconem, & Æborinum, Comestabulum, ad Betericum, Regem Spaniæ direxit, qui exinde Ermenbergam, filiam ejus, Theudericum matrimonio associandam, adducerent. Ibique datis Sacramentis, ut a Theudericum nunquam a regno degraderetur, ipsam accipiunt, & Theudericum Cabillono præsentant, quam ille gaudens diligenter suscepit. Eadem factione aviæ suæ Brunechildæ virilem coitum non cognovit. Instigantibus verbis Brunechildæ aviæ, & Theudilanæ germanæ efficitur odiosa. Post anni circulum Theudericus Ermenbergam exspoliata a thesauris in Spaniam transmissit.

H h

League

League with *Clotarius*, King of *Soissons*, *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasia*, and *Agilulf*, King of the *Longobards*, to fall upon *Theoderick* with their united Forces (7): But all their Preparations ended in nothing. *Fredegarius*, indeed, and the other Historians, who wrote under the Successors of *Clotarius*, express so great a Prejudice against this Queen, that their Relations become very suspected (8). I shall not, however, determine that Matter here, but only continue to relate, how *Childebert's* House hasten'd their own Perdition.

A War ensues betwixt them, &c.

§ XXXV. *THEODEBERT* undertook, A. 610, to take from *Theoderick*, King of *Burgundy*, *Alsace*, *Sundgow*, and the other Countries, which formerly appertain'd to *Austrasia*, but, at the last Partition of the Kingdom, fell to the Share of *Burgundy*. He invaded *Alsace* without any Declaration of War: But the most eminent Persons of the Nation, on both Sides, interpos'd, and it was agreed, that the two Kings should have an Interview at *Seltz*, on the *Rhine*, and amicably adjust their Claims (1). *Theoderick* appear'd with 10,000 Men; but *Theodebert* surrounded him with a much larger Army, and thereby obliged him to resign the before-mention'd Countries. The *Alemanni*, who were subject to the Crown of *Austrasia*, at the same Time, invaded the adjacent Dominions of *Burgundy*. *Abbelinus*, *Herpinus*, and other Counts, made indeed some Resistance, but were defeated by the *Alemanni*, who, in particular, laid waste the Territories about *Wüfflisburg*, and carried off a considerable Booty (2).

(7) *IBID.* c. 31. *Bettericus* hæc indignans legationem ad *Chlotarium* direxit. *Legatus* *Chlotarii* cum *Betterici* ad *Theudebertum* perrexit. Iterum *Theudeberti* legati cum *Chlotarii* & *Betterici* Legatariis ad *Agonem*, Regem *Italiae* accesserunt, & unanimiter hi quatuor Reges cum exercitu undique super *Theudericum* inruerant, ut regnum ejus auferrent, & eum morte damnerent, eo quod tantam de ipso reverentiam ducebant. *Legatus* vero *Gothorum* evescu navali de *Italia* per mare in *Spaniam* revertitur. Sed hoc consilium divino nutu non fortitur effectum. Quod cum *Theuderico* compertum fuisset, fortissime ab eodem despicitur.

and of his Concubines. We cannot, indeed, join with him, in disbelieving the Account of *Ermenberga*: He has, however, at least, prov'd thus much, that *Fredegarius* and *Jonas* give very improbable Accounts of this Queen, and that *Aimoinus*, and the Writer of the *Gesta Francorum*, add yet more Fictions thereto.

§ XXXV. (1) *FREDEGARIUS*, c. 36. Anno XV. Regni *Theoderici*, cum *Alesaciones*, ubi fuerat enutritus, præcepto Patris sui, *Childeberti*, tenebat, a *Theudeberto* ritu barbaro pervaditur. Unde placitum inter hos Reges, ut *FRANCORUM* *JUDICIO* finiretur, *Soloissa*, castro instituunt.

(8) *F. LE COINTE* rejects *Fredegarius's* Relation of *Theoderick's* Marriage with *Ermenberga*,

(2) *IDEM*, c. 37.

§ XXXVI.

§ XXXVI. *THEODERICK* resolv'd to be reveng'd on his Brother, and publickly declar'd, that he was not the Son of King *Childebert*, but palm'd upon him by his Mother (1). He enter'd into Alliance with the King of *Soissons*, and promis'd, if he would stand neuter in this War, and not assist the King of *Austrasia*, to give him that Tract of Land between the *Seyne* and *Oyse*, which he had been oblig'd, in the late War, to part with to *Theodebert*. He drew up his Army at *Langres*, and invaded *Austrasia*. *Theodebert* march'd to meet him, and a bloody Engagement ensued near *Tull*, wherein the latter lost the Day. He fled to *Metz*, and, not being secure there, pass'd through the *Vogesian* Forest to *Cologne*. *Leonisus*, Bishop of *Mentz*, excited *Theoderick* not to desist, 'till he had compleated *Theodebert's* Ruin (2). He led his Army thro' the *Arduennian* Forest, and encamp'd near *Zulph*. Here *Theodebert*, who had, in the mean Time, gain'd the *Saxons*, *Thuringians*, and other German Nations, to his Party, ventur'd a second Engagement, which the Historian represents, as the most bloody the *Franks* ever fought; but he succeeded no better than at *Tull*; and all the Treasures at *Cologne* fell into the Conqueror's Hands. *Theodebert* fled for Refuge over the *Rhine*; but *Bertharius*, *Theoderick's* Chamberlain, overtook, and brought him to his Brother at *Cologne*, where he was depriv'd of the Royal Dignity, sent Prisoner to *Chalons* (3), and soon after murder'd (4); *Meroveus*, his Son, having been before put to Death (5). *Theoderick* caus'd the Homages of the most eminent *Franks* of *Austrasia* to be receiv'd in the Church of *S. Gereon* in the same City, and proceeded from thence to *Metz*, in Order to take entire Possession there, as in the Capital of the Kingdom, he had conquer'd (6).

§ XXXVII. *CLOTARIUS* had, in the mean Time, made himself Master of the Country betwixt the *Seyne* and *Oyse*. *Theoderick* made this a Pretence for declaring War against him; but he died of a Flux, at

Theoderick overcomes the King of Austrasia, &c.

Theoderick dies: Brunild sets up Sigebert, his Son, for King, &c.

§ XXXVI. (1) FREDEGAR. c. 37.

(2) IBID. c. 38. Beatus, & Apostolicus Vir Leonisus, Mogancensis urbis Episcopus, diligens utilitatem Theoderici & odiens stultitiam Theodeberti, ad Theudericum veniens dixit: quod coepisti, perface, &c.

(3) IBID. Dirigenque Theudericus ultra Rhenum, post tergum Theodeberti, Bertharium, Cubicularium, qui diligenter Theodebertum inseguens, cum jam cum paucis fugeret, ipsum caput Bertharius Coloniae conspectui Theuderici

praesentat, exutum vestibus regalibus. Theodebertus exspoliatus, equusque ejus cum stratura regia, hoc totumque Berthario a Theuderico conceditur.

(4) JONAS, in vita S. Columbani.

(5) FREDEGARIUS, l. c. Filius ejus, nomine Meroveus, parvulus, jussu Theoderici adprehensus a quodam per pedem, ad petram percutitur, cerebrum ejus capite eruptum, amisit spiritum.

(6) AIMOINUS.

H h 2

Metz,

Metz, the same Year (1). He left four Sons: *Viz. Sigebert, Childebert, Corbus and Meroveus*: And *Brunebild* was for placing *Sigebert*, the eldest, on the Throne of *Austrasia* and *Burgundy*: But many Nobles in *Austrasia* oppos'd her, and particularly *Arnulf* and *Pipin*, who afterwards both attain'd to great Honours, in those Countries. These invited *Clotarius*, who advanced as far as *Andernach*. *Brunebild* resided then, with the young Princes, at *Worms*. She sent Ambassadors to him, and begg'd he would not injure his Infant Nephews, nor deprive them of any of the Dominions, they had lawfully inherited from their Father (2). *Clotarius* offer'd to leave it to the Decision of the Nation (3). *Brunebild* sent *Sigebert* and *Warnacharius*, Major-domus, with some other Persons of Distinction, over the *Rhine*, to levy Troops among the Nations in *Germania*: But *Warnacharius* secretly sided with *Clotarius's* Party, and rather retarded the Levy of the German Troops. *Brunebild* repair'd, with the Princes, to *Burgundy*. She had here incurr'd as great an *Odium* among the Nobles, as in *Austrasia*, and they enter'd into a Conspiracy with *Warnacharius* against the whole Royal Line, that they might be no more subject to her (4). *Sigebert*, accompany'd by his three Brothers, march'd out against *Clotarius*, with all the Forces he could raise. The latter met them, between *Chalons sur Marne* and the River *Axona*, and was already join'd by many of the *Austrasians*. *Sigebert's* Army was compos'd of none but Traitors: They fled, before it came to an Engagement. *Clotarius* pursu'd them, as far as the *Saone*, where the disloyal *Burgundians* deliver'd to him *Sigebert*, *Meroveus* and *Corbus*, as Prisoners. *Childebert*, the fourth Brother, escap'd indeed, but was never heard of more. *Sigebert* and *Corbus* were, by *Clotarius's* Order, immediately put to Death: *Meroveus* being his Godson, he spar'd him, and gave him a good Education: But we likewise find no farther Account of him in History (5).

The fatal End
of Queen
Brunebild.

§ XXXVIII. *BRUNEHILD* was then at *Urba*, with *Theudelana*, her Grand-Daughter. Here she was taken by *Erpo*, great Master

§ XXXVII. (1) FREDEGAR. c. 39.

(2) IBID. c. 40.

(3) IBID. Chlotarius respondebat & per suos legatos Brunehildi mandabat, judicio Francorum electo, quicquid præcedente Domino, a Francis inter eosdem judicabitur, pollicetur se implere.

(4) IBID. c. 41. Burgundiæ Farones vero

tam Episcopi, quam ceteri leudes, timentes Brunichildem, & odium in eam habentes, cum Warnachario consilium inientes tractabant, ut neque unus ex filiis Theuderici evaderet, sed eis omnibus oppressis & Brunichildem delerent & regnum Chlotarii expeterent.

(5) IBID. c. 42.

of the Horſe, and deliver'd to *Clotarius* (1). This Prince now laid to her Charge, all that ſhe had ever been accus'd of, as ſuppoſed Truths. The Revenge, he took, was ſhocking. She was carried on a Camel about the Army for a Spectacle, was afterwards tied to a wild Horſe, and thus dragg'd to Death. Her unfortunate Remains were burnt (2), as if one Death could not ſuffice to quench the fiery Rage of her Enemies. Thus was the Daughter and Wife of a great King, after having ſeen her Son and two Grand-Sons on the Throne, forc'd to dy as a Malefactor, and to ſerve as a Triumph and publick Spectacle to the Son of her moſt inveterate Enemy, before the Eyes of thoſe very People, over whom ſhe had before reign'd ! In the Monastery of *St. Martin*, which ſhe founded, at *Autun*, is ſhewn a Tomb, in which her Aſhes are ſaid to be depoſited (3). The *Franconian* Hiſtorians, who wrote in the Reign of *Clota-*

rius,

§ XXXVIII. (1) *FREDEGARIUS*, cap. 42. Factione Warnacharii, Majoris Domus, cum reliquis maxime totis proceribus de regno Burgundiae, Brunnichildis ab Herpone, Comeſtabulo, de pago Ultrajurano, ex villa, Urba, una cum Theudelana, germana Theoderici producitur, & Chlotario, Rionava, vico ſuper Vincenna fluvio præſentatur. Urba, commonly call'd Orbe, lies in Franche Comté. Rionava lay on the ſmall River Navigenne, which falls into the Saone.

extremum ſpiritum exhalavit; cujuſque deinceps corpusculum incedentes populi, ſepulcrum ignis fuit, ac judicium paternum, ſine miſericordia in germano & nepote quondam datum, in filiis redundavit, eoſque, a quibuſdam, ut aiunt, interemtōs, monarchiam prænuncupatus Rex in tribus regnis obtinuit, quam feliciter religioſeque gubernans, quadrageſimo nunc, cum prioribus regni fui, anno, vitam ducit. Add to this, what *Jonas* ſays, in *Vit. S. Columbani*, which he wrote a few Years after: Clotharius memor prophetiae *Viti Dei Columbani*, collecto exercitu, fines regni, quæ ſuæ ditioni debebantur, conatur recipere. Contra quem *Sigebertus* cum hoſtium cuneis pugnaturus advenit, quem Clotharius captum peremit, fratresque ejus duos, Theoderici filios, cum avia Brunchilde cepit, pueros ſeparatim peremit, Brunchildem vero primo ignobiliter camelo impositam, hoſtibus gyando monſtravit, poſtque, indomitum equorum caudis irretitam, miſerabiliter vita privavit. *Fredegarius* relates it in the following Words, l. c. Per triduum eam, diverſis tormentis adfectam, jubet prius camelo per omnem exercitum ſedentem perducere: poſthæc coma capitis, uno pede & brachio ad velociſſimi equi caudam ligare; ibique calcibus, & velocitate curſus membratim diſrumpitur.

(3) This Monument is deſcrib'd by *F. le COINTE*, ad A. 613. n. 6. and *F. DANIEL*, p. 271. 'Tis Pity, that no more ancient Accounts are extant of this Tomb, which might, at the ſame Time, give

ſome

(2) The Accounts we have of this Execution, leave us no Room to doubt of it. The firſt is that Fragment, which is annex'd, as an Appendix to *Marius's* Chronicon, and was written in *Clotarius's* Reign. Per idem tempus, diviſa in tribus olim regnis Francia, in unum a præſato Rege Francorum regnum conjungitur: atque perſequentem Theoderico, Rege, germanum ſuum, Auſtraſiorum Regem, Theudebertum, vincentes Franci in Burgundiam moventes Auſtraſios, ad extremum ipſum, occiderent. Neque mora, victor Theodericus Mettis cum obiiſſet, *Sigeberto*, filio parvulo, cum avia ſua, Brunchilde, regnum male uſurpatum reliquit: qui, vivente adhuc germano ſuo, nepotem proprium ad petram in albis elidi juſſit. Per idem tempus victi filii ſui a Rege præſato Chlothachario capiuntur: ac præſata regina, prædictorum avia, ab eo capta, diverſoque poenarum genere afflicta, deinde camelo imposita, multis ſui ſpectaculum præbuit: poſtremo, ferociſſimi conligata pedibus equi tergo,

rius, or of his Successors, certainly censure this Princess too severely (4). But in Accusations of this Kind, it is difficult to come at the Truth, even if sufficient Accounts are extant for the most narrow Inquiries; how then can we dive into Matters so remote, of which we meet with Relations so few, so slender, and withal so suspected? *Brunebild* was certainly a great Queen, who possess'd many excellent Qualities. Nature had endow'd her with Beauty, Understanding, Courage and Eloquence; and, by a long Experience, she had obtain'd a great Knowledge in all Affairs relating to Government. She was, likewise, a Princess eminent for many good Actions. The great Encomiums bestow'd on her by Pope *Gregory the Great*, and other Prelates, were, perhaps, no more than she deserv'd: But an Ambition for Rule, Love and Revenge ensnare the Mind more easily, when accompanied by an unbounded Liberty. The State of Affairs in the Kingdom, and in the Royal House, as we have hitherto found them, caus'd every Passion to be exerted in her with its utmost Vigour. Since, therefore, *Brunebild* follow'd the Dictates of her Temper, and ran all Hazards in her Attempts against her Enemies, we must not wonder, that we find them, on their Side, observing no Measures, in their Revenge. Whoever once delivers himself up to Fortune, must, on his Part, be prepar'd for the severest Shocks. Great Persons, in this World, are but too apt to forget, how many Things they enjoy no otherwise, than in common with other Men. The Fall of a Throne and Scepter is often providentially intended, to remind others the better of their uncertain State.

Some Account of her Death. We only find, in one of those Records, that the Queen chose this for her Burying-Place. In the *Necrologium of the Monastery*, she is said to have died ad IV. Kal. Maii. vid. RUYN. in Add. ad GREGORIUM, p. 1396.

(4) Many learned Men have endeavoured to vindicate the Memory of this Queen; as, TILLET, FAUCHET, MARIANA, Lib. 5. cap. 10. F. le COINTE ad An. 613. PASQUIER dans les Recherches, T. 3. c. 8. Mr. de CORDEMOIS, &c.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K X V.

To the YEAR DCCXV.

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§ I. THUS

§ I. **T**HUS *Clotarius* re-united the Kingdom of the *Franks*. Soon after, he summon'd a Convention of the Spiritual and Temporal Lords, at *Paris*, to regulate the Government (1). They decreed, among other Laws, that the Bishops should be chosen by the Clergy and Laity, confirm'd by the King, and then be consecrated by the Metropolitan; but the King, at the same Time, reserv'd to himself the Power of granting a Bishoprick without any Election (2). They likewise agreed, that all new Taxes should cease (3), and that those, who had lost their Effects in the late Wars, should have them restor'd (4). *Clotarius* was inclin'd to Peace, which prov'd advantageous to his Kingdom after so many bloody Wars; but he had almost lost the Esteem of the Nobles, because, in their Opinion, he was too fond of the Chace, and gave too much Vent to his Passion for Women (5). He resign'd *Austrasia* to *Dagobert*, his Son, A. 622, but not so fully as it had been done in former Reigns. He retain'd to himself the Countries as far as the *Arduennian* Forest and the Mountain *Vogesus*, and whatever else the Kings of *Austrasia* had formerly possess'd in *Gaul*. This is the first Instance, among the *Franks*, of a Son's reigning separately, before his Father's Decease (6). *Clotarius* plac'd a particular Confidence in *Arnulph* and *Pipin*, who had contributed greatly to his obtaining *Austrasia*. The former having resign'd some eminent

The Kingdom of the *Franks* is re-united under *Clotarius*, &c.

§ I. (1) *Vid. Acta in JAC. SIRMONDI Concil. Galliae T. I.*

(2) *Can. 1. Ut, decedente Episcopo, in loco ipsius, ille Christo propitio debeat ordinari, quem Metropolitanus, a quo ordinandus est, cum Provincialibus suis, clerus, vel populus civitatis, absque ullo commodo, vel datione pecuniae, elegerint. In the Decretum Clotarii, whereby he confirms these Canons, we read: Ut, Episcopo decedente, in loco ipsius, qui a Metropolitano ordinari debet, cum Provincialibus a Clero & populo eligatur, & si persona condigna fuerit, per ordinationem Principis ordinetur; vel certe, si de Palatio eligatur, per meritum personae & doctrinae ordinetur.*

(3) *Vid. DECRETUM CHLOTARII REGIS, l. c. Ut ubicunque census novus impie additus est, & a populo reclamatur, iusta inquisitione misericorditur emendetur, &c.*

(4) *IBID. Quicquid parentes nostri anteriores principes, vel nos per justitiam visi sumus concess-*

fisse, & confirmasse, in omnibus debeat confirmari. Et qua unus de fidelibus ac Leodibus, suam fidem servando Domino legitimo, interregno faciente visus est perdidisse, generaliter, absque aliquo incommodo, de rebus sibi iuste debitis praecipimus revestiri.

(5) *FREDEGARIUS, c. 42. Ipse Chlotarius, patientiae deditus, litteris eruditus, timens Deum, ecclesiarum & sacerdotum magnus munerator, pauperibus eleemosynam tribuens, benignum se omnibus & pietate plenum ostendens. Venatione ferarum nimia assiduitate utens, & postremo mulierum & puellarum suggestionibus nimium annuens, ob hoc quidem blasphematur a Leudibus.*

(6) *From this Time Authors begin to count the 16 Years of Dagobert's Reign, he therefore reign'd six Years before, and 10 after his Father's Death, which F. Mabillon proves at large in Diff. de annis Dagoberti. F. Chifflet, on the other Hand, insists upon it, in Diff. de annis Dagoberti, that these 16 Years must be counted from Clotarius's Death.*

Posfs, was now Bishop of Metz (7): And he constituted *Pipin Maire de Palais*. He was descended from a noble Family, in the Country about the *Maes* (8), where *Carolemannus*, his Father, possess'd a great Estate in *Hasbania* (9). The mutual good Understanding which subsisted between these two great Men, prov'd no less advantageous to their Country, than to themselves and their Posterity. From them both descended the *Carolingian Line*. *Ansegisil*, *Arnulph's* Son, married *Begga*, *Pipin's* Daughter, and *Pipin*, her Great-Grand-Son, the third of this Name, at last ascended the Throne. The *Maires de Palais* had hitherto the highest Office at Court: But in this Book we shall find them ever raising their Influence in the Administration, 'till at Length they even obscured the Regal Power.

A Peace in the Kingdom of the Franks. Amendment of their Laws, &c.

§ II. THE Kingdom of the *Franks* enjoy'd a Tranquility in this Reign, which it was little accusom'd to; and what is generally said of a War betwixt *Clotarius* and the *Saxons*, is without Foundation (1). Times like these prov'd the more favourable for the Propagation of the *Christian* Faith, and the Transaction of other Affairs, which are best manag'd during a Peace, in particular for an Amendment of the Laws. *Theoderick*, *Clovis's* Son, had deliver'd to the *Franks*, *Alemanni* and *Bavarians*, their Laws in Writing: And *Childebert* had taken Care to suit them more and more to the *Christian* Religion. *Clotarius* and *Dagobert* now caus'd them to be again revis'd, as we find in the Preface to the

(7) Vit. S. Arnulphi in Sec. II. Bened. ad An. 640. S. Arnulph's Extraction has given Occasion to many Disputes. Jean du Bouchet, in his Work intitl'd: La veritable Origine de la seconde & troisieme Lignée de la Maison de France, &c. attempts to prove, that Arnulph was of a Roman Extraction, and descended from Ferreolus, who was Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum under the Emperor Honorius: And that Ansbert, his Grand-Father, married Blithildis, Daughter to Clotarius I. But Valefius observes, that these Ancestors were not heard of, 'till the Times of Carolus Calvus; and Chantereau le Febure, refutes this Genealogy at large. Many other Learned Men have likewise interfer'd in this Dispute, of which F. le Long mentions some particular Circumstances in his Bibliothèque Historique de France, n. 9887. The Abbot des Camps, attempts to derive Arnulph from Me-

roveus in the Male Line. V. JOURN. DES SCALVANTS. A. 1720. Ed. Amst.

(8) See the 34 Annot. of the Family of the Pipins.

(9) Hasbania, Haspengow, la Hasbaye. A Tract of Land on the Maese, which now appertains partly to the Dukedom of Brabant, and partly to the Diocese of Liege, and its Extent was about from Louvain to Liege. The principal Town was Fanum. S. Trudonis, S. Truyen.

§ II. (1) In the Gesta Francorum we find indeed an Expedition related of Clotarius against the Saxons. F. Daniel confirms the Account, T. 1. p. 275. But Valefius demonstrates it to be a Fable, which is likewise affirm'd by Echard, p. 193. and by the Compiler of the Antiquités de la Monarchie Francoise, &c. T. 1. p. 149.

Laws

Laws of the *Alemanni* and *Bavarians* (2). These Nations may be justly commended for their Adherence to certain Laws; and it is an Indication of their Liberty, that they were not enacted nor amended, but at a general Assembly of the whole Nation. They appear indeed slender and unpolish'd to us, but have nevertheless their intrinsic Worth, because we meet, in them, with many Traces of the Constitution and Manners of the Ancients, and as it were the first Foundation of the *German* Laws. *Dagobert* was beloved and esteemed in *Austrasia*. His Subjects flatter'd themselves with the Hopes, that he would subdue the *Sclavi* and *Abares*, and extend the Dominion of the *Franks* as far as the Frontiers of the Empire (3); but in the Event Matters prov'd quite otherwise.

§ III. *CLOTARIUS* died A. 628; and left a Son, by his second Wife, nam'd *Charibert*; but *Dagobert* attempted to make himself Master of the whole Kingdom. He summon'd his *Ostro-Franks*, and hasten'd to *Soissons*, where the *Burgundians* and *Neustrians* paid Homage to him (1), and those who at first appear'd for *Charibert* were now oblig'd to forsake his Interest. Thus he became the first of *Clovis's* Descendants, who retain'd his Father's Kingdom without any Division. Yet, at the Persuasion of some Nobles, he left to his younger Brother a Part of *Aquitain*, namely the Districts of *Cahors*, *Agen*, *Perigord*, *Saintonge*, and all that Tract from the *Garonne* to the *Pyrenean* Mountains (2). The latter

Dagobert lays Claim to Neustria and Burgundy, &c.

(2) See the Preface to the *Bavarian Laws* above, B. XII. § 42. The *Leges Alamannorum* begin in the following Terms: Incipit Lex Alamannorum, quæ temporibus *Chlotarii* Regis, una cum principibus suis, id sunt XXXII, Episcopis, & XXXIII. Ducibus & LXXII, Comitibus, vel cetero populo constituta est. Of both Laws see a farther Account in the 20 Annot.

fos leudes, quos regebat in Auster, jubet in exercitu promovere: missos in Burgundia & Auster (*I. Neuster*) direxit, ut suum deberent regimen eligere. Cumque Remis venisset, Sueffionas peraccedens, omnes Pontifices & leudes de regno Burgundiæ inibi se tradidisse noscuntur. Sed & *Neustrii*, Pontifices & Proceres plurima pars, regnum *Dagoberti* visi sunt expetiisse.

(3) *FREDEGARIUS*, c. 58. Timorem vero sic fortem sua concusserat utilitas, ut jam devotione arriperent suæ se tradere ditioni, ut etiam GENTES, QUÆ CIRCA LITEM AVARORUM, ET SCLAVORUM consistunt, eum promte expeterent, ut ille post tergum eorum iret feliciter, & Avaros & Sclavos, ceterasque gentium nationes, usque MANUM PUBLICAM, suæ ditioni subjiciendum si ducialiter spondebat.

(2) *IDEM*, c. 57. Cumque regnum *Chlotarii* tam *Neprico*, quam *Burgundiæ*, a *Dagoberto* fuisset præoccupatum, captis thesauris & suæ ditioni redactis, tandem misericordia motus, consilio sapientium usus, citra *Ligerem* & litem *Spaniæ*, qui ponitur partibus *Walconiæ*, seu & montis *Pyrenæi* pagos & civitates, quod fratri suo *Chariberto*, ad transigendum ad instar privato habitu, ad vivendum potuisset sufficere, noscitur concessisse: pagum *Tholosanum*, *Catorcinum*, *Agenensem*, *Petrocoreum*, & *Santonicum*, vel quod ab his ver-

§ III. (1) *FREDEGARIUS*, c. 56. *Dagobertus* cernens genitorem suum fuisse defunctum, univer-

ter fix'd his Residence at *Toulouse*, and gain'd much Renown within these few Dominions; for he entirely subdu'd the *Gascons* (3). He died *A.* 631, and as *Chilperic*, his Son, did not long survive him, these Countries fell again into *Dagobert's* Hands. After the Death of *Clotarius*, he had chosen *Paris* for his Residence, on which Occasion the *Neustrians* express'd a great Jealousy of the *Austrasians*, by whom he was, at first, very much influenc'd. And as the King begun to give himself up to Luxury (4), *Pipin's* Office became the more arduous: But he prescrib'd to himself a Method, the safest in all Events; he feared GOD, injur'd no one, and always proceeded with the utmost Caution (5).

History of the
Sclavi, &c.

§ IV. THE Wars, which *Dagobert* carried on against the *Sclavi*, oblige me here to take some Notice of the State of these People. After the many Irruptions, I related above, they so far succeeded, that some of them gain'd a sure Footing in *Dalmatia*, from whom the Kings of *Servia* and *Croatia* are descended (1). Others had fix'd their Habitations in *Pannonia*, and in *Noricum*, where we now find the Countries of *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, and *Marca Vinidorum* (2); and are generally call'd *Carentani*: But we, likewise, meet with *Sclavi* and *Venedi*, on this Side the *Danube*, in *Germania Magna*, in those Countries where the Kingdoms of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, the *Suevi*, *Vandals* and *Goths* formerly flourish'd: For, when those Nations were partly remov'd, and partly weaken'd by bloody Wars, the *Venedi* pass'd over the *Vistula*,

fus montes Pyrenæos excluditur. Hoc tantum Chariberto regendum concessit, quod & per pacti-
onis vinculum strinxit, ut amplius Charibertus
nullo tempore adversus Dagobertum de regno pa-
tris repetere præsumeret. Charibertus sedem
Tholosæ eligens, regnat in parte provinciæ A-
quitaniæ. Post annos tres, postquam regnare
cepisset, totam Wasconiam cum exercitu supe-
rans, suæ ditioni redigit, aliquantulum largius
fecit regni sui spatium.

(3) That *Charibert* reign'd as King in these Countries, appears, among others, from *Fredegarius*, cap. 61 & 67.

(4) *FREDEGARIUS*, cap. 60. *Luxuriæ* supra modum deditus tres habebat, ad instar *Salomonis*, *Reginas*, maxime & plurimas concubinas. *Reginæ* vero hæ erant, *Nantechildis*, *Welfegundis* & *Berchildis*. *Nomina* concubinarum eo, quod

plures fuissent, increvit hæc *Chronica* inseri.

(5) *IDEM*, c. 61. relates the prudent Behaviour of this Major-domo, in the following Words: Hæc cernens *Pippinus*, cum esset cautior cunctis, consilius valde, plenissimus fide, ab omnibus dilectus, pro justitiæ amore, qua *Dagobertum* consiliose instruxerat, dum suo usus fuerat consilio, sibi tamen nequaquam oblitus justitiæ, neque recedens a via bonitatis, cum ad *Dagobertum* accederet, prudenter agebat in cunctis, & cautum se in omnibus ostendebat. *Zelus* *Austrasiorum* adversus eundem vehementer suggerebat, ut etiam ipsum cum *Dagoberto* conarentur facere odiosum, ut potius interficeretur. Sed justitiæ amor & Dei timor, quem diligenter amplexus fuerat, ipsum liberavit a malis.

§ IV. (1) Of this see *Annot.* 26.

(2) We find the Name of *Marca Vinidorum* in *Fredegarius*, c. 72.

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and, by Degrees, extended their Dominions along the *Oder*, as far as the *Elb*, and along the *Baltick*, whence, in succeeding Times, the Names of *Vandals* and *Venedi* were so often confounded. The former Inhabitants were, nevertheless, in all probability, not wholly extirpated, tho' we cannot exactly assign, what Agreement they came to with the new Comers (3). *Fredegarius* mentions the *Sorbi*, as Neighbours to the *Thuringians* (4). None were so famous, in the Transmigration of these *Sclavonians*, as *Zecchus* and *Lecchus*, two Brothers, who, according to the common Tradition of the *Bohemians* and *Poles*, carried fresh Colonies over the *Vistula*, in this Century: When *Zecchus* fix'd his Habitation in the ancient *Bojohemum*, and founded the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, as *Lecchus* did that of *Poland*: But this Relation is full of doubtful Circumstances (5). We shall become better acquainted with these Nations, when we treat of the War carried on against them by the *Franks*, and particularly by the Kings of *Germania*. I must now confine myself to those *Sclavi*, who dwelt in *Noricum* and *Pannonia*. These had, after that Time, been, in some Measure, subject to the *Abares*, but, at last, fortunately cast off that Yoke. About this Time, a *Frank* reign'd over them, nam'd *Samo*, who, at first, us'd to visit their Country, on Account of Commerce only; but so distinguish'd himself in the War with the *Abares*, that they elected him their King (6). The Glory he acquir'd in his Reign, not only in the Wars with the said Nation, but even with the *Franks*, justifies the Confidence they repos'd in him.

§ V. SOME *Franconian* Merchants had been plunder'd in the Domi- A War be-
nions of the *Sclavi*. *Dagobert* sent, therefore, an Ambassador to their tween the
King (1), who, not meeting with the Answer he expected, express'd Franks and
himself. *Sclavi*, &c.

(3) *Conf.* Hanckius de Reb. Siles. § 38.

(4) *Vid.* § seq.

(5) See the 36th Annot. of the Origin of the Poles.

(6) *FREDEGARIUS* treats of this *Samo*, c. 48. where he connects the Beginning of his Reign with the Year 623.

§ V. (1) *FREDEGARIUS* describes this Ambassy, c. 68. Eo anno Sclavi, cognomento Winidi, in regno Samonis negotiantes, Francorum cum plurimam multitudinem rebus expoliassent, hoc

fuit initium scandali inter Dagobertum & Samonem, Regem Sclavinorum. Dirigensque Dagobertus Sicharium, legatarium ad Samonem, petens, ut negotiantes, quos sui interfecerant, & res, quas inlicite usurpaverant, cum justitia faceret emendare. Samo nolens Sicharium videre, nec ad se eum venire permetteret. Sicharius vestes indutus ad instar Sclavinorum, cum suis ad conspectum pervenit, Samoni universa, quæ injuncta habebat, nuntiavit: sed ut habet gentilitas, & superbia pravorum, nihil a Samone, quæ sui admiserant, est emendatum, nisi tantum placita vellens instituere, ut de his & aliis intentionibus, quæ inter has partes ortæ fuerant, justitia redde-

himself in Terms so menacing and opprobrious, that he was himself sent back in a yet more ignominious Manner. The King of the *Franks* was, therefore, oblig'd to declare War, almost against his Will. Now, as a League subsisted between him and *Ariovald*, King of the *Longobards*, the latter sent him Auxiliaries from *Italy*. These and the *Swabians*, under the Command of *Rotbertus*, their Duke, were successful: But the *Austrasians* themselves suffer'd greatly, when they ventur'd to attack a Fort, in which the *Sclavi* had plac'd a strong Garrison. It is thought to have been *Voitsberg* in *Stiria* (2). The *Sclavi*, after having vigorously repell'd the Storm, fell upon the *Franks*, in their Camp, massacred many of them, and put the Rest to the Flight, who left their whole Baggage a Prey. This Success so elevated the *Sclavi*, that, from this Time, they made frequent IncurSIONS into the bordering *Franconian* Countries, particularly into *Thuringia*. *Dervan*, Prince of the *Sorbi*, who had hitherto acknowledged the Supremacy of the *Franks*, revolted now to *Samo* (3), and many other *Sclavonian* Nations had, very probably, a Share in these Occurrences.

Dagobert prepares for a fresh Expedition.

§ VI. *DAGOBERT* rais'd a fresh Army in *Neustria* and *Burgundy* (1). When he came to *Mentz*, Ambassadors appear'd from some

redderetur invicem. Sicharius, sicut stultus, legatus, verba improprietatis, quæ injuncta non haberat, & minas adversus Samonem loquitur, eo quod Samo & populus regni sui Dagoberto deberent servitium. Samo respondens jam saucius dixit: Et terra, quam habemus, Dagoberti est, & nos sui sumus, si tamen nobiscum disposuerit amicitiam conservare. Sicharius dicens: Non est possibile, ut Christiani, Dei servi, cum canibus amicitias conlocare possint. Samo e contrario dixit: si vos estis Dei servi, & nos sumus canes, dum vos assidue contra ipsum agitis, nos permissum accepimus, vos moribus lacerare. Ejectus est Sicharius de conspectu Samonis.

(2) FREDEGARIUS, c. 68. Cum hæc Dagoberto nunciasset, Dagobertus jubet de universo regno Austrasiorum contra Samonem & Winidos movere exercitum: ubi tribus turmis phalangæ super Winidos exercitus ingreditur: etiam & Longobardi, solatione Dagoberti, idemque hostiliter in Sclavos perrexerunt. Sclavi his & aliis locis e contrario præparantes, Alamannorum exercitus cum Chrodoberto, Duce, in parte, qua

ingressus est, victoriam obtinuit. Longobardi itidemque victoriam obtinuerunt, & plurimum numerum captivorum de Sclavis Alemanni & Longobardi secum duxerunt. Austrasii vero cum ad castrum WOGASTIBURG, ubi plurima manus fortium Winidorum immoraverant, circumdantes, triduo præliantes, plures ibidem de exercitu Dagoberti gladio trucidantur, & exinde fugaciter omnes tentoria, & res, quas habuerunt, relinquentes, ad proprias sedes revertuntur. The Castle of Wogastiburg is, according to Lazius, the present Voitsberg, in Stiria. His Opinion is follow'd by Eccard, T. 1. p. 202.

(3) IBID. Multis post hæc vicibus Winidi in Thuringiam & reliquos vastando pagos, in Francorum pagos irruunt. Dervanus, Dux gentis Urbiorum, qui ex genere Sclavinorum erant, & ad regnum Francorum jam olim adspexerant, se ad regnum Samoni cum suis tradidit. Urbii were those Sclavi, which otherwise are call'd Sorbii, Sorbi, or Sorabi.

§ VI. (1) FREDEGARIUS, c. 74.

neighbour-

neighbouring *Saxon* Nations, who had, since the Time of *Clotarius* I, been forc'd to pay an annual Tribute of 500 Cows, for the King's Kitchen. They propos'd, that if the King would remit this Contribution, their Country-Men were ready to undertake, at their own Peril, the War with the *Slavi*, and to keep them from the *Franconian* Dominions. Expeditions against an Enemy, so far distant, prov'd very disagreeable to the *Neustrians* and *Burgundians*, as War is attended with great Danger, and, tho' this should prove never so fortunate, they could hope for but little Advantage, especially as the *Austrasians* had lost both their Courage and Force, thro' private Discontent. He was, therefore, persuaded to accept of the Proposal. The Ambassadors, according to the Custom, at that Time among the *German* Nations, swore to the Agreement on their Arms: But the *Saxons* were either not very active, or met with little Success (2). For the *Venedi* continued to invade the Dominions of the *Franks* in several Places, and *Dagobert* found, at last, that *Austrasia* could not be better secur'd, than by granting to the Nation a King, which they earnestly desir'd. He, therefore, at a Convention at Metz †, † A. 633. declar'd *Sigebert*, his Son, tho' not yet three Years of Age, King of *Austrasia* (3). The Administration of the Government, and Inspection over the young King's Household, were trusted to *Cunebert*, Bishop of *Cologne*, and to Duke *Adalgisil*, Son to *S. Arnulph* (4): But he kept *Pipin*.

(2) *IBID.* Saxones missos ad Dagobertum dirigunt, petentes, ut ei tributa, quæ fisci ditionibus dissolvebant, indulgeret: ipsi vero eorum studio & utilitate Winidis resistere spondent, & Francorum limitem de illis partibus custodire promittunt, quod Dagobertus consilio Neustriasiorum adeptus præstitit Saxonibus, qui his petitionibus suggerendum venerant. Sacramentum, ut eorum mos erat, super arma placata, pro universis Saxonibus firmant. Sed parum hæc promissio fortitur effectum, tamen tributum Saxones, quod reddere consueverant, præceptione Dagoberti habent indultum. Quingentas vaccas inferendales, annis singulis, a Chlotario seniore censiti, reddebant, quod a Dagoberto cassatum est.

(3) *This Sigebert was, according to Fredegarius's Relation, a natural Son. He says of Dagobert, c. 9. An. IX. regni sui cum Auster regio cultu circumret, quandam puellam, nomine Ragnetrudam, strati adscivit suo, de qua eo anno habuit*

filium, nomine Sigebertum. In the next Chapter, he names his Wives, of which he had three at once, and among whom we do not find Ragnetrudam. On the contrary, in Vit. Sigeberti, his Mother is nam'd Regina.

(4) *FREDEGARIUS, c. 75. Anno XI. regni Dagoberti cum Winidi jussu Samonis fortiter sævirent, & sæpe transceso eorum limite, (ad) regnum Francorum vastandum, Thoringiam & reliquos pagos ingrederentur, Dagobertus Mettis urbem veniens, cum consilio Pontificum, seu & procerum, omnibusque primatibus regni sui consentientibus, Sigebertum, filium suum, in Austeris Regem sublimavit, sedemque Mettis civitatem habere permisit. Chunibertum, Coloniae urbis pontificem, & Adalgiselum, Ducem, (ad) palatium & regnum gubernandum instituit. Theaurum, quod sufficeret, filio tradens, condigne, ut decuit, eum hujus culmine sublimavit, & quodcumque eidem largitus fuerat, singillatim præcep-*

Pipin, and some other Nobles, near his Person, in Order to consult with them about the Affairs of the *Ostro-Franks*, and, by their Means, to be the more secure of the Fidelity of those Nations. The *Austrasians*, after this, defended themselves bravely against the *Venedi* (5), on which Occasion *Rudolph*, Duke of *Thuringia*, distinguish'd his Valour. Queen *Nanthildis* was, soon after, deliver'd of a Son, who reign'd afterwards, by the Name of *Clovis II*. *Dagobert*, upon this, made a Regulation, at a General Assembly, that *Clovis* should, after his Death, succeed in *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, and that *Sigebert* should have, for his Share, whatever the former Kings of *Austrasia* possess'd in the other Provinces of *Gaul* (6).

He interferes
in the Affairs
of the *Wisi-
Goths*, &c.

§ VII. DURING the War with the *Sclavi*, *Dagobert* interfer'd likewise in the Affairs of the *Wisi-Goths*. This Kingdom was become very powerful, after the *Gothick* Kings had entirely driven the *Imperialists* out of *Spain*. *Dagobert* was perhaps hereby prompted to send Auxiliaries to *Sisenandus*, when he rebell'd against *Suintilas*, according to the usual Policy of Potentates, who expect so strict a Fidelity from their own Subjects, and foment Divisions among their Neighbours. *Dagobert* order'd some Troops to march to his Aid from *Burgundy*: But they came no farther, than *Sarrogoça*, where the *Goths* proclaim'd *Sisenandus* King (1). Several generous Foundations testify *Dagobert's* Liberality to the Church (2). But the Zeal he express'd for the Propagation of its Doctrines, is obscured by the forcible Means he made Use of for that End (3). He was particularly severe in persecuting the *Jews*, to which he is said to have been persuaded by the Emperor *Heraclius*, who undertook to extirpate them (4). *Sisenandus*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*,

præceptionibus roborandum decrevit. Deinde Austrasii eorum studio limitem, & regnum Francorum, contra Winidos utiliter defensasse nuncuntur.

Aicharius, Bishop of *Noyon*, prevail'd on the King to publish an Edict, of this Import: Si quis non sponte per baptismi lavacrum regenerari voluisset, coactus a Rege, sacro ablueretur baptis-
mate.

(5) Of the successful Exploits of this *Rudolph*, against the *Venedi*, see § 8. 1.

(6) FREDEGARIUS, c. 76.

§ VII. (1) FREDEGARIUS, c. 73.

(2) Some pretend, that he founded the Monastery of *S. Peter*, at *Erfurt*: But *Eccard* questions this, p. 210.

(3) In *Vita S. Amandi*, c. 11. we find, that

(4) FREDEGAR. c. 65. *Heraclius*, cum esset literis nimium eruditus, Astrologus efficitur, per quod cernens a circumcisus gentibus, divino nutu imperium esse vastandum, ad *Dagobertum*, Regem Francorum, dirigens, petit, ut omnes Judæos regni sui ad fidem catholicam baptizandos præciperet: quod protinus *Dagobertus* implevit. F. le Cointe observes, that the Cause here assigned, for the Hatred *Heraclius* bore to the *Jews*, is fictitious.

proceeded

proceeded likewise very cruelly against them, notwithstanding that *Isidorus*, and other Teachers of the Church, were so far from approving of these forcible Conversions (5), that they were prohibited by the Council of *Toledo* (6). *Dagobert* died, *A.* 638, and the States of *Neustria* and *Burgundy* immediately plac'd *Clovis*, his younger Son, on the Throne. *Nanthildis*, his Mother, and *Æga*, the *Maire de Palais*, were his Guardians (7). *Pipin* return'd to *Austrasia*, with the other *Ostro-Franks* of Distinction, whom *Dagobert* had kept at his Court, and there shar'd the Cares of the Government, as *Maire de Palais*, with his old Friend the Bishop of *Cologne*. The Queen-Dowager found it likewise adviseable to constitute a separate *Maire de Palais*, in *Burgundy*, which Post the deceas'd King had abolish'd at the Desire of the *Burgundians* (8). Thus, during the Minority of both Kings, the *Maires de Palais* bearing the Sway in *Austrasia*, *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, the Foundation was laid for that Power and Authority, which we shall, in succeeding Times, find these Officers invested with. *Pipin* died soon after †, and *Grimoald*, his † *A.* 639. Son, was resolv'd to succeed in his Father's Post at any Rate. *Otto*, who had hitherto been intrusted with the Education of the young King, aim'd at it likewise. *Grimoald*, before all Things, secur'd the Interest of the Bishop of *Cologne*: Nor was *Otto* destitute of Adherents. A publick Rupture hereupon ensued, which continued three Years, 'till *Otto* was kill'd by *Leutharius*, Duke of the *Alemanni* (9). I must, by the Way, observe, that this Duke *Leutharius* is very famous in Genealogy, where

(5) ISIDORUS, Chron. Goth. er. 651. *says of* Sisenandus: Qui in initio regni sui Judæos ad fidem Christianam permovens, æmulationem quidem Dei habuit, sed non secundum scientiam. Potestate enim compulit, quos provocare fidei ratione oportuit. Sed sicut scriptum est, sive per occasionem, sive per veritatem Christus adnuntiatur. Which is repeated by Rodericus Toletanus.

(6) CONCIL. TOLET. IV. c. 56. De Judæis autem præcipit sancta synodus, nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre. Cui enim vult, Deus miseretur: & quem vult, indurat. Non enim tales inviti salvandi sunt, sed volentes, ut integra sit forma justitiæ.

(7) FREDEGARIUS, c. 79. Omnesque Leudes de Neuster & Burgundia eum Massolaco, villa, sublimant in regnum. Æga vero cum

Regina, Nantechilde, quam Dagobertus reliquerat, regebat palatium.

(8) IDEM, c. 89. Cumque Nantechildis cum filio suo, Chlodoveo, Rege, post discessum Æganæ, Aurelianis, in Burgundiæ regnum venisset, ibique omnes Seniores, Pontifices, Duces & Primates de regno Burgundiæ ad se venire præcepit: ibique cunctos Nantechildis sigillatim adtrahens, Flaochatus, genere Francus, Major Domus, in regnum Burgundiæ, electione Pontificum, & cunctorum Ducum, a Nantechilde, Regina, in hunc gradum honoris nobiliter stabilitur.

(9) IDEM, c. 88. Otto, qui adversus Grimoaldum inimicitia per superbiam tumebat, factione Grimoaldi. a Leuthario, Duce Alemannorum, interficitur.

he is said to have given Rise to the Counts of *Alsatia*, from which fruitful Branch of Heroes are descended the Houses of *Habsburg*, *Lorrain*, and *Baden* (10).

Rudolph,
Duke of *Thuringia*, rebels,
&c.

† A. 640.

§ VIII. *RUDOLPH*, Duke of *Thuringia*, had been several Times successful against the *Sclavi*, which made him so vain, that he thought much of being subject to *Adalgisil*. *Sigebert's* Youth, and the Dissentions among the Nobles at Court, about the Place of *Maire de Palais*, excited him now to that Degree, that he at last publickly rebell'd against the King (1). He had not only some Adherents at *Sigebert's* Court, who promis'd to farther his Designs, but he depended likewise on the Assistance of a powerful Nobleman in *Bavaria*, nam'd *Farus*, whose Father, being at Variance with *Arnulph* and *Pipin*, had been murder'd in *Dagobert's* Reign. But *Sigebert* assembled all his Vassals in *Austrasia* †, and pass'd the *Rhine* with an Army (2). *Farus* hazarded an Engagement with him; but was himself kill'd in the Field. The *Franks* hereupon march'd through the *Buch-Wald*, into *Thuringia*. *Rudolph* had built a Fort on a Hill near the *Unstrut*, where he and his Adherents had secur'd their Wives and Children, together with their best Effects, and they ventur'd to stand a Siege. When the Army arriv'd here, the Commanders were divided. Some mov'd for an immediate Attack; but others, particularly *Grimoald*, and Duke *Adalgisil*, advis'd, that the Army should first take some Rest (3). The Heat of the former prevail'd; but as they attempted to mount the steep Ascent, *Rudolph* repell'd them with so much Advantage, that a great Number, together with their Commanders, lost their Lives. The young King could not refrain from Tears at the Loss of so many valiant Men; and those, who were with him thought it

(10) This Genealogy is properly illustrated by F. Vignier, in his Treatise intitl'd: La veritable origine des Maisons d' Alsace, de Lorraine, &c. Eccard treats of it yet more circumstantially in Originib. Habsburgo-Austriac. Lib. 1. c. 2.

§ VIII. (1) FREDEGARIUS, c. 77. Radulfus, Dux, filius Chamari, quem Dagobertus in Thuringia Ducem instituit, pluribus vicibus cum exercitu Winidorum dimicans, eosque victos vertit in fugam. Hujus victoriae superbia elatus, & contra Adalgiselum, Ducem, diversis occasionibus inimicitias tendens, paulatim contra Sigebertum jam tunc coepit rebellare.

(2) IDEM, c. 87. Jussu Sigeberti omnes Leu-

des Austrasiorum, in exercitu gradiendum, ban- niti sunt.

(3) IDEM, l. c. Sigebertus Rhenum cum exercitu transiens, gentes undique de universis regni sui pagis ultra Rhenum cum ipso adunatae sunt. Primo in loco filium Chrodoaldi, nomine Farum, qui cum Radulfo unitum habebat consilium, exercitus Sigeberti trucidans rupit, ipsumque interfecit: omnem populum hujus Fari, qui gladium evasit, captivitati deputant. Omnesque primates, & exercitus dextras invicem dantes, ut nullus Radulfo vitam concederet. Fredegarius, c. 52. treats of Chrodoaldus, and calls him quendam e proceribus de gente nobili Ayglolina.

most

most adviseable to accommodate Matters amicably with the Duke, that they might themselves return in Safety over the *Rhine* (4). After this Time, *Rudolph*, indeed, acknowledg'd, to all Appearance, *Sigebert's* Supremacy; but govern'd actually in *Thuringia*, as a King, and made Leagues with the *Sclavi*, and other neighbouring Nations, thereby to be the better able to keep his Ground (5).

§ IX. IN the mean Time, while the Kingdom of the *Franks* enjoy'd this Tranquility, unhappy Divisions arose in the *Roman Empire* in the *East*. The Army had conceiv'd a very great Hatred for *Mauritius*. The *Abares* had taken some Thousands of *Roman Soldiers* Prisoners, which they offer'd to the Emperor for a small Ransom; but he refusing it, they massacred them. It was thought a Piece of military Discipline in ancient *Rome*, not to redeem Captives (1): But this, in Times so effeminate as these, would not go down. The Army imputing it to the Avarice of *Mauritius*, rebell'd, and set up *Focas* for Emperor. He soon made the Emperor Prisoner, and first caus'd his Sons to be murder'd, in his Presence, and then himself. *Mauritius* bore his unhappy Fate, with great Constancy, and seem'd not so much concern'd for his Sufferings, as for the Sins, whereby he might have provok'd the Divine Wrath: The Re-

Occurrences
in the Empire
under *Focas*
and *Heraclius*,
&c.

(4) IDEM, c. 87. p. 656. Sigebertus deinde, Buchoniam cum exercitu transiens, Thoringiam properans. Radulfus hæc cernens castrum, lignis munitum, in quodam monte super Unestrude fluvio in Thuringia construens, exercitum undique, quantum plus potuit, colligens, cum uxore & liberis in hoc castrum ad se defensandum stabilivit: ibique Sigebertus cum exercitu regni sui veniens, castrum undique circumdat exercitus. Radulfus vero intrinsecus ad prælium fortiter præparatus sedebat. Sed hoc prælium sine consilio initum est. Hoc adolescentia Sigeberti Regis patravit, cum alii eodem die vellent procedere ad bellum, & alii in castro, nec unitum habentes consilium. Grimoaldus & Adalegifelus duces hæc cernentes, Sigeberti periculum zelantes, eum undique sine intermissione custodiunt. Bobo, dux Arvernus cum parte exercitus Adalegifeli, & Ænovalaus, comes Sogiantensis, cum pagensibus suis, & cetera exercitus manus plurima contra Radulfum ad portam castri protinus pugnandum perrexerunt. Radulfus cum aliquibus ducibus

exercitus Sigiberti fiduciam haberet, quod super ipsum non voluissent viribus inruere: de castro per portam prorumpens, super exercitum Sigiberti cum suis inruens, tanta strages a Radulfo cum suis de exercitu Sigiberti fit, ut mirum fuisset. Magancenses in hoc prælio non fuerunt fideles. Ferturque ibi plurima millia hominum fuisse trucidata gladio. Radulfus patrata victoria in castrum ingreditur. Sigibertus cum suis fidelibus gravi amaritudinis mœrore abreptus, super equum sedens, lacrymas oculis prorumpens, plangebatur quos perdidit, &c.

(5) IDEM, l. c. Radulfus superbia elatus ad modum Regis in Thoringia se esse censebat, amicitias cum Winidis firmans, ceterasque gentes, quas vicinas habebat, cultu amicitiae obligabat. In verbis tamen Sigiberto regimen non denegabat, sed in factis fortiter ejusdem resistebat dominationi.

§ IX. (1) LIVIUS, Lib. 22. 59.

† A. 610.

membrance of which made him several Times break out in these Words : *Lord, thou art just, and just are thy Judgments* *. Pope Gregory the Great, who was at Variance with *Mauritius*, form'd great Hopes of *Focas's* Reign, as appears from the Letters, wherein he congratulates him, and the Empress *Leontia*, on their Accession to the Throne (2). He entreated him indeed to be thoughtful how to free *Italy* from the *Lombards* : But *Focas* was too deeply engag'd in the unhappy War with the *Persians* (3) ; for *Cosroës* had taken *Syria*, *Palestine* and *Phœnicia* : His Carriage was moreover such, that when *Heraclius* set up for Emperor †, he was joyfully receiv'd. *Heraclius* had likewise bloody Wars with the *Persians*, in which he made Use of *Turkish* Auxiliaries, as *Justin* had formerly done. These dwelt then beyond Mount *Caucasus*, and invaded the *Persian* Dominions, on the Side of *Derbent*, with such Advantage, that the Fame thereof reach'd even the *Franks* (4). He obtain'd a glorious Victory, A. 621 : And an advantageous Peace ensued, A. 628, by Virtue of which the *Persians* restor'd some Provinces to the *Roman* Empire. His Reign is particularly memorable (5) on Account of two Circumstances, the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, and the great Revolution of the *Saracens*. I have already more than once taken Notice (6) of the Commotions rais'd in the Empire by the *Eutychians*, and mention'd in particular what Pains *Justinian* took to maintain the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where *Eutyches* had been condemn'd : But the *Acephali* found now another Means of concealing their Error, and keeping open their Way to Preferment in the Church. As they were forc'd

* THEOPHYLACT. Lib. 8. 11.

(2) GREGORIUS, Lib. 13. ep. 31, 38.

(3) He says, ep. 38. (where he entreats him to give a good Reception to Boniface, the Deacon :) Cui rogo, ut Serenitas vestra, nobis valeat celerius misereri, quando afflictionem nostram verius ex ejus relatione cognoverit. Qualiter enim quotidianis gladiis & quantis Langobardorum incurfionibus, ecce jam per triginta quinque annorum longitudinem premimur, nullis explere suggestionis vocibus valemus. Sed in omnipotente Deo confidimus, quia ea, quæ cœpit, consolationis suæ nobis bona perficiet, & qui suscitavit in Republica pios Dominos, etiam extinguet crudeles inimicos.

(4) In FREDEGARIUS, cap. 66. we find a

remarkable Passage concerning these Portæ Caspiæ : Heraclius legationem ad Portas Caspias, quas Alexander Magnus, Macedo, super Caspium mare æreas fieri, & ferrare jusserat, propter inundationem gentium sævissimarum, quæ ultra montem Caucasii culminis habitabant, easdem portas Heraclius aperire præcepit. Whoever is desirous to inquire more narrowly into these so remote Pieces of Antiquity, will take the more Pleasure in reading Baleri's learned Treatise de Muro Caucaseo.

(5) GEORGIUS PISIDIUS, Arch-Deacon of the Church at Constantinople, wrote the History of Heraclius, and particularly that de Bello Avarico. F. Maltraite gave us Hopes of seeing them in Print, but we have not yet that Satisfaction.

(6) Vid. Lib. 11. § 28. & Lib. 13. § 28.

to

to acknowledge both Natures in our Saviour's Person, so on the other Hand they taught, that he had only one Will, and that according to his Divine Nature, whence they were call'd *Monothelitæ* (7). They won the Emperor *Heraclius* over to their Party, who publish'd such a Confession of Faith †, and Pope *Honorius* himself fell into the Snare, laid † *Ecthesis*. for him by the artful *Greeks* (8). After his Decease the Emperor refus'd to confirm the new-elected Pope, *Honorius*, 'till he had subscrib'd to this *Ecthesis*, as he called it: *Isaacius*, the *Exarchus*, repair'd for that Purpose to *Rome* (9); but took this Opportunity to carry off the Treasure, deposited in the *Lateran* Palace (10). The Emergencies of the Empire serv'd as a Cloak, to palliate the Avarice of the *Greeks*, and their Desire of pillaging *Italy* more and more.

§ X. How foreign soever an Account of the *Saracens* may seem to my Design, yet I must here mention the Foundation of their Monarchy. They gave the last Shock to the *Roman* Empire in the *East*; and we shall find them, when least expected, invading *Spain*, vanquishing the *Wisi-Goths*, and even trying their Fortune against the *Franks* in *Gaul*. In succeeding Ages, at the Time of the *Crusadoes*, how did not almost all the *Western Christians* exert both their Valour and Devotion against them. The Inhabitants of *Arabia*, who are known by the general Name of *Saracens* (1), were divided into many Branches, most of which call'd themselves Descendants of the Patriarchs. The *Koreish*, in particular, who were possess'd of *Mecca*, pretended to be descended from *Ishmael*. Some of these Nations had, indeed, profess'd the *Christian* Faith; but the various Hereticks, who, when persecuted in the *Roman* Empire, took Refuge there, had corrupted the same very much. Most of them were a Kind of *Pagans*, but, amidst their Idolatry, retain'd some Traces of the ancient and reveal'd Worship of a SUPREAM BEING (2). Some held with

Origin of the Kingdom of the *Saracens*.

(7) Vid. COMBESII *Historia Monothelitarum*, §. 1—4.

(8) It is much doubted, whether Pope *Honorius* actually embrac'd the Doctrine of the *Monothelites*. Vid. PAGIUS, ad An. 633. n. 13. 1.

(9) PAGIUS, ad A. 638. n. 3, 4.

(10) ANASTASIUS. Conf. COMBESII, l. c. § 12.

Those seem to hit it best, who, with LUC. HOLSTENIUS, in Not ad Stephanum Byzantium de Urb. p. 283. and HERBELOT, in Bibl. Orient. p. 777. derive it from the City of *Saraca*. They are, likewise, call'd *Agareni*, or *Hagareni*, from the Word *Hagiar*, which is properly the Name of *Arabia Petraea*. The Followers of *Mahomed* call themselves *Moslemuna*, that is, the Faithful, or Resigned to GOD.

§ X. (1) Various are the Conjectures of the Learned about the Origin of the Name of *Saracens*.

(2) Vid. ABRAH. ECHELLENS. in Supplem. Hist. Orient. cap. 6.

the *Magi*, and adher'd to the ancient Religion of the *Persians*; but more, and among those, in particular, the *Koreish*, were of the Sect of the *Sabii* (3); which had, in former Times, been very famous in the *East*. They acknowledg'd one only GOD, but, in a certain Measure, ador'd the Stars, which, they imagin'd, were govern'd by certain particular Spirits. Tho' *Trajan*, and other *Roman* Emperors, triumph'd as Conquerors of *Arabia*, yet the *Romans* subdu'd but a small Part of this vast Country, namely, that which is properly call'd *Arabia Petraea*. The other *Arabians* preserv'd their Liberties, 'till *Mahomed* laid a Foundation, at one and the same Time, for a new Religion and a new Empire: He was a Native of *Mecca*, bred to Trade (4); but, by Nature, capable of appearing in a higher Sphere: He possess'd a good Aspect, Sagacity, Valour and Eloquence; and knew, at the same Time, how to conceal an insatiable Ambition, under the Appearance of Zeal, Devotion and Love for the Poor (5). In the Year 611, he set up for a Prophet, under Pretence, that the Angel *Gabriel* had appear'd to him. The chief Purport of his Doctrine was, that there was One only GOD, and that he was his Prophet. From the Revelations, he boasted of, he afterwards compos'd the Book, which is known by the *Arabian* Name *Al-Coran*. When his Profelytes begun to be numerous, the *Koreish* oppos'd him so strenuously, that he was oblig'd to fly from *Mecca*†. He repair'd to *Medina*, and this Flight was fix'd upon, by his Followers, as the Beginning of that *Aera*, which they make Use of to this Day. Hitherto he had only endeavour'd to gain Converts by Persuasion: But now his real Views appear'd. He pretended, that GOD had permitted him to defend himself; and when he succeeded in this, he went farther, and said, he was empower'd to extirpate Idolatry by Force. The Conquest of *Mecca* was, as it were, his first Essay; and he was now acknowledg'd a

† A. 622, d.
16. Jul.

(3) Of the Religio Sabiorum, see PRIDEAUX's Translation of the Coran. Connection of the Hist. of the Old and New Testam. and SALE's Præl. Disc. p. 14.

(4) ELMACIN. in Histor. Saracen. Lib. 1. cap. 1. Among the Arabian Writers, Abulfeda is famous for writing Mahomed's Life. Maraccius and Prideaux distinguish'd themselves by writing the same Life. But Count Boulainvilliers charges them with being too credulous, and receiving every Fable as true. He himself is almost suspected of having conceiv'd too good an Opinion of Mahomed. Mr. Sale relates this Pseudo-Prophet's History with most Veracity, in the Preliminary Discourse to his English

(5) In these Colours he is represented by Spanheimius, Hist. Eccl. Sec. 7. cap. 5. Id certum, naturalibus egregie dotibus instructum Muhamedem, forma præstanti, ingenio callido, moribus facietis, ac præ se ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in singulos, fortitudinem in hostes, ac præ ceteris reverentiam divini numinis: And, c. 7. Severus fuit in perjuros, avaros, falsos testes, &c. Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes, ac superiores, præco, ut & divinarum laudum.

Prophet

Prophet throughout almost all *Arabia*; under which Title he exerted an unlimited Authority. He died at *Medina*, *A.* 632, where his Tomb is to be seen to this Day. Soon after his Death, those *Saracens*, who had, 'till then, been in Pay under the *Romans*, revolted, and join'd the Rest of their Country-Men (6). Now what could there be out of the Power of so mighty a Nation to execute? whose natural Fire had inspired as well their Valour, as their Experience, and who were, at the same Time, prompted, not only by an Ambition of founding a great Kingdom, but by a Zeal for their Religion; which was in a particular Manner adapted, so as to gain Profelytes from every Sect. Many of the ancient Rites of the *Koreish*, particularly Circumcision, and the Adoration of the Temple at *Mesca*, were retain'd; and, by Polygamy, it conform'd to the Manners of almost all the *East*. In the *Coran* itself, we find several Things agreeable to the Sentiments of the *Jews*, and many likewise to the *New Testament*; but these latter seem rather to have been taken from some spurious Writings, than from the true Sources of *Christianity*; and *Mahomed* could not form a right Judgment of the Morality thereof, by Reason of the Depravation of those Times. It was, at the same Time, adapted to keep up in the People an implicit Obedience, and an Intrepidity in War; for, besides the Doctrine of inevitable Destiny, they were taught, that those, who were kill'd in War against the Enemies of their Faith, are immediately admitted into Paradise (7). Next to these Things, the Nature and Situation of *Arabia*, the Declension both of the *Roman* and *Persian* Empire, and even the unhappy State of the Church, in which the Force of salutary Doctrine was almost swallow'd up in Controversy; all these, I say, contributed greatly to the so speedy Extension of the Dominion of the *Saracens*.

§ XI. *MAHOMED* had, indeed, before his Decease, appointed his Son-in-Law, *Ali*, to be his Successor; but *Abubeker* was, by a Majority, chosen *Caliph*, (for so the Princes of the *Saracens*, *Mahomed's* Successors, are call'd). *Ali* repair'd, in Discontent, to his Army, and this Division in the Government soon occasion'd a Schism in Religion. *Abubeker* first fix'd his Residence at *Cufa*, and afterwards at *Bagdad*. *Omar*, his Successor, conquer'd *Syria* and *Phoenicia*, and soon after, *Egypt*, *Judæa*, and the City of *Jerusalem*, which remain'd in the Hands of these Infidels, 'till *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* took it from them. He, likewise, took large Tracts of Land from the *Persians*, and, in *Osman's*

(6) *PAGIUS* ad *A.* 631. n. 2.2: § 38. & in *Diff. de Jure Milit. Mahom.*(7) *RELANDUS* de Religione *Mohamedan.* L. § 3. 12.

Reign, the *Muslemen* had an Opportunity of establishing themselves in *Africa*: For when *Gregory* assum'd the Imperial Dignity in that Country, the Inhabitants demanded the Aid of the *Saracens*. These, indeed, vanquish'd *Gregory*, but impos'd a Tribute themselves on the Provinces. The greatest Indication of their Power is, that, after several Victories, they at last, *A. 651*, subverted the *Persian* Empire, which, 'till then, had been so formidable to the *Romans*. After *Osman's* Death, *Ali* was, indeed, at last, chosen *Caliph*; but the Schism, which was once propagated in the Religion of the *Saracens*, continues to this Day. *Ali*, in his Exposition of *Mahomed's* Doctrine, had left a greater Scope of Liberty, than *Abubeker* and his Followers; but *Omar* and *Osman* wrote against him. The *Turks* follow the Interpretation of *Osman*, and the *Persians* and *Arabians* that of *Ali*.

Pope *Martin*
holds a Synod
against the
Monothelites.

§ XII. BUT the *Romans* took no Example from these Presages of impending Judgments: Several Churches had zealously oppos'd the *Monothelites*, and particularly Pope *Theodorus*. The Emperor *Constans*, therefore, publish'd another *Typus*, written by *Paul*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, wherein the Use of the Words, *of one or two Wills*, was prohibited. In the mean Time, those, who were of the former Opinion, were, upon all Occasions, promoted (1). The Orthodox complain'd greatly, that Truth and Error were put upon an equal Footing. The Court, the People and the Army were all divided. Pope *Martin* held a Council, *A. 649*, in the *Lateran*, with the Bishops of *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corfica*. Here he rejected this *Typus*, and condemn'd the Doctrine of one Will, as a Branch of the *Eutychian* Heresy. The whole Fault was imputed to the Patriarch, without derogating from the Respect due to the Emperor *. *Martin* sent (2) this Decree to the *Franconian* Church (3), and intreated the two Kings, *Sigebert* and *Clovis* (4), to

§ XII. (1) *Conf. COMBESISIUS, p. 54. C.*

* *The Fathers, at the Synod, say of this Typus: Factus est ex subreptione, non ex studio aut mente piissimi nostri Imperatoris, sed ex suasionem importuna, & falsiloquio Pauli, &c. Pope Martin files the Emperor, in the Letter he sent to him: Piissimum Dominum, diligentem Deum, sincerum Christi Ministrum, optimum Imperatorem. In the Acta Concilii VI, he is call'd sanctæ Memoræ Imperator.*

(2) *BARONIUS has published this Encyclica, ad An. 649.*

(3) *The Letter is extant, which he wrote to Anandus, Bishop of Tongres, ap. Cointe, An. 651. n. 26. wherein is the following remarkable Passage: Unde prævidimus volumina gestorum Synodaliū in præsentī vobis dirigere, una cum Encyclica nostra. Ex quorum serie omnia subtiliter potestis addiscere, & tenebras illorum nobiscum, ut filii lucis, extinguere. Idcirco studeat frater-*

(4), to assemble the Bishop of their Kingdoms, that they might send some eminent and experienc'd Men to *Rome*, to go from thence to *Constantinople*, and represent to the Emperor, with the greater Energy, the Sense of the *Christians* in the *West*. It is uncertain, whether, or how far the *Franconian* Church, which had, 'till then, been neutral in these Controversies of the *Greeks*, interfer'd here. Nor, indeed, did the Emperor give the Pope Time to execute his Design. The *Exarchus*, *Calliopas*, receiv'd Orders to go to *Rome* †, and take him away by Force (5). † 654. They pretended, that he had carried on an Intelligence with *Olympius*, the former *Exarchus*, who attempted to assume the Imperial Dignity at *Rome* (6), and that his Election had not been carried on fairly. He was cast into a Prison at *Constantinople*, and, at last, banish'd into the *Peninsula*, which lies on the *Hellepont* * : And *Eugene* succeeded him * *Chersonesus Thracica.* at *Rome*.

§ XIII. IN the Year 663, the Emperor *Constans* took a Tour to *Italy*, with the View of making, tho' late, a vigorous Attack on the *Longobards*; but it was even then reported, that he intended to remove the Seat of the *Roman* Empire to *Rome*. He pass'd thro' *Greece*, and landed at *Tarento*: He then laid Siege to *Benevento*: But when *Romold*, King *Grimoald's* Son, to whom his Father had conferr'd the Government of that Dukedom, made a vigorous Defence, and the King himself was on his March, with a select Army, to relieve the Place, he rais'd the

The Emperor
Constans goes
to *Italy*, &c.

fraternitas tua omnibus eadem innotescere, ut tam abominandam hæresin nobiscum execrentur, quamque suæ salutis sacramenta addiscere valeant, atque Synodali conventionem omnium fratrum & Coepiscoporum nostrorum partium illarum effecta, secundum tenorem Encyclicæ a nobis directæ, scripta una cum subscriptionibus vestris nobismet destinanda concelebrent, confirmantes atque consentientes eis, quæ pro orthodoxa fide & destructione hæreticorum vesanæ, nuper exortæ, a nobis statuta sunt. Et Sigebertum, præcellentissimum filium nostrum, Regem Francorum, pro suæ Christianitatis remedio consultissime admone, atque precare, dirigere nobis ex corpore fratrum nostrorum dilectissimos Episcopos, qui sedis Apostolicæ legatione, divina concedente propitiatione, fungi debeant, & quæ in nostro concilio peracta sunt, cum his synodalibus apicibus vestris, ad Clementissimum principem nostrum sine dubio adspontare; ut nostrorum laborum particeps effectus,

mercedis cumulum adipisci valeat, & sui regni protectorem inveniat eum, cujus causa flagitari dignoscitur. Hoc namque & in ejus epistola exhortari eum cognovimus.

(4) That the same was sent to Clovis, appears ex Vit. S. Eligii & S. Audoeni. But both Lives are either not so old, as they are pretended to be, or else spurious.

(5) This Calculation is adjusted by Pagius ad An. DCL. n. 5.

(6) Pag. 26. In the Exc. ANASTASII, Dorotheus, Patricius Siciliæ, is introduc'd, as speaking thus: Quinquaginta capita si haberet, non oporteret eum vivere, eo quod solus subvertit & perdidit universum occidentem, & delevit: Et revera unius consilii fuit cum Olympio, & inimicus homicida imperatoris, & Romanæ urbanitatis.

Siege, and repair'd to *Naples*; in which March, the Count of *Capua* way-laid him, and greatly harra's'd his Troops. *Romoald*, in the mean Time, defeated the General *Saburrus*, whom the Emperor had left behind with 20,000 Men. From thence *Constans* went to *Rome*, which had long seen no Emperor. Pope *Vitalian*, with all the Clergy, and great Numbers of the People, went six *Roman* Miles from the City, to meet him, and receiv'd him with great Demonstrations of Respect (1). *Constans* presented the Altar of *S. Peter's* with Ornaments wrought in Gold: But the *Romans* were deceiv'd in the Hopes they had conceiv'd of his coming thither. He caus'd many Things that were esteem'd, either for their Art or Value, at *Rome*, and, among the Rest, even the Copper-Plates that cover'd the *Pantheon*, to be carried off, to enrich *Constantinople* (2), and, at the Expiration of twelve Days, return'd to *Naples*, and from thence, thro' *Reggio*, into *Sicily*. He made some Stay in this Isle, and was murder'd at *Syracusa*, *A.* 668. The Ships, that were laden with the Spoils taken from *Rome*, fell into the Hands of the *Saracens*, and, instead of embellishing *Constantinople*, were carried to *Alexandria* (3). *Constantine Pogonatus*, his Son, found it difficult to keep the *Saracens* even from *Constantinople*, 'till, *A.* 678, he made a Truce with them for 30 Years. During this Peace, he propos'd to establish Unity in the Church; and as both the Orthodox and *Monothelites* continu'd 'till then unmolested, by Virtue of the before-mention'd *Typus*, he issu'd Writs for holding a Council, which was open'd in *September*, *A.* 680 (4). The Emperor himself assisted at the Meetings, where the Pope's Nuntioes sat on his left, and the Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Constantinople* on his right Hand. The Herefy of the *Monothelites* was at last condemn'd at this Council, and even Pope *Honorius's* Name was not spar'd. His Son, *Justinian II*, governing very imprudently, was depos'd by *Leontius*, *A.* 695. During these Divisions, the *Saracens* became entire Masters of *Africa*, *John*, the *Patricius*, having withdrawn the *Roman* Troops, *A.* 698; and, as it were, left the Country a Prey to the Infidels (5). So miserable was the Downfal of the Empire in the *East*; and so unhappy were the Effects of that absolute Power, introduc'd by *Justinian*, when it fell into Hands incapable of managing it. The Court of *Constantinople* retain'd, indeed, a great Pomp in Titles, Habits, Equipages and Theatrical Entertainments. It was become a Science to be

§ XIII. (1) PAULUS, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 6—10.

(2) PAULUS, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 11.

(3) IDEM, 5. 13.

(4) Vid. ACTA SYN. OECUMEN. VI.

(5) Of this Conquest of *Africa*, see MARMOL. *Lib.* 2. EM. A SCHELSTRAT. de Eccles. African. Diff. 4. c. 7. Theophanes imagines the Controverses of the *Monothelites*, among other Things, to have contributed to the Loss of *Africa*,

acquainted

acquainted with all those external Things (6), and to know the Ceremonies, that were to be observ'd at every Feast; while on the other Hand, all Embellishments of the Mind, and, with them, all Spirit and Courage, Arts and Sciences, vanish'd. Even on the Medals extant of those Times, the Inventions and Representations, are as debas'd, as the Metal itself. The Number of Books became small. When the *Saracens* sack'd *Alexandria*, which City was always famous for producing so many famous Men, learned in the *Egyptian* and *Grecian Philosophy*, and so many excellent Teachers of the *Christian Doctrine*, they made Use of the infinite Number of Books, they found there, to heat their Baths (7). Pope *Martin*, likewise, complain'd of the Scarcity of Books in *Rome* (8). The Barbarians were not satisfied with the Conquest of the Provinces of the *Roman Empire*, they resolv'd even to triumph over the Learning of former Times, and the Works of so many ingenious Writers.

§ XIV. THE State of the Empire being such, we need not wonder to find the *Longobards* establishing themselves yet more firmly in *Italy*. After *Agilulf's* Death, *Adehwald*, his Son, could not maintain his Crown (1). The *Longobards* expell'd him, and chose *Arialdus*, who had married *Gundeberga*, his Sister, for their King. This Prince was an *Arian*, which, probably, induc'd Pope *Honorius* to take the Part of the exil'd King, and to excite the *Exarchus* to do the same (2). *Rotharis*, his Successor, is not only famous for having extended the Borders of his Kingdom, but much more so for having given a written Law to the *Longobards*, who, 'till then, had been rul'd by their ancient Customs only. This

Continuation
of the History
of the *Longo-*
bards, &c.

(6) For a Proof of this, we need only read what Codinus and others say of the Ceremonials of the Grecian Court.

(7) ABULFARAI, in *Hist. DYNAST.* p. 144.

(8) In *Ep. ad Amandum*, ap. P. le COINTE, ad *An.* 651. n. 26. Reliquias sanctorum, de quibus presentium lator nos admonuit, dari præcepimus. Codices jam exinaniti sunt a nostra Bibliotheca & unde ei dare nullatenus habuimus. Some Writers have, indeed, charg'd Pope Gregory, the Great, with having caus'd ancient Manuscripts, and particularly this, to be burnt. But Grotterus has refuted them.

(2) This appears from a Letter of Pope Honorius, ad Isaacum, Exarchum, in Baronius: Delatum est ad nos, Episcopos Transpadanos, Petro, Pauli filio, suadere conatos esse, ut Adalvaldum, Regem, defereret, Arioaldoque Tyranno se applicaret. Quamobrem, quia Petrus pravis eorum consiliis respuit obedire, & sacramenta Regi, Agoni, Adalvaldi patri, præstita sancte cupit servare, & quia hoc Deo & hominibus est ingratum, ut, qui tale facinus vindicare deberent, eorum ipsi suafores existant; rogamus vos, ut, postquam Adalvaldum, divino in regnum, ut speramus, auxilio, reduceritis, prædictos Episcopos Komam mittere velitis, ne scelus hujusmodi impunitum relinquamus.

§ XIV. (1) PAULUS, *Lib. 4. c. 43.*

Edict (as it was call'd) contains 368 Chapters (3). In his Reign, there resided two Bishops in almost every City of the *Longobards*, one a *Catholick*, and the other of the *Arian* Persuasion (4). *Rodoald*, his Son, did not reign long. He was succeeded by *Aribert*, who was of *Bavarian* Extraction; for *Gundoald*, his Father, was Brother to Queen *Theodelinda*. He left two Sons, who divided the Kingdom between them, so that *Godobert's* Capital was *Milan*, and that of *Bertarid*, *Pavia*. The Power of the Kingdom was hereby greatly weaken'd, and *Grimoald*, Duke of *Benevento*, took Occasion from thence to usurp the Throne. *Godebert* was murder'd, and *Bertarid* escap'd by Flight (5). We can make no other Exception against *Grimoald's* Reign, but the Injustice whereby he obtain'd the Crown. The Advantages he gain'd over the Emperor *Constans*, render'd his Arms very formidable; and, at the same Time, gave him an Opportunity of extending his Dominions. The *Longobards* took from the *Greeks* *Bari*, *Taranto*, *Brindesi*, and the whole Country, which now is call'd *Terra d'Otranto*. The Emperors retain'd only *Naples*, *Otranto*, *Gallipoli*, *Gaëta*, and some other Cities on the Coast of *Calabria Ulterior*. But it is yet more remarkable, that this King profess'd the *Catholick* Faith, and by Degrees converted his Nation. *Bertarid*, on the other Hand, could hardly find a Place, to pass away his Exile in Safety. He, at first, took Refuge among the *Abares*; and afterwards fled to *Dagobert II*, King of *Austrasia*: But here he was, likewise, pursu'd by *Grimoald*, and he was just upon embarking for *England*, when he receiv'd the News of the latter's Death. This encourag'd him to return to *Italy*, where the Minds of the People were so suddenly chang'd, that they joyfully made him their King (6). After having reign'd some Years, he admitted *Cunibert*, his Son, to a Partnership in the Government (7). The Face of Affairs begun now to appear more favourable for the *Longobards* in *Italy*, after the Difference in Point of Religion ceas'd, and they began to have a greater Regard to Justice and Polity. *Rotharis*, by his Laws, had laid a Foundation for this, and *Grimoald* amended them, in some Respects. To their Honour*, they had one Custom in common with all the *German* Nations; their Laws were always decreed

(3) PAULUS, L. 4. c. 44. Hic Rotharis Rex, Longobardorum leges, quas sola memoria, & usu retinebant, scriptorum serie composuit, codicemque ipsum Edictum appellari præcepit.

(4) IDEM, l. c. Hujus temporibus pene per omnes civitates regni ejus duo Episcopi erant, unus catholicus, & alter Arianus,

(5) IDEM, L. 4. c. 53.

(6) IDEM, L. 5. c. 32, 33.

(7) IDEM, L. 5. c. 37.

* GIANNONI makes some good Observations on the Excellency of the Longobardick Laws, p. 355, sq.

at a Convention of the States. And it may serve, as a great Instance of the Mutability of all human Things, that they were preferr'd in a Country, where the *Roman* Laws had so long prevail'd: This was, perhaps, in some Measure, owing to their Conciseness and Perspicuity; the *Roman* Laws being now hardly intelligible. Next to this, the Constitution of Feodal Tenures contributed greatly thereunto: For as the Natives became, in Time, desirous of having a Share in the Wars and publick Employments; so they likewise submitted to those Laws and Ordinances, on which this Constitution was founded. Hence therefore it was, that so many Cities chose afterwards, of their own Accord, to retain many of the Laws of the *Longobards*. The latter permitted the Natives of *Italy*, to use the *Roman* Laws, which is chiefly to be understood of the *Codex Theodosianus*, or rather of the *Breviarium Aniani* (8). And in the Provinces which appertain'd to the *Exarchate*, the Institutes of *Justinian*, and the succeeding Emperors, were in Vogue, on which the Popes particularly insisted; insomuch, that the *Roman* Laws never entirely ceased in *Italy*. The *Longobards*, in the mean Time, forsook their ancient *German* Language, and accustom'd themselves to the *Italian*, the different Dialects of which, are, to this Day, a Testimony of those foreign Nations, who came into *Italy* (9). Now these Countries being thus divided between the Emperor and the *Longobards*, the Popes succeeded, the more easily, in their Views (10). They had sometimes suffer'd very much from the Emperors in the *East*, as the Instances of *Silverius*, *Vigilius* and *Martin*, demonstrate; but by Degrees, they found an Opportunity of restraining one Power, by the Means of another; and could, at the same Time, not only maintain the Rights of the Papal Chair, against the Court of *Constantinople*, but against the Avarice of the Patriarchs there, and likewise carry their Authority to a greater Height in *Italy*.

§ XV. *SIGEBERT* died A. 650, in the 21st Year of his Age, and 18th of his Reign; and is rever'd by the Church as a Saint, in Regard to his many liberal Foundations. He left, indeed, a young Prince, named *Dagobert*; but *Grimoald*, *Maire de Palais* gave out, that he was dead, and set up *Childebert*, his own Son, for King (1), under Pretence

The Death of
Sigebert, King
of *Austrasia*,
&c.

(8) JAC. GODOFREDUS in *Prolegom. ad Cod. Theodof.* c. 7. p. 196.

(9) GIANNONI, p. 284.

(10) IDEM, p. 269.

§ XV (1) *GESTA FRANC.* c. 43. *Ado* says, that *Grimoald* intrusted this young *Dagobert*, to

the Care of the Bishop of Poitiers. The Author of the *Chronicon Moissacense*, who liv'd in the Reign of *Ludovicus Pius*, and *Notgerus*, in *Vit. S. Remacii*, mention only, that *Grimoald* endeavour'd to raise his Son to the Throne. But *Pagius* ad A. 656. n. 14. and *Echard*, p. 235. observe, that this *Childebert* was actually reckon'd in the Series of their Kings.

of his having been adopted by *Sigebert*. The young Prince was sent to a Monastery in *Ireland*, and *Dido*, Bishop of *Poitiers*, undertook to carry him thither. *Clovis*, King of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, seemingly approved of his Proceedings, and invited *Grimoald* to come to *Paris*. But he was way-laid, taken, and deliver'd Prisoner to the King, in which Captivity he died (2). Nor do we find any farther Account of *Childebert*, his Son. *Dagobert* received no Advantage from hence; for *Clovis* took *Austrasia*, and united under himself, the whole Kingdom of the *Franks*. He died (3), *A.* 656, and left three Sons. *Clotarius III*, the eldest, succeeded at first in the whole Kingdom, under the Guardianship of *Balthildis* his Mother. She was born of *Anglo-Saxon* Parents, and sold in her Infancy as a Slave, but her Conduct in this Guardianship, was not the less glorious. As *Austrasia* was desirous of having a separate King, *Childerick*, the second Prince, was chosen, *A.* 660, at an Assembly of the States (4), and Duke *Wulfoald* was made his *Maire de Palais* (5). *Theodorick*, the youngest Son, was therefore at first excluded: But Providence had reserved the Kingdom for him, after the Decease of both his Brothers.

Ebroin, Maire de Palais, attempts to set up Theodorick for King.

§ XVI. WHEN *Clotarius* died, *A.* 670, in the Prime of his Years, without any, or at least without Male-Heirs, *Ebroin, Maire de Palais*, caused, by his Rashness, a great Confusion in the Kingdom of the *Franks*. Historians represent this Man in Colours as different, as were the Changes of his Fortune. He was proud, valiant, ready at inventing, and as quick in executing Projects to serve his Ends; indefatigably laborious, revengeful and cruel; no Treachery, no Violence were too great for him, if conducive to the Point he aimed at (1). He now resolv'd to place *Theodorick*, the youngest Brother, on the Throne, in Order to enjoy the more safely, the Sway he had hitherto born: But as he undertook to execute this Project of himself, the Nobles became discontented, and offer'd to *Childerick*, King of *Austrasia*, his Brother's Kingdom. One of the principal in this Confederacy, was *Leodegarius*, Bishop of *Autun*, from

(2) VIT. S. REMACLI, c. 21. & GEST. FRANCOR. c. 43.

(3) VID. MABILLONII Diss. de anno mortis Dagoberti I, & Clodovei junioris. PAGIUS confirms this Calculation, ad An. 656. n. 76. seq.

(4) PAGIUS, ad An. 660. n. 6.

(5) We find a Queen, nam'd Hymnechildis, mention'd as his Guardian. F. Pagi, ad A. 661.

n. 4. sq. conjectures, that she was King Sigebert's Widow, and that the Agreement, made with the Austrasians, was this, that Childerick should marry Bilichild, Sigibert's Daughter, and that this her Mother should, in the mean Time, be Guardian.

§ XVI. (1) But we must here take Notice, that we are forc'd to borrow the Accounts of him, from the Life of Leodegarius, Bishop of Autun, his Enemy.

whose

whose Life, we are forc'd to borrow these Circumstances (2). *Childerick* immediately set out, with his *Maire de Palais*, and succeeded so well, wherever he went, that *Ebroin*, in great Consternation, took Refuge in a Church, and was at last oblig'd to take it as a Favour, that he had Permission to repair to the Monastery of *Luxevil* (3), where he actually took the Habit (4). Those who had secured *Theoderick's* Person, had already cut off his Hair, to shew their Zeal. *Childerick* did him no farther Harm, but assign'd to him the Monastery of *St. Denis*, for his Residence. The *Franks* ty'd *Childerick* down to certain Articles (5); one of which was, that each Kingdom should, for the future, have a separate *Maire de Palais*, a Native of their own. This is look'd upon, as the Beginning of the great Declension of the Empire of the *Franks*: For in the Sequel of this History, we meet with hardly any other Subject, than the Wars between the *Maires de Palais*, which not only weaken'd the Constitution at Home; but likewise gave several Nations an Opportunity of withdrawing their Allegiance from the *Franks*.

(2) *Two Lives are extant of S. Leodegarius, one of which was written by Urfinus, and the other by some anonymous Author. Vid. Act. SS. Ord. S. Benedicti, T. II. p. 680. seq.*

(3) *Of this Revolution, see the following Circumstances, in Anon. Vit. S. Leodegarii, cap. 3. p. 602: Rex Clotarius a Domino vocatus de hac luce migravit. Sed cum Ebroinus ejus fratrem germanum, nomine Theodericum, convocatis optimatibus solenniter, ut mos est, debuisset sublimare in regnum, superbiæ spiritu tumidus eos noluit deinde convocare. Ideo magis cœperunt metuere, eo quod Regem, quam ad gloriam patriæ publice debuerat sublimare, dum post se retineret eum pro nomine, cui malum cupierat, audenter valeret inferre. Cumque multitudo nobilium, qui ad Regis novi properabant occursum, mandante Ebroino, itineris accepissent repudium; inito in commune consilio, relicto eo, omnes expetunt Childericum, juniorem ejus fratrem, qui in Austrasia acceperat regnum. In Urfinus's Account of his Life, we read, cap. 4. p. 618: Tum vero beatus Leodegarius, Episcopus, id audiens, celeritate ad palatium profectus est, & cum aliis de Rege constituendo, tractare cœpit. Cumque comperissent Childericum, Austrasiorum Regem adolescentem pro sua ætate regnum optime ad-*

ministrasse, quædam Francorum pars cum voluit habere Regem. Sed Ebroinus, qui Major domus fuerat sub Rege Clotario, Theodericum germanum cupiebat substituere patri in regno. Ejus autem nomen tum erat odiosum apud Francos, ut qui illo rursus jugo premendos se vererentur, quod sub Clotario per eum experti essent. Itaque, Ebroini consilio posthabito, Childericum Francorum Regem, elegerunt. Cernens ergo Ebroinus, se destitutum, consiliumque suum prorsus negligi, multo timore correptus, petiit a Rege, ut, rebus omnibus derelictis, permitteret ipsi vitam incolumi degere in Monasterio. Conf. Pagius ad A. 671. n. 6.

(4) *Conf. Anon. Vit. S. Leodegarii, cap. 7. & 8.*

(5) *Vit. S. LEODEGARII, cap. 4. Interea Childericum Regem expetunt universi, ut alia daret decreta, per tria, quæ obtinuerat, regna. Ut unius cujusque patriæ legem, vel consuetudinem, deberent, sicut antiquitus, Judices observare, & ne de una provincia Rectores in aliam introissent; neque unus ad instar Ebroini tyrannidem assumeret, & post modo, sicut ille, contubernales suos despiceret: sed dum mutuam sibi successionem culminis habere cognoscerent, nullus se aliis anteferre auderet. We find, in the mean Time, that Wulfoald was Maire de Palais in the three Kingdoms at once.*

*Childerick is
murder'd, &c.*

§ XVII. THE Bishop of *Autun* had, at first, a great Share in the Administration of the new Government (1): But some evil Counsellors took Advantage of the young King's Youth. He begun to dislike the Bishop, because he disapproved of the Match, with Queen *Blithildis*, on Account of their Consanguinity (2): And this Disgust was at Length so fomented, that he was forced to repair to the Monastery of *Luxeuil*, and there to accompany *Ebroin* in the very Condition, to which he himself had reduced him. The King gave his Subjects likewise Cause to murmur on other Occasions, 'till a rash Piece of Cruelty, at last, exasperated them to the highest Degree. He caus'd a Person of Distinction, among the *Franks*, named *Badilo*, to be ty'd to a Post, and scourged with Rods, without any formal Trial. *Badilo* immediately headed a Confederacy, even against the King's Life: And *Childerick*, together with his Wife and two Sons were murder'd, A. 673, at a Hunting-Palace near *Chelles* (3). *Wulfoald* fled to *Anstrasia*, where he had sufficient Leisure to repent of not having rather made Use of his Influence, in leading the King to Justice, and to a Moderation of his irregular Passions.

*Theodorick is
restor'd to the
Throne.*

§ XVIII. THIS Murder caus'd a fresh Revolution in the Kingdom of the *Franks*. *Childerick* indeed left a Son, who afterwards ascended the Throne, by the Name of *Childebert III*. But the opposite Party took *Theodorick* out of the Monastery, and a second Time elected him King; and made *Leudefus* his *Maire de Palais*. *Leodegarius*, Bishop of *Autun*, returned to Court (1): And *Ebroin* no sooner receiv'd the News of *Childerick's* Death, than he quitted the Monastery, and setting aside his Vow, repair'd to his Estate near *Soissons*: Of so little Efficacy, is the Solitude and Devotion of a Monastery, so long as the Mind is taken up with the Affairs of this World. But he did not venture to appear before *Theodorick*, after his Enemies had got Footing at Court; on the contrary, he join'd the Party, which oppos'd the new Government. Whatever

§ XVII. (1) Vit. LEODEGAR. cap. 7. *Leodegarius, on the Title to his Life, is call'd Major domus: But this Office was inconsistent with a Bishoprick; and Anon. in Vit. Leodeg. says, that Wulfoald was Maire de Palais.*

(2) *Blithildis is thought to have been King Sigebert's Daughter; thus the King and Queen were Cousin-Germans.*

(3) GEST. FRANC. 45. *Their Graves were, in the last Century, accidentally discover'd at Paris, in*

the Church of St. Germain. See VALES. Lib. 21. PAG. ad An. 673.

§ XVIII. (1) GESTA FRANCORUM, 45. *Franci autem Leudefium, filium Erchinoaldiobilem, in Majorem Domus Palatii eligunt. Eratque ex Burgundia in hoc consilio beatus Leodegarius, Augustodunensis Episcopus, & Gerinus, frater ejus, consentientes. Ebroin afterwards charg'd these two Brothers, with having been Confederates in the Plot against Childeric's Life.*

Animosity

Animosity may have subsisted between them, they now were united, as their Views were the same. *Audoenus*, Bishop of *Rouan*, his Countryman, and former Friend, as well as some others, sided with him privately in *Neustria*: So that he had, at the same Time, very different Instruments to make Use of, in the Pursuit of his Point. He spread a Report, that *Theodorick* was dead, and set up a Youth, whom he named *Clovis*, and pretended to be the Son of *Clotarius III.* With this Pretence, he rais'd an Army, and unexpectedly pass'd the River *Oyse*. He so gain'd the Confidence of *Leudesius* *, that he agreed to an Interview at *Crecy en Ponthieu*, where he treacherously caus'd him to be murder'd. His Friends at Court begun, at the same Time, to be in Motion, and they carried Matters so far, that King *Theoderick*, to put at once a Stop to this Civil-War, again Constituted him *Maire de Palais* (2). They agreed indeed, that both Parties should forget and forgive what had pass'd hitherto: But *Ebroin* found always some other Pretence to be reveng'd of his Enemies. He accus'd *Leodegarius*, Bishop of *Autun*, together with his Brother, of having had a Share in the Confederacy against *Childerick's* Life; whereupon the Bishop was, at a Synod, depriv'd of all his Ecclesiastical Dignities, and soon after murder'd (3). *Lambert*, Bishop of *Tongres*, was confin'd without any apparent Reason, to the Monastery of *Stablo*, from which he was afterwards set at Liberty by *Pipin*, and restored to his Diocese (4).

§ XIX. *DAGOBERT III.*, *Sigibert's* Son, whom *Grimoald* had sent to *Ireland*, now appear'd again in *Austrasia* (1), and was made King, *A. 674* (2). The Distractions of the Times pav'd the Way for his Return into *Germany*, and *Wulfoald*, with his Adherents, contributed pro-

Dagobert III.
Son to *Sigibert*, is made
King of
Austrasia.

* Some have attempted to derive from this *Leudesius*, the Dukes of Lower-Lorraine and Brabant, from whom the Landgraves of Hessen are descended. This is exploded by *SCHMINCKIUS* in *Diff. de Adalrico, seu Atbico*, Duce *Alsatia*, num fuerit *Leudesii*, Majoris Domus, filius?

(2) *AN. Vit. LEODEGAR. cap. 8. add. FRED. in Chron. Cont. 96.*

(3) *AN. Vit. LEODEGAR. c. 12. Conf. FREDIGARIUS, l. c.*

(4) *Vit. S. LAMBERTI ap. Du CHESNE, T. 1. p. 675.*

§ XIX. (1) The Restoration of this *Dagobert*, was first discover'd by *Valesius*, to whom the Learned allow this Honour. *F. Henschenius* proves it much more largely in his Book, *de tribus Dagobertis*. Add. *MABILON. in Præf. ad Sec. 4. Act. SS. Ord. Bened. P. 1. § 9. n. 198. sq. and ECHARD. T. 1. p. 258.*

(2) As for this Circumstance of Time, *Pagius ad a.h.n. 10. vindicates*, at large, *Valesius's* Conjecture, that *Dagobert* did not come into *Austrasia*, 'till after *Childerick's* Death. *F. Daniel* imagines, that he reign'd in *Austrasia* by *Childebert's* Consent.

bably most thereunto; for he remained *Maire de Palais* in this Reign (3). The History of this King is so obscure, that hardly any Account of him was extant, 'till *Valesius*, in a Manner, again assign'd him a Place, in the Series of the *Franconian* Kings, which *F. Henschenius* illustrates yet farther. We meet with one of the most explicit Testimonies, in the Life of *Wilfrid*, the famous *English* Bishop (4). *Dagobert* had, during his Adversity, greatly experienc'd this Prelate's Friendship, who likewise promoted his Return to *Austrasia*, and the King had now an Opportunity of retaliating those Favours. For when *Ecfridus*, King of *Northumberland*, deprived *Wilfrid* of the Bishoprick of *York*, *A.* 677, he retir'd to *Friesland*, where he met with a kind Reception from King *Algisus*, and begun the Conversion of the *Frisians*. He then visited *Dagobert*, who offer'd him the See of *Strasburg*, which *Wilfrid* declin'd, and continued his Journey to *Rome*. As the Reign of this King was short, and not very peaceable, the other Circumstances thereof remain very obscure. He wag'd War with *Theodorick* (5), and was murder'd about the Year 678, at the Instigations of the opposite Faction, which sided with *Theodorick*, or rather with *Ebroin* (6).

§ XX.

(3) That *Wulfoald* remain'd *Maire de Palais* under him, appears from the Passage, in the *Gesta Francorum*, cited in the following §.

(4) *EDDIUS* in *Vit. S. Wilfridi*, cap. 27. Postquam Deo amabilis Pontifex. noster in *Freis* hiemaverat, populum multum Domino lucratus, verno tempore adveniente cœptum iter, Deo adjuvante, ad sedem apostolicam cum comitibus carpebat, veniens ad *Francorum* Regem nomine *DAEGBERHT*, qui eum cum honore mansuetissime, pro meritis ejus antea actis in eum, suscepit. Nam supra dictus Rex in juventute sua, ab inimicis regnantibus in exilium proditionis pulsus, navigando ad *Hiberniam* insulam, Deo juvante, pervenit. Post annorum circulum amici & propinqui ejus viventem, & in perfecta ætate florentem a navigantibus audientes, misere nuncios suos ad beatum *Wilfridum*, Episcopum, petentes, ut eum de *Scotia* & *Hibernia* ad se invitasset, & sibi ad Regem emisisset. Et sic sanctus Pontifex noster perfecit, suscipiens eum de *Hibernia* venientem, per omnia ditatum, & viribus sociorum elevatum, magnifice ad suam regionem emisit.

Et hinc Rex beneficiorum ejus memor erat, diligenter poscens, ut in regno suo Episcopatum maximum, ad civitatem *Streitburg* pertinentem, susciperet: & eum nolentem accipere, cum muneribus & donis magnis, & cum *Deodato*, Episcopo suo duce, ad apostolicam sedem emisit.

(5) *Vit. S. SALABERGÆ*, cap. 13. p. 427. Quippe nuper civile bellum inter Reges *Francorum*, *Theodericum* & *Dagobertum*, circa illos fines est gestum: loca propinqua depopulata, vastati agri, vici ac ædificia incensa, atque ipsa sanctorum corpora igne cremata.

(6) *EDDIUS*, cap. 31. Pergente sancto Præsule nostro ab apostolica sede cum triumphali judicio per *Campaniam*, & montana transcendente, in regionem *Francorum* pervenit: ibique nuper amico suo fideli *DAEGBERHTO*, Rege, per dolum Ducum, & consensu Episcoporum (quod absit) infidiose occiso: ex quibus unus cum ingenti exercitu obviavit, cogitans impie in corde suo insidias, nisi Deus restitisset ei, sodales suos omnes spoliatos, aut in servitutem redigere, aut vendere sub corona,

§ XX. THO' Dagobert was thus dispatch'd, yet the *Austrasians* refused to be subject to *Theoderick*; and their Leaders were *Martin* and *Pipin*, both Grand-Sons to *S. Arnulph*. *Martin* was a Son of *Chlodulphus*, who afterwards became Bishop of *Metz*: *Pipin's* Parents were *Ansegisellus*, and *Bega*, the former *Pipin's* Daughter. He is call'd *Pipin* of *Herstall*, a Castle on the *Maes* near *Liege*, which became famous in History, by the Pleasure he took in residing there. *Theoderick*, and his *Maire de Palais*, appear'd again in the Field, and the *Austrasians* were defeated (1). *Martin* fled to *Laon*. *Ebroin* sent *Agilbert*, Bishop of *Paris*, and *Riolus*, Bishop of *Rheims*, to him thither; who persuaded him to come into the King's Quarters, assuring him upon Oath, that no Disaster should befall him there. Now, as it was at that Time customary, to produce some Relick, when Oaths were made, on which the Person, who swore, laid his Hand, so the Historian accuses these Bishops, of having taken the Oath on some empty Boxes, in which Relicks had been deposited: And *Martin* was, indeed, hardly arriv'd at *Ecri*, where the Court then resided, but he and his Family were murder'd (2). But *Ebroin* could not

Pipin is made *Maire de Palais* throughout the whole Kingdom of the *Franks*.

corona, seu rebellantes occidere, atque Pastorem sanctum nostrum anxiatum in custodia usque ad EBOINI, ducis, reservare judicium. Interrogavitque eum Episcopus, dicens: "Qua fiducia tam temerarie per Francorum regionem pergis, qui dignus es morte, quia nobis regem subdio tuo factum exilio, quia, emisisti? Dissipator erat urbium, consilia seniorum despiciens; populos, ut Roboam, filius Salomonis, tributo humilians; ecclesias Dei cum præsulibus contemnens: quorum malorum poenas luens occisus; cadaver ejus humatum jacet." Sanctus vero Pontifex humiliter respondit Episcopo: "Veritatem dico in Christo Jesu & per Sanctum Petrum Apostolum, non mentior, quia talem virum exultantem, & in peregrinatione degentem, secundum Dei præceptum Israëlito, qui accola fuit in terra aliena, auxiliatus inveni, & exaltavi in bonum, & non in malum vestrum. Hence it appears, that he was murder'd by Ebroin's Adherents, which explodes F. Daniel's Conjecture, that it was by a Residue of Grimoald's Faction. F. Pagi ad A. 678. n. 12. sq. affirms that Dagobert was put to Death, A. 678

quondam decedentibus Regibus, dominabantur in Auster: donec tandem aliquando hi duces in odium versi contra Ebroinum, exercitum plurimum Austrasiorum commoti, contra Theudericum, Regem, & Ebroinum acie dirigunt. Contra quos Theudericus, Rex, & Ebroinus cum hoste occurrunt, loco nuncupante, Lufao, simulque conjuncti cæde magna se invicem prosternunt, corruique ibi infinita turba populi. Austrasii devicti, in fugam lapsi, terga verterunt. Ebroinus, eos cæde crudelissima infecutus, maximam partem ex illa regione vastavit. Martinus per fugam elapsus Lauduno Clavato ingressus, illic se recludit. Pipinus autem altrinsecus evasit. Lufao was situate near Tull.

(2) CHRONIC. FREDEGARII, cap. 97. Persecutusque eum Ebroinus, veniens ERCHRECO, villa, ad Lugdunum Clavatum nuntios dirigit, Ægilbertum ac Reolum, Remensis urbis Episcopum, ut fide promissa, in incertum super vacuas capfas, sacramenta falsa dederent, &c. F. le Cointe vindicates them, ad A. 680. F. Mabillon points out the Situation of Erchrecum, in Annalibus Benedicti. L. 17. 23. He imagines it to be Ecri in Campania Remensi, ad AXONAM fluvium, paulo infra castrum Porciani.

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§ XX. (1) GESTA FRANCOR. cap. 46. Eo quoque tempore, decedente Vulfoaldo de Auster, Martinus & Pipinus Junior, filius Ansegiseli,

gain *Pipin*, either by Force or Stratagem: And he himself was stab'd A. 682, by a *Frank* of Distinction, whom he had treated very cruelly; and as the Murderer fled for Refuge to *Pipin* (3), and was kindly received by him, a Suspicion arose, that he was privy to the Design. He was, indeed, again defeated near *Namur*, by *Gislmarius*, *Maire de Palais*, in *Neustria* and *Burgundy* (4): But when *Bercharius* obtain'd that Post, his Pride pav'd the Way for *Pipin*, to attempt more than he, at first, perhaps design'd. The discontented Party, excited him to some Exploit, and many whom *Ebroin* had banish'd, urg'd him pressingly, to assist them in the Recovery of their own. Under this Pretence, he set out with an Army for *Neustria*, and encamp'd near *Tesbris*, on the *Somme*. King *Theoderick* and *Burcharius* lay opposite to him, insomuch, that only the River *Daumignon*, which falls into the *Somme*, separated the two Camps. *Pipin* first sent an Ambassador to the King, to make amicable Proposals: But *Bercharius* rejected them, either because he thought his Army to be the strongest, or would not trust to the Offers made. And indeed, what Dependence could be had on Treaties, at a Time, when Faith and Honour were so little regarded? *Pipin* therefore pass'd the River, and attack'd the King's Camp, on the *East* Side of it, that the *Neustrians* might have the Disadvantage of the Sun's shining in their Faces. The *Austrasians* obtain'd a compleat Victory †. The King and the *Maire de Palais*, escap'd indeed by Flight, but the latter was soon after murder'd (5), and a Treaty was concluded with the King, by which *Pipin* was declar'd *Maire de Palais*, over the three Kingdoms (6). With the King, he left one *Norbertus*, in whom he could confide, and return'd himself into *Austrasia*, where he had principally fix'd the Seat of his Power (7). From this Time he is call'd, *Dux & Princeps Francorum*,

† A. 68 .

(3) *Vita S. Leodegarii*. CHRONIC. FREDEGarii, cap. 97.

(4) CHRONICON FREDEGarii, cap. 98.

(5) IDEM, cap. 100. *Pipinus* victor extitit, persecutusque eos, eam regionem sibi subjugavit. Sequenti tempore idem *Bercharius* ab adulatoribus, falsis amicis, interfectus est, instigante *Ansfleda*, matrona, focu sua. Post hæc autem *Pipinus* *Theodericum* Regem, accipiens cum thesauris, & domum *Palatii*, omnia peragens, in *Auster* remeavit. Add. Gesta Francor. cap. 48. where we find almost the same Words.

(6) See the Passage of *ERCHANBERTUS* ad § seq.

ANNAL. METENS. ad An. 690. *Profectus* inde *Theodericum* fugientem persequitur, & *Parisi* usque civitatem pervenit. Quam sub ditione in potestatem redactam, *Theodericum* quoque recipiens, ne tyrannidem videretur exercere, nomen illi Regis inæstimabili pietate reservavit. Ipse vero totius regni gubernacula, thesaurosque regios, & universi exercitus dominationem, propriæ facultatis jure, disponenda retinuit.

(7) Gesta Francorum, cap. 48. Post hæc *Pipinus* cum *Theoderico*, Rege, cœpit esse *Princeps* regiminis, ac major domus. *Thesauris* acceptis, *Norbertum*, quendam de suis, cum Rege reliquit. Ipse in *Austriam* remeavit.

and

and introduced, in a Manner, a twofold Power among the *Franks*, that of a King, and of a Duke. And the Years of the *Maires de Palais*, are even plac'd with, and next to the Years of the Reigns of their Kings (8). We may easily imagine, that the Constitution itself was thereby in some Measure changed. Among the Regulations made by *Pipin*, we find, in particular, that he re-establiſh'd the ſo-nam'd *Campus Martius* (9). This was the general Aſſembly of the Nation, on the firſt of *March*, when they conſulted on what Steps ſhould be taken the enſuing Year. *Ebroin* was apprehenſive of a Convention of the People: *Pipin*, on the other Hand, knew how to make Uſe of them, to aggrandize his own Authority. So much more ſecure is a ſupreme Power, when founded on Love and Confidence, than when Fear and Oppreſſion is the Baſis.

§ XXI. FROM this Time, *Theoderick* was a kind of Priſoner at large, Transactions at a Country-Seat, whilſt the Regal Power was lodg'd in the Hands of in the Reigns of *Pipin*. *Theoderick* died, *A.* 691, and *Clovis III*, his eldeſt Son, who of *Clovis III*, *Childebert III*, was then about 10 Years of Age, was, by the *Franks*, declared King and *Dagobert III*, over the whole Nation. He was ſucceeded, *A.* 695, by *Childebert III*, his Brother, who was likewiſe very young, and whoſe Succeſſor was *Dagobert III*, his Son, *A.* 711. Three Kings having thus ſucceſſively acceded to the Throne very young, *Pipin* had the better Opportunity to eſtabliſh his Authority, and the new Form of Government, more firmly. After the Death of *Norbertus*, he conſtituted *Grimoald*, his Son, *Maire de Palais*, at King *Childebert's* Court (1). He himſelf remain'd in *Auſtraſia*. As this Country was the firſt Habitation of the

(8) *Conf. Pag. ad A.* 687. n. 10.

(9) *This Campus Martius is deſcrib'd in the ANNAL. METENS. ad An.* 692. Singulis vero annis in Kalendis Martii generale cum omnibus Francis, ſecundum priſcorum conſuetudinem, Concilium agebat. In quo ob regii nominis reverentiam eum, quem ſibi ipſe propter humilitatis & manſuetudinis magnitudinem præſecerat, præſidere jubebat: donec ab omnibus optimatibus Francorum donariis acceptis, verboque pro pace & deſenſione Eccleſiarum Dei, & pupillorum & viduarum facto, raptuque ſeminarum & incendio ſolido decreto interdicto, exercitui quoque præcepto dato, ut, quacumque die illis denunciaretur, parati eſſent in partem, quam ipſe diſponeret, proficiſci. His peractis, Regem illum ad *Maccas*, villam publicam, cuſtodiendum cum ho-

nore & veneratione mittebat. Ipſe vero præcinctus robore, comitante divino auxilio, regnum Francorum interius juſtitia & pace, exterius prudentiſſimis conſiliis, auxiliante Domino gubernabat.

§ XXI. (1) *GESTA FRANCORUM, cap.* 49. Eo quoque tempore *Norbertus* mortuus eſt: *Grimoaldus* quoque *Pipini*, Principis, filius junior, in aula Regis, *Childeberti*, major domus effectus eſt. Fragmentum *Erchanberti. ap. du Chefne, T. I. p.* 780. *Childebertum*, filium *Theodorici*, fratrem *Chlodovei*, ſtatuunt in regnum, qui regnavit annos XVII. Major domus conſtituitur *Grimoaldus*, filius *Pipini*, quia ipſe *Pipinus* ægrotare cœperat.

Franks, so was it still the Seat of the ancient Valour. During the Troubles, which the Empire of the *Franks* hitherto labour'd under, not only the *Gascons* and *Britons* had shaken off their Yoke, but likewise the *Frisians*, *Allemanni* and *Bavarians*, whose Transactions concern us more (2). *Pipin* resolv'd to reduce these People to their Obedience; and it was adviseable for him, as well to restore the Renown of the *Franconian* Arms, as, at the same Time, to find Employment for those who were turbulent abroad. He began with the *Frisians*, A. 689. The *Franconian* Historians divide *Friesland*, according to its Situation (3), on this Side or beyond the *Fly* (4). *Algisus*, their King, is known, in the History of this Century, for having given Protection to *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *York*. They were now govern'd by *Ratbod*, whom some call a Duke; but *Beda* and *Paulus*, a King of the *Frisians*. This Prince arm'd himself for a vigorous Resistance, and forc'd all the *Christian* Priests to quit the Country (5): But when they came to an Engagement, he was defeated, and oblig'd to promise a Tribute to the *Franks* (6). *Willibrod*, soon after, undertook to Convert the *Frisians*, and from *Beda's* Account it appears, that the Dominion of the *Franks* extended, at that Time, beyond the *Rhine*, and that the City of *Utrecht*, was included

(2) FRAGMENTUM ERCHANBERTI, l. c. Exhinc reges nomen, non honorem habere cœperunt. Quibus tamen, uti constitutum fuerat, victus fuerat exuberans, custodiaque jugis erga illos habebatur, ne aliquid jure potestatis agere possent. Illis namque temporibus, ac deinceps, Gotsfredus, dux Alemannorum, ceterique circumquaque duces, noluerunt obtemperare ducibus Francorum, eo quod non potuerunt Regibus Meroveus servire, sicut antea soliti fuerant. Ideo se unusquisque secum tenuit, donec tandem aliquando post mortem Gotsfridi ducis, Carlus, ceterique Principes Francorum, paulatim ad se revocare illos, arte, qua poterant, studuere. The Annales Metenses mention the Saxons among the Nations, who revolted from the Franks. But these were already exempted from all Tribute, ever since the Times of Dagobert I.

(3) PAGIUS ad An. 689. n. 9. Tunc Frisiorum regnum Oceano adjacebat, & a Rheno ad Eidoram, amnem, usque protendebatur. Citerior Frisia Rhenum inter & Flevum, ulterior Flevum inter & Eidoram erat. Ad citeriorem pertinebat Trajectum, vulgo MASTRIC, & Ultrajectum, vulgo UTRECHT.

(4) Flevus was the Name of that Channel of the Rhine, which Drusus caus'd to be made Eastwards, and to be united with the Yssel. It pass'd thro' the Lacus Flevus into the North-Sea. This Fossa Drusi was mention'd, Vol. I. L. 3. 14. But the Sea has since overflow'd that Country, as far as the Lacus Flevus, or the Zuyder Sea. Yet the Name of Fly is yet retain'd where the Flevus discharg'd itself into the Sea. ALTING. in Notit. Germ. Infer.

(5) Conf. PagiUS ad An. 689. n. 9.

(6) The Ann. Metens. give the most circumstantial Account of this Expedition. Pipinus exercitum universalem Francorum adunare præcepit. Tractatissime de utilitate Imperii consiliis, occurrit Radbodi, Frisionum Ducis, obviare superbiæ, qui tantæ stultitiæ involutus caligine fuit, ut contra Pipinum, invictum Principem, aciem parare præsumeret. In qua victus atque fugatus maximam partem exercitus sui perdidit. Seraque tandem pœnitentia ductus, Legatos ad Pipinum dirigens, pacem postulat, seque cum his, quos regebat, suæ ditioni subdidit. Obsidibus quoque datis, Pipini tributarius efficitur.

therein.

therein. But *Ratbod* broke the Treaty, and, in the Year 697, we find another Engagement mention'd, between the *Franks* and *Frisians*, near *Dursted* (7). After this, a better Understanding subsisted between them, and *Grimoald*, *Pipin's* Son, married, *A. 711*, *Teutsinda*, Daughter to the Prince of the *Frisians* (8). As for the *Alemanni* and *Swabians*, *Pipin* set out indeed with an Army for *Suevia*, in this and some succeeding Years, after the Death of *Godfrid*, their Duke, in *A. 709* (9). But it appears, that *Charles Martel*, his Son, was the first who reduc'd both the *Swabians* and *Bavarians* to the Dominion of the *Franks* (10).

§ XXII. HISTORY is, as it were, fatigued amidst these Disorders, where Ambition is the Cause of such an Effusion of Blood. Let us, therefore, now take a little Respite, and commemorate those pious and zealous Christians, who were at the same Time occupied in the Amendment of Men, and propagated the *Christian* Religion as well in *Austrasia* as among other neighbouring *German* Nations. Their Monasteries were the safest Refuge from the Tumult and Calamities of those Times; and they took afterwards, as it were, into their Custody and Protection, what Remains were left of Arts and Sciences. Religion by Degrees chang'd the Genius of these People, and we shall find, in the Sequel, fresh Revolutions thence arising, both in their Government and Manners. The Lives of the Saints are indeed generally fill'd with many Superfluities. Their Disciples frequently misrepresent them, by being too zealous in praising them: And many Passages favour of the Simplicity of those Days, when the unpolish'd People were not to be kept within Bounds, but by Means of a severe Yoke. Posterity nevertheless has so far an Obligation to them for having erected the first Altars in Honour of the true God. Many Heathens remain'd among the *Franks*, in *Austrasia*, notwithstanding

The Christian Religion propagated in *Austrasia*.

(7) ANNALES METENSES ad An. 697. *Pipinus*, princeps, duxit exercitum contra *Frisiones* & *Radbodum*, Ducem ipsorum, immitem atque paganum, qui verba principis, *Pippini*, sæpe contempserat, & fines principatus ejus crebris inruptionibus vexabat. Adunato igitur exercitu, juxta castrum, quod dicitur *Dorestadum*, castra metatus est. Cui occurrit cum valida manu, & pugna commissa est. Ubi *Frisiones* superba manu *Radbodi* in aciem properantes, magna clade percussi sunt. Fugatoque duce eorum *Radbod*, *Pipinus* victor extitit. Captis itaque innumerabilibus spoliis, victor ad propria reversus est. Hinc annis singulis circumcitas gentes cum exercitu *Pipinus* fortiter proterit, & suæ ditioni subegit.

(8) IBID. ad An. 711. In illo tempore. *Grimoaldus*, filiam *Radbodi*, Ducis *Frisionum*, duxit uxorem.

(9) IBID. ad An. 709. *Pipinus* contra *Alamannos* exercitum ducens, magnifice de illis, omnique illa regione triumphavit. And farther, ad An. 710. *Pipinus* iterum contra rebelles *Alamannos* exercitum duxit. Incensaque eadem regione, captivisque & spoliis multis adeptis, victor ad propria revertitur.

(10) *Pipin does not appear to have wholly subdued the Swabians, for that is related of Charles Martel, in the Fragmentum Erchanberti.*

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† See 11. 9. ing *Clovis* was baptiz'd †. *Clotarius* II, and *Dagobert*, had endeavour'd to
 †† Above § 2 effect their Conversion ††, and *Sigebert's* Court was fill'd with eminent Men,
 & 7. who were, as well as himself, afterwards plac'd among the Saints: And
 among these *Cunibert*, Bishop of *Cologne*, who was then in great Esteem,
 can hardly be supposed to have been unmindful of the Welfare of his
 Church. *S. Eligius*, Bishop of *Noyon* and *Vermandois* propagated the
 Gospel as far as the Coasts of *Antwerp* (1). The Bishops of *Tongres*,
 who resided, about this Time, at *Maestricht*, did the same in the adjacent
 Countries. *S. Amandus* converted the Inhabitants of *Ghent*: *Remaclus*
 founded the two famous Monasteries of *Malmundar* and *Stablo* (2): *Lam-*
bertus establish'd the Christian Faith among the *Toxandri*, who dwelt be-
 low *Maestricht*, along the *Maes*, as far, as where that River receives
 the *Waal*. His Zeal was interrupted by a violent Death. *Gallus* and
Riold, two Brothers, infested the Country belonging to this Diocese great-
 ly, 'till the Bishop's Party at last join'd, and being headed by his Sister's
 Sons, kill'd them both. *Dado*, one of their Kindred, who is call'd
 † A. 707. *Domesticus Pipini*, desirous of Revenge, fell upon *Lambert* at *Liege*, which
 was then a Village, and put † him and most of his Partizans to Death (3).
 His Body was first interr'd at *Maestricht*: But *Hubert*, his Successor,
 caus'd it to be brought to *Liege*, and a fine Church to be built in Ho-
 nour of him; which occasion'd this Place to be so much resorted to, and
 enlarg'd, that the Bishops chose it for their Residence, and it became
 a very famous City.

Gallus
 preaches
 among the
Swabians, &c.

§ XXIII. WHEN *Columbanus*, at the Beginning of the sixth Century,
 in *Theoderick's* Reign, was forc'd to quit the Monastery of *Luxevil*, he
 attempted, on his Journey among the *Swabians*, in the Neighbourhood of
Bregentz, on the Lake of *Constance*, to convert them to the Christian

§ XXII. (1) *Audoenus says of this Conversion*,
 in vit. S. Eligii, Lib. 2. cap. 3. Porro autem
 pastoris cura sollicitus lustrabat urbes & municipia,
 circumquaque sibi commissa. Sed Flandrenses
 atque Andovorpenses. FRISIONES quoque & SU-
 EVI, & Barbari quique circa maris littora degen-
 tes, quos velut in extremis remotos nullus adhuc
 prædicationis vomer exararat, principio eum hos-
 tili animo, & aversa mente, exceperunt. Post-
 modum vero, cum paulatim per gratiam Christi
 eis verbum Dei insinuare cepisset, pars maxima
 trucis ac barbari populi, relictis idolis, conversa
 est ad verum Deum, & Christo subiecta. And,
 cap. 8. Multum prætera in Flandris laboravit,

jugi instantia Andverpis decertavit, multos erro-
 ribus implicatos SUEVOS convertit, aliquot pro-
 fana, Christi clypeo protectus, Apostolica autori-
 tate destruxit: idololatriam quoque diversi generis
 ubicumque comperit, funditus evertit.

(2) *The Foundation of these two Monasteries, is*
farther inquir'd into, by Roderique in discept.
de origine abbatiarum Malmundariensis & Sta-
bulensis.

(3) *S. Lambert's Death is variously related.*
Valesius examines all these Accounts, T. III. p.
374. Add. PAGIUS ad A. 698.

Faith.

Faith. He found them preparing to celebrate a Festival to *Wodan*, or *Odinus*, and a large Vessel of Beer was ready for that Purpose (1). This *Odinus* (2) is very famous in the Idolatry of all the Northern Nations; and the *Swabians* had brought the Worship of him from their former Habitation on the *Baltick*, to the inner Parts of *Germania*. He left them *Gallus*, his Companion, who afterwards founded the famous Monastery, which retains his Name (3). *Kilian* (4), a Native of *Ireland*, preach'd the Gospel in the Territories of *Würtzburg*. In the History of his Life we find, that the then Inhabitants particularly rever'd the Goddess *Diana*. The same is observ'd of other German Nations, nor need we wonder at it, since their Devotion was always perform'd in the Forests, and the Chace was their principal Diversion. And perhaps they imitated the *Greeks* and *Romans* in this Worship. *Diana Scythica* or *Taurica* is even known in the most ancient Mythology of the *Greeks*. The *Goths* likewise ador'd this Goddess: Hence we find a Priestess of *Diana*, among the Captives, on the Pyramid erected in Honour of the Emperor *Theodosius*, when he conquer'd the *Goths* †. *Gozbert*, a Person of Distinction, who dwelt on † See. 7. 3a. the same Mountain, on which *Würtzburg* is situate (5), profess'd indeed the Christian Faith; but he had married *Geila*, his deceas'd elder Brother's Widow; and as *Kilian* express'd his Zeal against this Marriage, *Geila* caus'd him, and his Companions to be murder'd, in the Absence of her Husband (6). *Burcardus*, the first Bishop of *Würtzburg* deposited,

§ XXIII. (1) JONAS in Vit. S. Columbani, cap. 53. Pervenians ad locum (*Brigantium*) quem peragrans vir Dei, non suis placere animis ait: sed tamen ob fidem in iis ferendam inibi paulisper moraturum se spondit. Sunt etenim inibi vicinae nationes Suevorum. Quo cum moraretur, & inter habitatores loci illius progredere, reperit eos sacrificium profanum litare velle, vaseque magnum, quod viginti & sex modios amplius capiebat, cerevisia plenum in medio habebant positum, ad quod, ut vir Dei accedit & sciscitatur, quid de illo fieri vellent, illi aiunt: Deo suo, VODANO, quem MERCURIUM vocant illi, se velle litare. Ille pestiferum opus audiens, vas enixus sufflat, miroque modo vas cum fragore dissolvitur, & in frustra dividitur, visque rapida cum fragore cerevisia prorumpit, manifesteque datur intelligi, diabolum in eo vase fuisse occultatum, qui per profanum litatorem caperet animas sacrificantium.

(2) This *Odinus* was mention'd above, XI. 27. Many Learned have writ particular Treatises concerning him. I shall here, only mention Knyfles's Diff. de cultu Solis, Freii & Othini.

(3) VALAER. STRAB. in Vit. S. Galli.

(4) ECHARD, in many Respects, illustrates S. Kilian's Life, T. I. p. 270. sq.

(5) ECHARD affirms, p. 270, that part of the present East Franconia, where *Würtzburg* lies, to have appertain'd then to Thuringia, and that *Gozbert* was a Duke of Thuringia, and Grand Son to Rudolph, whom I mention'd above, § 8. But this is only to be regarded as a Conjecture. He treats of *Gozbert's* Family, p. 283.

(6) PAGIUS places it in the Year 689, ECHARD in 687.

N n

their

their Bones elfewhere, about the Year 742 (7), and *Kilian* is, to this Day, rever'd as the Apostle of that Country. Duke *Theodo*, I, promoted the Faith in *Bavaria*. *S. Emmeranus* preach'd in his Time, and suffer'd Martyrdom, A. 652 (8). *S. Rupert*, who came into *Bavaria* about the Year 672, endeavour'd, under *Theodo* II, to restore the Church, then declining, and particularly at *Juvavia*, on the Ruins of which the present *Salzburg* was built. Hence this Church esteems him her Founder (9).

Conversion of
the Frisians,
&c.

† Above § 19.
†† Above §
22.

§ XXIV. *WILFRID*, Bishop of *Tork*, made indeed an Attempt among the *Frisians*, in the Reign of King *Algisus* †, and the same is said in Praise of *S. Eligius* ††: But *Ecbert*, an *English* Monk, who liv'd in *Ireland*, succeeded particularly in his Zeal for the Conversion of the ancient *Saxons*, *Frisians*, *Danes* and *Rugi* (1); and the Missionaries he sent them, laid at last a solid Foundation, for building the Superstructure. The *Anglo-Saxons* were the first who could effectually sow this good Seed; because their Language differ'd not much from the Dialect of the *Frisians*, and the other *German* Nations, who dwelt on the Sea-Coasts. *Wicbert*, who spent two Years in *Friesland*, under *Ratbod*, was indeed at first not very successful (2); on the contrary, the *Christian* Priests were, on Occasion of the *Franconian* War, banish'd the Country. But *Ecbert* sent, A. 691. twelve other Persons into *Friesland* for, that Purpose. Among these, the most famous was *Willibrod*, who was born of *Saxon* Parents in *Northumberland*, and had likewise pursu'd his Studies in *Ireland*: For Reli-

(7) ECHARD, p. 454.

(8) PAGIUS ad A. 652. n. 7, 8. *Cirinus* Bishop of *Freyfingen*, who liv'd in the Times of *Charles the Great*, was the first who wrote *S. Emmeranus's* Life, ap. CANIS. in *Lect. Antiqu.*

(9) PAGIUS ad An. 696. n. 7. *Sqq.*

§ XXIV. (1) BEDA, *Lib. 5. c. 10.* Eo tempore venerabilis & cum omni honorificentia nominandus famulus Christi, & sacerdos ECBERT, quem in Hibernia, insula, peregrinam ducere vitam pro adipiscenda in cœlis patria, retulimus; proposuit animo plurimum prouidere; id est, inito opere Apostolico, verbum Dei aliquibus earum, quæ nondum audierant, gentibus evangelizando committere: quarum in Germania plurimas noverat esse nationes, a quibus Angli vel Saxones, qui nunc Britanniam incolunt, genus & originem duxisse noscantur; unde hæcenus a vicina gente Brittonum corrupte Germani nuncupantur. Sunt

autem Fresones, Rugini, Dani, Huni, antiqui Saxones, Boructuarii: sunt etiam alii per plures iidem in partibus populi, paganis adhuc ritibus servientes, ad quos venire, præfatus Christi miles circumnavigata Britannia disposuit, si quos forte ex illis ereptos satanæ ad Christum transferre valeret: vel si hoc fieri non posset, Romam venire ad videnda atque adoranda, beatorum Apostolorum, ac Martyrum Christi, limina cogitavit.

(2) IBID. At vero unus de sociis ejus, vocabulo Vicbert, cum esset & ipse contemptu mundi, ac doctrinæ scientia insignis (nam multos annos in Hibernia, peregrinus, anachoreticam in magna perfectione vitam egerat) ascendit navem & Friesiam perveniens, duobus annis continuis, genti illi, ac Regi illius Radbedo, verbum salutis prædicabat, neque aliquem tanti laboris fructum apud Barbaros invenit auditores.

gion and the liberal Sciences flourish'd so much at that Time, in this latter Isle, that the *English*, went thither, in great Numbers, for their Education (3). *Pipin* protect'd them, and wrote to the Civil Officers, that he expected they should be answerable for the Persons of these Divines; and promis'd particular Favours to those Inhabitants, who were convert-ed (4). Two other *English* Priests, both nam'd *Ewald*, who had ventur'd to go farther into the Country of the *Saxons*, were not so successful (5). They were murder'd by the Infidels, and their Bodies were cast into the *Rhine*. *Willibrod* thereupon took a Journey to *Rome*, and the rest of the Clergy, who remain'd in *Friesland*, chose *Suidbert* for their Bishop, who came over into *England*, and was consecrated by the before-men-tion'd *Wilfrid*, who had, in the mean Time, obtain'd another Bishoprick (6). When *Willibrod* return'd, *Suidbert* repair'd to the *Bructuarii* (7), who were subject to the *Franks*; But when the Country was laid waste, by a hostile Invasion of the neighbouring *Saxons*, and the new Converts were thereby dispers'd, he fled to *Pipin* for Refuge. *Pipin* assign'd him, at the Intercession of *Plectrudis*, his Wife, a Place on the Banks of the *Rhine* (8), where he built a Monastery (9). Hence this Place was call'd
Insula

(3) *Vid. CAMD. Britann. p. 1318.*

(4) *BEDA, Lib. 5. cap. 11.* Qui cum illo advenissent (erant autem numero duodecim) diver-
tentes ad Pippinum, Ducem Francorum, gratan-
ter ab illo suscepti sunt: & quia nuper citeriorem
Fresiam, expulso inde Radhbedo, Rege, ceperat,
illo eos ad prædicandum misit; ipse quoque im-
periali autoritate juvans, ne quis prædicantibus
molestiam inferret; multisque eos, qui fidem
suscipere vellent, beneficiis adtollens: unde fac-
tum est opitulante gratia divina, ut multos in
brevis ab idololatria fidem converterent Christi.

(5) *IDEM, Lib. 5. cap. 11.* Horum secuti ex-
empla duo quidem Presbyteri de natione Anglo-
rum, qui in Hibernia multo tempore pro æterna
patria exulaverant, venerunt ad provinciam anti-
quorum Saxonum, si forte aliquos, ibidem præ-
dicando, Christo acquirere possent.

(6) *IDEM, Lib. 5. cap. 12.* Quo tempore
Fratres, qui erant in Fresia verbi ministerio man-
cipati, elegerunt ex suo numero virum modestum
moribus & mansuetum corde, Suidbertum, qui
ejus ordinaretur Antistes, quem Britanniam desti-

natum, ad petitionem eorum ordinavit reveren-
dissimus Vilfrid, Episcopus, qui tunc forte patria
pulsus, in Merciorum regionibus exulabat.

(7) *They were a Residue of the Bructeri, and
dwelt in the present Westphalia, in the Diocese
of Paderborn.*

(8) *IDEM, Lib. 5. cap. 12.* Qui videlicet
SUIDBERT, accepto Episcopatu, de Britannia re-
gressus, non multo post ad gentem Boructuaro-
rum secessit, ac multos eorum prædicando ad
viam veritatis perduxit. Sed, expugnatis non
longo post tempore Boructuariis, a gente antiquo-
rum Saxonum dispersi sunt, quolibet hi, qui
verbum receperant; ipseque Antistes cum quibus-
dam Pippinum petiit, qui interpellante Blithrude,
conjugæ suæ, dedit ei locum mansionis in Insula
quadam Rheni, quæ lingua eorum vocatur IN
LITTORE, in qua ipse, constructo Monasterio,
quod hætenus hæredes ejus possident, aliquandiu
continentissimam gessit vitam, ibique diem clausit
ultimum.

(9) *See his Life in the Act. S.S. Antwerp. ad
D. X. Martii. MABILLON, Sec. III. Bened. There
is*
N n 2

Insula S. Suiberti; but it is at present better known by the Name of *Kaiserwerth*. Willibrod succeeded to his Wish, among the *Friscans*, and, at *Pipin's* Persuasion, took a second Tour to *Rome*, where he was consecrated Arch-Bishop of *Friesland*, by Pope *Sergius*, A. 696 (10). At his Return, *Pipin* gave him, for his Episcopal Seat, a Castle, call'd *Wiltaburg*, situate on the same Spot, where *Utrecht* now is (11). He liv'd 'till A. 739, and *Alcvinus*, who wrote his Life, in the Reign of *Charlemaign*, relates of him, that he endeavour'd, tho' in vain, to make a Convert of *Ratbod* himself. *Wulframnus*, Bishop of *Sens*, resign'd his See, and repair'd to *Friesland*, to assist *S. Willibrod*: But *Ratbod* persisted in the Religion of his Ancestors (12). *Willibrod* is said to have likewise try'd his Fortune among the *Danes*, and to have been come as far as the Island, call'd *Heiliges-Land* (13). The Bishoprick of *Utrecht* was afterwards join'd to the Metropolis of *Cologne*, and not remov'd till the Time of Pope *Paul IV.*

Of *Pipin's*
Death and
Family, &c.
† In April.

§ XXV. *GRIMOALD* came, A. 714, to visit his Father, who lay sick at *Jopil*; but he was murder'd in *S. Lambert's* Church at *Liege* †. He left no Children by the *Friscan* Princess, but another Son, nam'd *Theodebald*, who was then very young. *Pipin* constituted him *Maire de Palais* over *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, in his Father's Room; which sufficiently shews how great his Power was; for the *Maires de Palais* were before chosen by the Grandees of the Nation, and it appears ridiculous, that a Child should be invested with that Office. *Pipin* himself died the † In December. same Year †. This Prince had two Wives. By *Plectrudis* he had two Sons, *Drogo* and *Grimoald*, whom I just now mention'd. By *Alpais* he had *Charles*, surnam'd *Martel*, who will hereafter make so considerable a Figure, and *Childebrand*, from whom some Learned Men derive the *Capetingian* Line (1). *Plectrudis* had the Education of *Theodebald* at *Cologne*, on the *Rhine*, and aim'd at governing all the Kingdom, as Guardian, She caus'd *Charles* to be taken into Custody, because she regarded him as an Enemy to her Line: But after so long a State of Servitude, the *Neustrians* and *Bur-*

is indeed a particular Life extant of him, entitl'd, *Vita S. Suiberti*, a *Marcellino*, *Presbytero*, ad *D. Gregorium*, *Episcopum Trajectensem* scripta. But this is proved to be spurious.

(10) *BEDA*, l. c.

(11) *IDEM*, *Lib. 5. cap. 12.* Donavit autem ei *Pippinus* locum cathedræ *Episcopalis* in castello suo illustri, quod antiquo gentium illarum verbo

VILTABURG, id est, oppidum *WILTORUM*, lingua autem *Gallica* *TRAJECTUM* vocatur.

(12) *Vita S. Vulframi* ap. *Mabillon*. Sec. III. The Conference with *Ratbod* is there circumstantially related.

(13) *ALCUIN*. in *Vit. S. Willibr.*

§ XXV. (1) *FRATE. SAMMARTAN. DU BOUCHET, ANDR. DU CHESNE, and others.*

gundians

gundians would not now submit to a Woman, and found it easy to excite *Dagobert* to assume his Regal Power, and to strive to reduce the *Austrasians* to Subjection by Force. When *Theodebald* was thus on his March, with all *Pipin's* and *Grimoald's* Vassals, he was repell'd near *Compiègne* (2). The *Neustrians* now chose *Raginfredus*, their Country-Man, to be *Maire de Palais* (3), who persuaded the King to an Expedition against *Austrasia*. They ravag'd as far as the *Maes*, and had made a League with *Radbod*, Duke of the *Frisians*, by Virtue of which he was to make an Irruption on the other Side. The *Saxons* appear, likewise, to have made an Invasion about this Time (4). *Charles*, in the mean while, escap'd from his Prison at *Cologne*. Many valiant *Austrasians* immediately join'd him, because they placed more Confidence in his Conduct, than in that of *Plectrudis*, and declar'd him Duke of the *Franks*. *Dagobert* died during these Distractions, A. 715, which, by his Death, became the greater.

§ XXVI. THE *Wisi-Goths* have hitherto had a considerable Share in the History of the other German Nations, who contributed to the Declension of the Roman Empire in the West. It will, therefore, be the more requisite to take Notice of the great Downfal, which, about this Time, unexpectedly befel them. After the *Suevi* were conquer'd, and the Provincials themselves wholly subdu'd, their Kingdom was advanced to the highest Pitch of Power: But the many Revolutions in the Succession had occasion'd great Disorders, especially as, after King *Chindasvint's* Death, the Factions, in a Manner, took Place of each other, alternately, in the Government. *Enico* therefore, before his Decease, took *Witiza*, his Son, for his Partner on the Throne, and gave him the Country of the *Suevi*, where he resided, at *Tuy*, in *Gallicia*, on the River *Minho* (1).

(2) FREDEGARII CHRONIC. c. 104. Com-missa acie in Cottia sylva, contra Theudoaldum, & Leudes Pippini quondam, atque Grimoaldum, (f. Grimoaldi) iniere certamen, corruique ibi immodicus exercitus. Theudualdus itaque a sodalibus suis per fugam lapsus evasit. Sylva Cottia is la Forêt de Cuise, near Compiègne.

we read, that the King was present.

(4) The Annal. Metens. say, that they invaded the Hattuarii. But it is difficult to assign the Place. The Pagus Attuariorum is generally plac'd in Gueldres. See above, B. 11. § 30. The Hattuarii are the Hessians. But those two are easily confounded.

(3) FREDEG. CHRON. c. 105. Eodem tempore tunc elegerunt, in honorem majoris domatus, quendam Francum, nomine Raginfridum, commotoque exercitu hostili, usque Mosam fluvium properant cuncta vastantes, cum Ratbodo Duce foedus inierunt. In the Gesta Francorum

§ XXVI. (1) LUCAS TUDENSIS, p. 69. Rex participem in regno fecit, & in civitate Tudensi habitare præcepit, ut ipse pater teneret regnum Gothorum, & filius Suevorum.

But

But *Witiza's* Reign is almost universally mention'd with Contempt, and, among other Faults, he is accus'd of having treated King *Cbindasuintb's* Sons very cruelly: *Favila*, Duke of *Cantabria*, one of them, was kill'd; and *Theudefred*, Duke of *Cordua*, the other, depriv'd of his Sight. *Roderick*, Son to the latter, at last rebell'd against *Witiza*, and obtain'd the Throne, as some *Spanish* Historians relate, before the other's Death. *Witiza* left two Sons, who, impatient for Revenge, went over to the *Saracens* in *Africa*. The *Spanish* History is here very obscure; † See Annot. 38. because the Accounts of these Times are too remote, and vary greatly †. They all, however, agree, that *Witiza's* Sons entic'd the Infidels into the Country, and that a certain Count, nam'd *Julian*, was chiefly instrumental therein. But the *Saracens* were, perhaps, encourag'd by a disaffected Party among the *Goths*, or by their own Inclination to go to *Spain*; this, at least, is certain, that a Person, nam'd *Tarif*, landed first on the *Spanish* Coasts, with a few Men, and return'd with a good Booty (2). *Valid*, who was then *Caliph*, kept his Court at *Damascus*, in *Syria*, and was, therefore, at a great Distance from this Attempt: But *Muza*, his Lieutenant in *Africa*, was nevertheless successful in it. The *Goths* had no naval Forces; we find, at least, no Traces of any, since the Time of King *Sisebuth*. The *Saracens*, on the other Hand, after they became Masters of *Africa*, knew as well, how to make Advantage of their Situation, to be powerful at Sea, as the *Vandals*, and, in more ancient Times, the *Carthaginians*. And they had before try'd their Fortune against *Spain*, in the Reign of King *Wamba* (3). The Attempts, to which the Nature and Situation of a Country give Encouragement, succeed the more easily, when they are spur'd on by the Hopes of a certain Advantage.

King *Roderick*
is vanquish'd.

§ XXVII. *MUZA*, the next Year, 711, sent *Tarick*, another General, with the before-mention'd *Julian*. They landed near *Calpe*, which Mountain was, on that Account, call'd *Gibel Tarick* (whence arose the Name of *Gibraltar*). They made Irruptions into *Batica* and *Lusitania*. *Roderick* sent *Eneco*, his Kinsman, against them, who, after some Engage-

(2) The *Spanish* Historians generally place the first Invasion in the Year 714. But *F. Pagius*, ad An. 710. n. 4, sqq. proves, that the *Saracens* landed first in *Spain*, A. 710, and frequently cites *Noweir*, an Arabian Writer, whose Works are not yet printed. He confutes, ad A. 711, n. 14. *F. Joseph de Moreto*, who, in his Append. ad Tom. I. Annal. Regni *Navarrae*, attempted to maintain

the common Calculation of the *Spaniards*. But the same has been exploded, before *Pagius*, by *Joseph Perez*, who proves, that they landed yet sooner, in the Dissert. de supremæ cladis Hispaniæ a *Saracenis* illatæ anno, which may be seen among his *Dissertationes Ecclesiasticæ*.

(3) *LUCAS TUDENSIS*, p. 68.

ments,

ments, lost his Life: And when they, hereupon, sent for Re-inforcements from *Africa*, the King himself march'd to meet them (1). An Engagement ensu'd near *Xeres de le Frontera*, on the River *Guadalete*, in the Province of *Andalusia* †, when the *Goths*, after a stout Resistance, † July 26. were overcome, and *Roderick* was kill'd (2). An ancient *Spanish* Historian * intersperses several Circumstances in his Relation, which are not sufficiently grounded, tho' they are received by modern Writers, without farther Examination: Of this Kind is the pretended Account, that *Witiza* caus'd the Walls of all the Cities in *Spain*, except *Toledo*, *Astorga* and *Leon*, to be demolish'd, and that the *Saracens* became, therefore, the more easily Masters of *Spain*. Even the Description of the Battle is not altogether probable, and particularly, when he says, that *Witiza's* Sons were about the King, and shared the Command with him. Nor do some modern Authors merit more Credit **, when they pretend, that, just before the Battle, the King made an Harangue to his Army, mounted on a Chariot of Ivory, in his Royal Robes, with the Crown on his Head, and a drawn Sword in his Hand. If *Witiza's* Sons entic'd the *Saracens* into *Spain*, in Hopes of obtaining the Kingdom by their Aid, they found, by fatal Experience, how dangerous it is to call in Auxiliaries, who have it in their Power to make themselves Masters. But how great is not the Influence of Hatred on Minds enrag'd, when they only reflect on the Injuries they have receiv'd? They put every Thing to the Stake, even their Country, their Friends and themselves, provided they can but obtain their Revenge. *Tarik* march'd, with his victorious Army, to *Toledo*, and met with no Resistance. The next Year, *Muza* himself pass'd over into *Spain*, with 12,000 Men. He sack'd *Merida*, *Sevil* and other Cities, which *Tarik* had not reach'd. Both Generals met at *Toledo*. After this they made their Way thro' *Saragoca* over the *Ebro*. They met every where with but little Opposition from the Cities, after the *Goths* were subdu'd. Many of them open'd their Gates to the Conqueror, and came to an Accommodation with him as well as they could (3).

§ XXVIII.

§ XXVII. (1) *RODERIC. TOLETAN. Lib. 3.* *SOUSA Histor. de Portugal. P. 2. c. 7. is so cap. 20, sq. LUCAS TUDENS. in Chron. Lib. 3. very absurd, that it explodes itself.*
fin. Conf. PAGIUS, ad A. 711, n. 8, seq.

* *RODERICUS, Arch-Bishop of Toledo.*

(2) *RODERICUS* says, that the Corpse was not found. His Grave has, indeed, been formerly shewn at *Visco*, in *Portugal*; *PISA, Antiq. de Toledo, p. 123.* But the Relation, how *Roderick* came thither, which we read in *MAN, de FARIA y*

** *MARIANA, Lib. 6. cap. 23. SAVEDRA, p. 473.*

(3) That many Cities surrender'd voluntarily to the *Saracens*, appears from *Rodericus, l. c. cap.*

Pelagius gathers together the Residue of the Goths.

§ XXVIII. THE Residue of the *Goths* were, for some Time, secure in the Mountains of *Gallicia* and *Asturia*. Here *Pelagius*, the Son of the before-mention'd *Favila*, took the Resolution to defend himself (1), and gain'd a Victory, on the River *Deva*, in the Province of *Ipuscoa*, over the *Saracens*, which must be regarded, as the Beginning of the Delivery of *Spain*. As, in a general Consternation, nothing so effectually awakes the Courage of those who are cast down, as when some proper Leader offers; so *Pelagius's* Example excited his Country-Men, in so much, that they flock'd to him in Crowds. *Muza* and *Tarik* could not agree, whereupon the *Caliph* sent for them both to *Damascus*. The former first constituted *Abdalas*, his Son, Lieutenant over *Spain*, who made Choice of *Sevil* for his Residence (2). Modern *Spanish* Writers add, that he married *Egilona*, King *Roderick's* Widow (3), but this seems more like a Romance, than a true History. Such therefore was the terrible Visitation of the *Wise-Goths* (4). However, their Kingdom and Nation were not wholly extirpated. *Pelagius* was himself a *Goth*, and his Kingdom is a new Branch, growing out of the former *Gothick* Stock (5). His Successors were call'd Kings of *Leon* (6); and when the *Christians*, in succeeding Times, took from the *Saracens* one City, and one Country after another, thence arose separate Titles for the new Kingdoms. The *Goths* and *Spaniards*, in the mean Time, became entirely united, and

22, where he says of the *Præfectus Corduæ*: Nec aliquis de Senioribus Hispanorum captus dicitur, præter ipsum. Omnes enim alii aut deditione, aut fœdere se dediderunt. And lower: Arabes enim, quæ vi non poterant subjugare, falso fœdere deceperunt. Oppa, filio Egicæ, Hispalensi Episcopo, suadente, ut subiecti Arabibus viverent sub tributo; & si forte Dominus patriam visitaret, fierent subvenientibus in succursum. Et sic fraudibus circumventi reddiderunt oppida, & præsidia civitatum, & isti dicti sunt mixti Arabes.

§ XXVIII. (1) PAGIUS places the Beginning of *Pelagius's* Reign in the Year 712. Garivay pretends, that *Pelagius* was not really of *Gothick*, but of ancient *Spanish* Extraction. This is exploded by *Morales*, in *Chron. General. de Espanna*, f. 9; and the most learned *Spanish* Writers agree in this Point.

(2) Conf. PAGIUS ad A. 713. 6.

(3) MARIANA, Lib. 6. c. 27.

(4) ALVARUS GOMEZ, Prof. Rhet. & Ling. Græcæ in Acad. Toletana, mentions the Fall of the *Gothick* Kingdom in a Latin Poem; which Passage see in Annotation 37.

(5) In the *Chronicon Regis Alfonsi*, *Pelagius* is introduc'd before the Battle, as speaking thus: Confidimus in Dei misericordia, quod ab isto modico monticulo, quem conspiciatis, sit Hispaniæ salus & Gothorum gentis exercitus reparatio. In *Lucas Tudensis*, we read after King *Ferdinand's* Death: *Adelfonsus* Catholicus ab universo populo GOTHORUM in Regem eligitur. He says of King *Ferdinand's* Sons, p. 97: per septem continuos annos bellum implacabiliter gesserunt, extincta, duobus magnis præliis non modica Gothorum militum parte.

(6) Some stile *Pelagius* King of *Leon*: But *Ambrosius Morales*, L. 13. cap. 5, proves this to be erroneous.

made

made one and the same Nation. But the Kings, as well as many noble Families in *Spain*, have always been proud of deriving their Dignity from the *Goths*.

§ XXIX. As in the Sequel, I shall not have Occasion to mention the History of *Spain* after this Revolution, except when it falls in with that of the *Franks*; I shall, to conclude, make some Observations on the Constitution of the *Wisi-Gothick* Kingdom. This was in several Respects very much chang'd, after *Reccaredus*, and the whole Nation, quitted *Arianism*, and profess'd the *Catholick* Faith †. The *Wisi-Goths* had indeed a great Veneration for the *Baltick* Line of their Kings: But it became afterwards a Kind of elective Monarchy (1). The Bishops had on this Occasion as great an Influence, as the Nobles of the Nation, especially, as the King was anointed by them: But the *Gothick* Kingdom experienc'd likewise all the Evils, which those Countries are subject to, where a perpetual Succession is not establish'd, and where the whole Constitution is, in a Manner, subverted at the King's Decease. Subjects soon disregard their Obedience, when they perceive, that their Sovereign cannot much longer exact it. To what Hazards will not the Ambition of the Great hurry them, when they can aspire to the Throne. What a Hardship must it not seem to Princes of the Royal Blood, to find themselves, after the Death of their Father, equal to other Subjects. Men of great Merit think it derogatory to their Character to ask Favours of the Commonality, of which the latter ought to make a voluntary Offer; and the Electors are sometimes as eager to exclude the most worthy, as they should be to choose them. The Power of the *Gothick* Kings was not unlimited (2), which both the many Rebellions, and the frequent Coun-

† See 14. 23.

§ XXIX. (1.) *Concil. Tolet. IV. can. 75*: Nul-
lus apud nos præsumtione regnum arripiat: nul-
lus excitat mutuas seditiones civium: nemo me-
ditetur interitus Regum, sed et, defuncto in pace
Principe, Primates totius gentis cum sacerdotibus,
successorem Regni, concilio communi, constituent,
ut, dum unitatis concordia a nobis retinetur, nul-
lum Patriæ gentis dissidium per vim atque ambi-
tum oriatur. *In the Council at Toledo V. can.*
21, this is yet more accurately express'd. Quapro-
pter, quoniam inconsideratæ quorundam mentes,
& se minime capientes, quos nec origo ornat,
nec virtus decorat, passim putant licenterque ad
Regiæ majestatis pervenire fastigium; hujus rei
causâ nostra omnium, cum invocatione divina,
profertur sententia, ut qui talia meditatus fuerit,
quem nec electio omnium probat, Næc Gothi-

CÆ GENTIS NOBILITAS ad hunc apicem trahit
sit a consortio Catholicorum privatus, & divino,
anathemate condemnatus.

(2) *Concil. Tolet. IV. can. 75.* Te quoque præ-
sentem Regem, futurosque sequentium ætatum
Principes, humilitate, qua debemus, deposcimus,
ut moderati, & mites erga subjectos existentes,
cum justitia & pietate populos a Deo vobis credi-
tos regatis, bonamque vicissitudinem, qui vos con-
stituit, largitori Christo, respondeatis: regnantes
cum humilitate cordis, cum studio bonæ actionis.
Nec quisquam vestrum solus in causis capitum,
aut rerum sententiam ferat: sed consensu publico
cum rectoribus, & judicio manifesto, delinquen-
tium culpa patefcatur.

cils, which were held, as well in Political, as in Ecclesiastical Affairs, demonstrate. The Church in *Spain* was greatly honour'd by the *Goths*, and is oblig'd to them for several Parts of her Constitution (3). The Administration at Court, in the Country, and in the Army, was almost the same with that of other *German* Nations, who establish'd particular States in the *Roman* Provinces (4). The *Goths* kept their own Constitution, as did likewise the ancient Inhabitants, who were still always call'd *Romani*, because they had been subject to the *Roman* Empire, and retain'd their own Language and Manners. The Country was divided between both Nations, in such manner that the *Goths* obtain'd two third Parts, and the *Romans* kept one (5). King *Reccaredus* was the first, who permitted them to intermarry (6). Among the *Goths*, the Free-born were held the most worthy, and those were with them esteem'd truly Noble, who advanc'd themselves by publick Employments (7). The Slaves found it the most honourable Method of obtaining their Freedom, when they were employ'd in the Army (8). The Confidence and Favour of the *Gothick* Kings was not confin'd to any Station; but open'd the Way to Honour and Power, at Court, to freed Men; nay even to Slaves (9). Tho' the *Goths* were at first so haughty, that they conferr'd with the Emperor's Ambassadors, by an Interpreter,

(3) Conf. MARIANA Lib. 9. cap. 19.

(4) Vid. PETRUS PANTINUS, de dignitatibus atque officiis Gothorum. Conf. 37. Annor.

(5) Leges Visi Gothor. Lib. 10. Tit. 1. 8. Divisio inter Gothum & Romanum facta, de portione terrarum, five sylvarum nulla ratione turbetur, si tamen probatur celebrata divisio. Nec de duabus partibus Gothi aliquid sibi Romanus præsumat, aut vindicet, aut de tertia Romani Gothus, &c. These Pieces of Ground are from thence call'd Sortes Gothicæ and Romanæ.

(6) Leg. Visi Goth. Lib. 3. Tit. 1. Ob hoc meliori proposito salubriter censes præcæ legis remota sententia, hac in perpetuum valitura lege sancimus, ut tam Gothus Romanam, quam etiam Gotham Romanus, si sibi conjugem habere voluerit, præmissa petitione dignissima, facultas eis nubendi subiaceat: liberumque sit libero, liberam quam voluerit, honesta conjunctione, perquirendo profapiæ solenniter consensu, Comite permittente, percipere conjugem.

(7) We find what the proper Signification of No-

bilis among the *Goths* was in some Passages of their Laws. Thus we read, Lib. 4. Tit. 1. 2. Nobiles, potentioresque personæ, ut sunt primates palatii nostri, eorumque filii: and: Inferiores, humilioresque, ingenuæ tamen personæ.

(8) Leg. Visi Goth. Lib. 5. Tit. 7. 20. Et licet favente Deo gentes nostræ affluant copia bellatorum, nil tamen officit, si de illis augeatur insuper nostra acies, ad repulsionem hostium externorum, qui ex familiis fisci per regias auctoritates gratiam meruerunt libertatis. Unde, quia necesse est, ut illic præbeant ex ratione suffectum, unde meruisse lætantur absolutionis statum. Ob hoc speciali sanctione jubemus, ut deinceps tam ipsi, quam omnis eorum posteritas, tempore exercitus, omnes ad regiam celsitudinem incunctanter occurrant: ut, cum quibus exercitus expeditionem peragere possit, præsentiter eos clementia principalis instituat.

(9) The *Goths* make heavy Complaints of this at the Concilium Toletanum XIII, where it was concluded can. 6: Proinde hortante pariter, ac jubente

Interpreter, when even they understood the *Latin* (10); yet they afterwards accustom'd themselves to the *Roman* Tongue, as it was spoken by the Inhabitants of *Spain*, when they were once of the same Religion, and began to converse with them more freely : Infomuch, that the *Spanish* Language retains few Traces of the ancient Dialect of the *Suevi* and *Goths* †.

† See Annot.
37.

§ XXX. I AM apt to think those Writers too severe on the *Goths*, who charge them with having so far given Way to their Hatred of the *Romans*, as purposely to destroy all the Buildings, Medals and other Memorials remaining of them (1). By a general Prejudice, these Conquerors of the *Romans* are esteem'd by us a very barbarous People. The *Saracens* are more justly accus'd of Destructions of that Kind : But perhaps what is imputed to the Ignorance and Animosity of these People is meerly the Effect of Time. We meet even with fewer Remains of the *Goths* and *Suevi* in *Spain*, than of the *Romans* (2); and the Medals or Coins of the *Wisi-Gothick* Kings (3), at the same Time, shew, how unskillful they were in those Days. Their Memory was longest retain'd in their Laws, and the so-called *Officium Gothicum*. The Laws of the *Goths* are extant, as they were in Force in the Reign of King *Egicas*. These remain'd long after in Use, by the Name of *Forum Judicum* † : And in the modern Laws of *Spain*, many Things have been retain'd from those; as *Ant. Olibanus* in particular testifies of the Laws of *Catalonia* ††. I ob- serv'd above, that in the Reign of *Reccaredus*, the Council of *Toledo* de- creed, that an Uniformity of Worship should be introduc'd, and that, in Order thereto, a certain *Officium* or *Rituale* was agreed upon, which,

Of their Laws
and the so-
call'd *Officium*
Mozarabi-
cum, &c.

† *Fuero Juz-*

†† See Annot.

bente prædicto gloriosissimo Principe, hoc nostri cœtus aggregatio observandum, instituit ut, EXCEPTIS SERVIS vel LIBERTIS FISCALIBVS, nullus fervorum, atque etiam libertorum quorumlibet, deinceps ad Palatinum quandoque transire permittatur officium. This Passage serves to illustrate what Tacitus says in general of the Kings of some of the Ancient German Nations : de M. G. 25. Liberti non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, nunquam in civitate, exceptis duntaxat iis gentibus, quæ regnantur. Ibi enim & super ingenuos, & super nobiles ascendunt.

dress'd himself to that Prince, in Latin, the King answer'd in Gothick. See Vol. I. X. 26. not 10.

§ XXX. (1) LASTANOSA p. 55. Morero de Vargas in Hist. de Merida p. 49. complains of the same, particularly on Account of the Antiquities at Merida.

(2) The Remains are the sooner become unintelligible, because the Letters, that were us'd at the Time of the Gothick Government, were afterwards laid aside. CARO Antiqued. de Sevilla Lib 3. c. 43. says of the City of Carmona in Andalusia. Del tempo de los Godos ay algunas Memorjas in Carmona, pero muy mal tratadas, de modo, que no se pueden leer.

(10) An Instance of this we find in the History of King Euricus. Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia, Ambassador from the Emperor Julius Nepos, ad-

(3) The Medals of the Wisi-Gothick Kings are collected by le Blanc, Manuel de Faria, but particularly by Mahudel.

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according

according to the general Opinion, was penn'd by *S. Isidorus*, Arch-Bishop of *Sevil* (4). This is call'd *Officium Gothicum*, or *Toletanum*, and likewise *Mozarabicum*; which last Name it receiv'd, because the *Christians* in *Spain*, who were subject to the *Saracens*, were call'd *Mozarabes*: But the *Roman Church* took Care, in succeeding Times, to have the Ceremonies of her Worship receiv'd. This was first decreed, *A. 1060*, in the Time of *Ramirus*, King of *Arragon*, at the Council of *Jacca*. But the Bishops of *Catalonia*, being conven'd at *Barcelona*, *A. 1064*, refus'd to depart from their ancient Liturgy, and sent some of their own Body to the Council at *Mantua*, to vindicate the same. When *Alfonsus*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*, took *Toledo* from the *Saracens*, and took upon him to restore the *Christian* Worship, he likewise attempted to introduce the *Roman Rites*. His Queen *Constantia*, a Daughter of *Robert*, Duke of *Burgundy*, had been train'd up to the same in the *Franconian Church*, and now urg'd him to it; as did likewise *Bernardus*, the new Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, who was call'd into *Spain* from the Monastery of *Clugny*: But the Clergy and the People refus'd to depart from their ancient Customs. The Decision of the Matter was left to a single Combat between two Knights, one of whom was to appear in Defence of the *Officium Romanum*, the other of the *Gothicum*. They proceeded even to a Trial by Fire. Both Books were cast into the Flame, and tho' the Historian relates, that the *Roman* was burnt and the *Gothick* remain'd unhurt, yet were the Queen's Instances, seconded by those of the Arch-Bishop and of the Pope's Legate, so prevailing, that the Synod of *Leon* concluded, that the *Roman Liturgy* should be introduc'd. Some Congregations, and particularly six Churches at *Toledo*, retain'd, notwithstanding this, their ancient Worship. Even in later Times, a separate Chapel has been erected at *Toledo*, by the famous Cardinal *Francis Ximenes*, for performing of Divine Service, as it is to this Day, according to the *Ritus Mozarabicus* †. This Change occasion'd the *Gothick Letters* to be likewise laid aside (5): But Authors are mistaken, when they

† See Annot.
37.

(4) *We meet with both a Missale and a Breviarium Mozarabicum.*

(5) *This total Disuse of the Gothick Letters is the more remarkable, as many Learned Men have imagined them to be the Letters invented by Ulphilas. The Acts of the Council at Leon are lost. But the two Spanish Historians who draw nearest to this Time have transmitted to us this Account: RODERICUS TOLETANUS Lib. 17. c. 30. Interfuit etiam Renerius Legatus, et Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardina-*

lis, ibidemque celebrato concilio cum Bernardo, Toletano Primate, multa de officiis ecclesiæ statuerunt, et etiam de cætero, ut omnes Scriptores, omissa litera Toletana, quam Guesilas Gothorum Episcopus adinvenit, Gallicis literis uterentur. LUCAS TUDENSIS assigns also the Cause of this Change. p. 101. Statuerunt etiam, ut Scriptores de cætero Gallicam literam scriberent, et prætermitterent Toletanam in officiis Ecclesiasticis, ut nulla esset divisio inter Ministros ecclesiæ Dei. MARIANA, p. 482. (in Hisp. illustr.)

they hereby mean the ancient *Runen*, or Letters of the *Goths*, invented by *Ulfilas*. They were originally *Roman*, but, as we find them on the Medals of the Kings, differ'd very much from the ancient Character, and were only call'd *Literæ Gothicæ*, because they were in Use throughout the *Wisi-Gothick* Kingdom. All Books in *Spain* were, at that Time, written in this *Gothick* Character, particularly those us'd in Churches, and hence this Letter is call'd *Litera Toletana*, as the *Officium Gothicum* is itself term'd *Toletanum*.

very confidently asserted, that these Letters were *Ulfila's Runæ*, when he says of this Synod: *Gothicis* literarum characteribus, quos *Ulfilas*, *Gothorum* Episcopus, priusquam veniret in *Hispaniam*, excogitarat, et invenerat primus, ne amplius usus esset in publicis tabulis, sed pro iis Gallicos characteres substitui. Etenim ab antiquissimis temporibus, *Gothi*, *Longobardi*, *Vandali*, *Slavi*, *Francique*, proprios singulæ nationes characteres, literarum forma a Romanis discrepantes, quibus utebantur, invenerunt. *Franci* et *Slavi* veterem usum retinent: cæteræ nationes progressu temporis abdicarunt. Commercio id cæterarum nationum, quæ latino plurimum characteribus utebantur, datum est. *ORTIZIUS* in *Descript. Temp. Tolet.* f. 100. b. is almost of the same Opinion. Erant vero chara-

cteres illi non omnino a literis nostris abhorrentes, sed partim quidem illorum eadem forma, quæ nostri, partim vero quadantenus differenti, quos per *GUDILAM*, quendam Episcopum, genti *Gothorum*, una cum fidei Christianæ rudimentis traditos ferunt, quæ postea quidem *Toletana* litera, deinde etiam *Mozarabum* dicta est. But the Letters, which the *Wisi-Goths* us'd in *Spain*, are very different from those of *Ulfila*, wherein the *Gothick Gospel* is written. The *Goths* perhaps at first for some time retain'd their particular Letters. But in *Spain* they likewise receiv'd the *Latin* ones, at least after they had embrac'd the *Catholic Faith*. They are call'd *Gothicæ* in the same Sense, in which we understand the Character *Longobardicus*.

T H E

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A N C I E N T G E R M A N S .

B O O K X V I .

To the YEAR DCCLII.

SECT. I. **C**HILPERIC, II, *King of the Franks, marches against Charles. Ratbod invades Austrasia, from the other Side. Chilperic abandons Cologne : Charles attacks him on his Retreat.* II. *Vanquishes him near Vinci ; and places the Crown on the Head of Clotarius.* III. *Chilperic demands the Assistance of Eudo, Duke of Aquitaine. An Account of that Duchy. The Battle of Soissons.* IV. *Charles and Chilperic reconcil'd: The latter created Maire de Palais, throughout the whole Franconian Monarchy. Theodoric, King of the Franks.* V. *Boniface, undertakes to propagate the Christian Faith in Germania, and particularly in Thuringia.* VI. *Gregory, II, consecrates him a Bishop. The Foundation of several Monasteries. The Manner of making Proselytes in those Times.* S. Pirminus *founds some Monasteries among the Alemanni.* VII. *Charles's Expedition against the Bavarians. Continuation of the History of the Bavarians. S. Rupert comes to Saltzburg. S. Corbinianus, first Bishop of Freisingen.* VIII. *State of the Saxons. Of the Name of Ancient Saxony. Their Wars with the Franks.* IX. *History of the Empire.*

pire. Leo Isaurus forbids the Adoration of Images. A Rebellion ensues. X. The State of Italy. Luitprandus, King of the Longobards, takes Ravenna: The Venetians recover it. XI. Gregory, II, vindicates the Adoration of Images. A Mutiny in the Army. Whether Pope Leo was put into the Ban? Whether Rome, and the Rest of Italy, then abandon'd the Empire? XII. Leo makes a League with the King of the Longobards. Gregory gains over Luitprandus; who reconciles the Pope with the Exarchus. Petasius assumes the Imperial Dignity in Tuscany. XIII. A new Edict concerning the Abolishment of Images. The Contents of two Letters from the Pope to the Emperor. Whether Gregory, II, sued for Protection to Charles Martel. XIV. Continuation of these Controversies under Gregory, III. The Emperor draws off the Church of Illyricum from any Obedience to the Papal Chair. XV. Charles's Expedition against Eudo. The Saracens invade Aquitaine. Charles defeats them, near Poitiers. XVI. Charles possesses himself of Burgundy. Equips a Fleet against Friesland. Poppo, Duke of Friesland, defeated. Whether all Friesland was then conquer'd? XVII. An Interregnum after King Theoderick's Death. Maurontius raises a Rebellion in Provence. The Saracens ravage as far as Lyons. Charles drives them out of Avignon: Besieges Narbonne. Defeats the Infidels, on the River Berre: Conquers the District of Languedc. A good Understanding between him and the Longobards. XVIII. Boniface obtains the Pallium. His third Journey to Rome. Constitution of the Church in Bavaria. Of the Bishopricks of Saltzburg, Passaw, Ratisbon and Freisingen. XIX. Luitprand is at Variance with the Romans. The Dukes of Spolato and Benevento adhere to the Pope. Gregory, III, sues to Charles for Succour. XX. Luitprand makes fresh Incursions as far as Rome. Gregory's second Embassy to Charles. Whether the latter was actually chosen Patricius by the Romans? XXI. Pope Zachary comes to an Agreement with the King, and visits him at Narni. Peace between the Romans and the Longobards. Luitprand transfers considerable Estates to the Roman Church. XXII. The Death of Charles Martel. Carolomannus and Pipin divide the Administration of the Franconian Monarchy between them; with the Exclusion of their third Brother, Grifo. XXIII. Rebellions after the Death of Charles: Especially in Aquitaine and Swabia. Childeric, King of the Franks. XXIV. Odilo, Duke of Bavaria, endeavours to withdraw his Allegiance from the Dominions of the Franks. His Leagues with the Alemanni, Saxons and Sclavi. As likewise with the Duke of Aquitaine. Carolomannus and Pipin invade Bavaria. XXV. Carolomannus marches against the Saxons, and Pipin against the Swabians: After which they both fall upon the Duke of Aquitaine. XXVI. Foundation of the Bishopricks
of

of Würtzburg and Eichsted. Whether a Bishoprick was founded at Erfurt? Several Synods. Some of the Metropolitans refuse to sue for the Pallium. Remains of Paganism among the new Converts. XXVII. Boniface made Archbishop of Mentz. Foundation of the Monastery of Fulda. XXVIII. Continuation of the History of the Empire. Artabaldus assumes the Imperial Dignity in the East, and restores the Adoration of Images. Italy acknowledges him. Pope Zachary mediates a Truce between King Luitprand and the Exarch. A good Understanding between the Romans and the Longobards. XXIX. Constantine (Copronymus) takes Artabaldus Prisoner: He is again acknowledged in Italy. A Council at Constantinople, against the Adoration of Images. XXX. Rachis, King of the Longobards: His Brother, Aistulphus, succeeds him. XXXI. Carolomannus chooses a Monastick Life. He goes to Rome, and at Length to Monte Cassino. XXXII. Pipin's Transactions with the Saxons. Grifo joins them. Pipin marches against them. He chastizes the North Swabians, and advances to the River Ocker. XXXIII. Grifo escapes to Bavaria: But is oblig'd to surrender himself to Pipin. Thassilo, II, Duke of Bavaria. XXXIV. Pipin made King of the Franks. Childeric is obliged to retire into a Monastery. Pope Zachary's Behaviour at this Revolution. Pipin is anointed by Boniface. Whether the Ceremony of anointing was then first introduced among the Franks? XXXV. seq. Remarks on the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Franks: On the Manners of the Franks; and of the German Nations in general: Especially of their State of War; the Original of Feodal Tenures; their Turnaments, Musick, &c.

Chilperic. II.
King of the
Franks, &c.

§ IN this Book, the Civil Wars cease, at last, with the Advancement of Pipin to the *Franconian* Throne: Whilst the Emperor's Power in *Italy* declines, in the mean Time, daily, and that of the *Longobards* increases, Matters become by Degrees ripe for that Revolution, which wholly broke out in the Reign of *Charlemaign*; and these two Circumstances lay the Foundation for an entire new Period in the *German* History. *Dagobert III* left indeed a Son, nam'd *Theoderick*, but he was yet in his Infancy: The *Neustrians*, therefore, who were desirous of a King, to govern them in Person, chose *Daniel*, *Childeric's* Son, who 'till then had led an Ecclesiastick Life, and now assum'd the Name of *Chilperick*. Tho' this Prince had not the good Fortune to answer the Expectations of his Subjects, yet his History shews, that he was not so indolent and effeminate, as the latter Kings of the *Merovingian* Line are generally represented. His first Care was, to distress *Charles*, in Hopes the sooner to obtain his End over the other *Ostro-Franks*, who adher'd to *Plectrudis*. He therefore urged *Ratbod* King of the *Frisians*, pur-

suant to the Treaty, subsisting between them, to invade *Austrasia*, on one Side, whilst he attack'd it on the other (1). *Ratbod*, after *Pipin's* Death, had retaken that Part of *Friesland* (2), which the *Franks* formerly conquer'd; and had therefore sufficient Motives of his own to cut out Work for *Charles*. When this Prince found himself thus in the Midst of two formidable Enemies, he first attack'd the *Frisii*: But he was worsted, or, as others relate, neither Party could boast of any signal Advantages. *Chilperic* had, in the mean Time, pass'd the *Arduennian* Forest, into the Country of the *Ripuarii*, and encamped before *Cologn*. *Plectrudis* was in the City with her *Grand-Sons*, and endeavour'd to avert the Storm by the Force of Gold (3); which together with the News of *Charles's* being on his March, with fresh Troops, prevail'd on the Enemy to retreat; But he overtook them, and when they least expected it, a bloody Encounter ensued, near the Monastery of *Stablo* (4).

§ II. THE next Year, 717, *Charles* would not wait for the Enemy in *Austrasia*; but chose rather to visit them in *Neustria*, and march'd thro' the Coal-Forest towards *Cambray*. The King and the *Maire de Palais* march'd to encounter him. The two Armies coming within View of one another near *Vinci*, at a small Distance from *Cambray*, *Charles* sent an Ambassy and offer'd to lay down his Arms, if the King would instate him in his Father's Dignity. To this Proposal neither the King, nor much less the *Maire de Palais* would give any Ear. The Court, on the contrary, threaten'd not to leave him so much as a Spot of Ground in *Austrasia*; and even appointed a Day for an Engagement, in which Heaven was to decide their Cause (1). A Battle ensu'd, and *Charles*, after a hard

He vanquishes
Chilperic
near *Vinci*,
&c.

§ I (1) AN. METENS. ad. A. 716. Radbodi suggerentes, ut ipse ex una parte super eum irrueret, ipsi vero ex altera parte per Arduennam sylvam in Ripuarios exercitum ducerent: Ut ipsum ex utrisque partibus coercerent.

the present Dukedom of Luxemburg, and falls into the Ourt. The Author of this Relation was contemporary: I therefore chose rather to follow him, than the Annales Metenses, which differ from him in some Circumstances.

(2) See below §. V.

(3) CONT. FREDEGAR. 106. ANN. METENS. ad A. 716.

§ II. (1) The Manner in which this is related in the Annal. Metens. shews, at the same Time, that the Franks esteem'd War as it were a kind of legal Decision of dubious Claims. Carolus autem Princeps more majorum, legatos suos Chilpericum dirigit, ea, quæ pacis sunt postulans. Et ne forte nobilium Francorum cruor inter illos effunderetur, paternum sibi suadet restaurari principatum: Compertumque omnibus esse dicit, genitorem suum Pippinum, omnibus occidentalibus Francis

(4) CONT. FREDEGAR. l. cit. Sed in via, in loco, qui dicitur Amblava, ab exercitu Caroli, grande perpeffi sunt damnum. Amblava, Ambleve, was a villa Regalis on the River of the same Name, which waters Stablo and Malmedy in

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hard Struggle, obtain'd the Victory. His Soldiers made a rich Booty, and were thereby encouraged to pursue the King, who fled to *Paris*. The Gates of *Cologne* were open'd to him at his Return, and *Plectrudis* was forc'd to comply, and to surrender *Pipin's* Treasure, which 'till then had been in her Custody. He now became Master of all the remaining Part of *Austrasia* (2); and himself set up a King, call'd *Clotarius*, in whose Name he could, with a more specious Pretence, rule the Helm, and continue the War against *Chilperic*. It is uncertain how nearly this *Clotarius* was ally'd to the Royal Line; and that he was Son to *Dagobert II*, the last King of *Austrasia*, is only a Conjecture (3).

Chilperic demands the Assistance of *Eudo* Duke of *Aquitain*.

§ III. *CHILPERIC*, in the mean Time, apply'd for Aid to *Eudo* (1), Duke of *Aquitain*. This Prince was then independent, and he, together with his Sons, and the Duchy of *Aquitain* itself, will, in the Sequel, be frequently mention'd in the History of the *Franks*. The Appellation of *Aquitain*, in the Time of the *Romans*, was given to the whole Country, that reaches from the *Pyrenean* Mountains to the *Loire*. *Clovis* and his Successors had, indeed, taken this Tract from the *Wiss-Goths*, but very few *Franks* had been sent thither; and hence the Inhabitants were, even to this Time, frequently call'd *Romani*. The *Gascons*, a *Spanish* People, advanc'd afterwards from the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and overspread the Country, as far as the *Garonne*, whence that Province received the Name of *Gasconne*. The former Kings of the *Franks* knew how to curb these turbulent Guests, and had constituted a Duke over them (2): But, in the late and present Distractions, *Eudo* set up for an absolute Prince, in *Aquitain*, and had the *Gascons* at his Command; for which Reason, he and his Sons were sometimes stiled *Duces Aquitaniae*, sometimes *Vasconia*. *Chilperic* now offer'd to leave him the quiet Enjoy-

olim cum iustitia et pietate dominasse: nec illum aliquid aliud postulare, nisi ut præesset his, quos pater suus quondam iusta ditione gubernarat. Quod ut audivit Chilpericus & Raginfridus, magna indignatione repleti, non solum sibi hoc imperium denegabant; sed id, quod sibi ex paterno principatu contigerat, ipsum spoliare minitabant: illumque ut crastino die ad bellum præpararet, admonebant, ut ibi divinæ iustitiæ iudicium subiret, & quis deinceps regnum Francorum regere deberet, divina potestas declararet.

(2) CONT. FREDEGAR. 106. In the Annal. Metens. ad A. 717. the Conclusion is particularly re-

markable: Coloniamque urbem ingressus, paternis thesauris, a Plectrude, noverca sua, receptis, in SOLIO REGNI SUI dignissimus hæres resedit.

(3) PACIUS ad A. 717.

§ III. (1) Some pretend, that *Eudo* was a Spaniard. But *Oihenart*, in Not. Vascon. p. 367, 368. proves that he was more probably a Frank.

(2) We related above, Lib. 14. 34. that the Kings *Theodebert* and *Theoderick* subdued them, and Lib. 15. 3. That King *Charibert* kept them in Subjection.

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ment of his Possessions, if he would assist him against *Charles*: And, according to the Conjecture of some learned Men, he even allow'd him the Royal Title (3). *Eudo*, who could not well desire more than to have his Pretensions justified by the King himself, pass'd the *Loire*, with his Troops, and join'd the King's Army near *Paris*. *Charles* march'd to meet him, and a third Battle was fought, in the same Year, 719, near *Soissons*, in which the Duke of *Austrasia* again triumph'd, and *Chilperic* was forc'd to fly. He thought himself not secure in *Paris*, and therefore retir'd, with the Royal Treasure, into *Aquitain* (4).

§ IV. *CHARLES* pursu'd him as far as *Orleans*; but thought it not adviseable to proceed farther. *Raginfried* used all possible Endeavours to withstand him in *Neustria*; but he, at Length, resign'd his Post, and *Charles* allow'd him, in Return, the County of *Anjou*. The Conqueror now caus'd *Clotarius* to be acknowledg'd King, and himself his *Maire de Palais*, by the States of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*: But *Clotarius* died the same Year, and, by Death, open'd a Way for an entire Accommodation; and we find little else related of him, infomuch, that he is generally even omitted in the Series of the Kings. *Charles* declared now he wou'd keep Peace with *Eudo*, and acknowledge *Chilperic* his Sovereign, if the latter would confirm him in his Office of *Maire de Palais*. *Eudo*, who was harass'd by the *Saracens*, as well as *Chilperic*, gladly accepted of this Proposal *. *Charles* receiv'd the King with all external Tokens of Honour, but kept him, in a Manner, a Prisoner, in the Royal Palace at *Attigny*. He died soon after, A. 720, and the before-mention'd Son of *Dagobert III*, was now chosen King. He had hitherto been educated in the Monastery of *Chelles*, and hence he was nam'd *Thierry de Chelles*.

§ V. *BONIFACE* begun, about this Time, to preach the Gospel in the inner Parts of *Germania*. His real Name was *Winfred*, and he was born in the Province of *Wesssex*, in *England*, where he had devoted himself to a Monastick Life. The Example of several of his Countrymen, and particularly of *Willibrod*, who had propagated the *Christian* Faith in *Germania*, with good Success, excited him to make the like

*Charles and
Chilperic re-
concil'd, &c.*

*Boniface un-
dertakes to
propagate the
Christian
Faith in Ger-
mania, &c.*

(3) CONT. FREDEGAR. 107. Chilpericus itaque ac Raganfridus legationem ad Eudonem ducem dirigunt, ejus auxilium postulantes rogant, REGNUM ET MUNERA TRADUNT. Ille quoque hoste Wasconorum commoto ad eos veniens, pariter adversus Carolum perrexerunt. VALESIIUS, PAGIUS, and other Learned Men, interpret this, to

be a Crown. Pagius, ad A. 716. n. 10. imagines, that Eudo set up for King, and was acknowledg'd as such in Provence.

(4) CONT. FREDEGAR. l. c.

§ IV. * Conf. PAG. ad An. 720. n. 4.

Attempt. He first repaired to *Friesland*: But as, at the same Time, after *Pipin's* Death, *Radbod* had retaken from the *Franks*, that Part of *Friesland* on the left of the *Rhine*, and the *Christians* could form slender Hopes, he return'd to his Monastery, and went to *Rome*, A. 718, with a Recommendation from *Daniel*, Bishop of *Winchester*. Pope *Gregory II* perswaded him to pursue his former Design: And when, at his Return, he was inform'd of the Death of the Prince of the *Frisians*, he repaired to *Willibrod*, and assisted him, during three successive Years, in the Regulation of Divine Service. In the Year 722, he went to *Thuringia*, in Order to plant himself a new Vineyard for the Lord. These People had, long before, had some Knowledge of Christianity (1), but it was very much corrupted, by Reason of the neighbouring *Pagan Nations*; and their great Poverty, occasion'd by continual Wars, wherewith the *Saxons*, *Abares* and *Venedi*, had distress'd this Country (2).

His second
Journey to
Rome. Gre-
gory conse-
crates him a
Bishop.

§ VI. BEING successful here, *Gregory* sent for him to *Rome*, and consecrated him a Bishop, without appointing him any particular Diocese, that he might the more effectually, and with the better Authority, execute his Design. *Boniface* took an Oath, by *St. Peter's* Tomb, never to separate from the *Roman Church*, and to make all possible Opposition to those Bishops, who should deviate from the Tenets of the Fathers (1). The Pope deliver'd to him the Collection of the Canons, then in Use, in the Church of *Rome* (2), that he might regulate every Thing in Conformity thereunto. He wrote moreover to *Charles*, and entreated him to second the new Bishop in his Undertaking. He likewise recommended him to all the Clergy, and Officers of State among the *Franks* (3). He admonish'd the *Thuringians* (4) to receive the *Christian Faith*; and wrote particular Letters to some of them, who were already converted (5). A Letter is likewise extant, which he sent to the whole Nation of the an-

§ V. (1) Of the first Traces of Christianity among the *Thuringians*, see above, B. 13. 37.

(2) LUDGER. in Vit. Gregorii. Tota illa regio, in confinio paganorum rebellium posita, illo tempore incensa erat, & hostili manu vastata.

§ VI. (1) V. Formulam juramenti inter epistolas Bonifacii, n. 117.

(2) WILLIE. in vita Bonif. Deditque illi simul libellum, in quo sacratissima ecclesiastica constitutionis jura Pontificalibus digesta sunt con-

ventibus. This may, with most Probability, be applied to the Collectio Canonum Ecclesie Romanæ.

(3) Inter Epist. Bonif. 123. The Superscription is this: Ad Episcopos, Presbyteros et Diaconos, ad Gloriosos Duces, ac Magnificos Gastaldios & ad Comites.

(4) Inter ep. Bonif. 120

(5) Ep. 119. It is thus superscrib'd: Viris Magnificis, filiis, Asulpho, Godolavo, Wilarco, Gundovaldo, & omnibus Deo dilectis Thuringis fidelibus.

cient

cient Saxons (6), wherein he exhorts those, who should be baptiz'd, to Constancy; and excites the Rest to follow so good an Example. Charles gave a kind Reception to Boniface, and took him into his particular Protection; which proved very advantageous to him (7). Daniel, the before-mention'd Bishop of Winchester, gives him, in one Letter (8), wholesome Instructions for his Conduct in preaching the Gospel. He advises him to convince the Pagans, by rational Arguments, of the Absurdity of their Superstitions, in Order to lead them to the Christian Faith, by the Light of natural Religion. But Boniface had not Recourse to Conviction only, and acknowledges, in a Letter to the same Bishop, that the *Maire de Palais* was oblig'd to add the greatest Weight to his Precepts (9). For he met with Opposition from the Christians themselves, in Thuringia, on one Hand (10): And, on the other, he here and there put a Stop, by Force, to their idolatrous Worship, and destroyed their sacred Trees: The German Pagans had a particular Veneration for Trees of this Kind, and particularly for Oaks, under the Shadow of which they not only perform'd their Sacrifices, but likewise held their Conventions and Courts of Judicature. Such was the famous Oak near Geismar, in lower Hesse, which was dedicated to the God of Thunder (11); but cut down by Boniface, to the great Terror of the People. Nor could the Monasteries have subsisted without this Protection. He had besides a constant Correspondence in England, and obtain'd from thence both Money (12), (the Value of which was doubtless proportionable to the Poverty of those

(6) *Inter ep. Bonif. 121. It is directed thus:* Univerſo populo provincię ALT-SAXONUM.

populum introducti ſunt fratres: qui ſub nomine religionis maximam hæreticę pravitatıs intro- duxerunt ſectam, &c.

(7) See Charles's Letter of Protection, T. VI. CONCIL. LABB. p. 1446. *It is thus ſuſcrib'd:* Dominis ſanctis & Apoſtolicis in Chriſto Patribus, Epiſcopis, Ducibus, Comitibus, Vicariis, Domesticiſ, ſeu omnibus agentibus junioribus noſtris, ſeu miſſis decurrentibus, & amicis noſtris, ILLUSTRIS VIR, CAROLUS, MAJOR DOMUS, &c.

(11) AGATHIAS ſays of the Alemanni: Arbores etiam quãdam colunt. See above, Lib. II. §. 8. not. 8. Of this ſee a larger Account in KEYSER's Antiquit. Septentr. pag. 318, and SCHMINCK's Diſſ. de quercu Jovis.

(8) *Inter ep. Bonifacii, n. 67.*

(9) *Ep. 3. Sine patrociniò Principis Franco- rum, nec populum regere, nec Presbyteros, nec Diaconos, Monachos vel ancillas Dei defendere poſſum, nec ipſos paganorum ritus & ſacrilegia idolorum in Germania, ſine illius mandato & timore, prohibere valeo.*

(10) VILIBALDUS, c. 8. Falsi ſed mentes

(12) Bishop Torthelmus ſends him a Preſent, ep. 43. Per gerulum vero apicum tuorum modicum tibi munuſculum, ſed magni affectus pig- nus tranſmitto. At another Time, a well diſpos'd Abbeſs, ſent him 50 Guilders of Gold, and an Altar- Cloth, Ep. 35. Et per eundem portitorem tibi nunc tranſmitto quinquaginta ſolidos, & pallium altaris, quia majora munuſcula minime potui adipiſci.

Times) (13), and Books, which were then very scarce. A Letter is extant, wherein he desires a legible Copy of the Prophets (14), and in another Passage, he as earnestly entreats him for some of *Beda's* Writings, which he could make Use of in his Sermons (15). He receiv'd in particular, from Time to Time, a Supply of Fellow-Labourers from that Island, some of whom afterwards arriv'd at the highest Dignities in the German Church. *Burcardus* was the first Bishop of *Würtzburg*, *Vitta* of *Bureburg*, *Vilibald* of *Eichstadt*, and *Vunibald*, his Brother, Abbot of several Monasteries. *Lullus* succeeded *Boniface*, in the Archbishoprick of *Mentz*. Even many devout Women came to his Aid, to whom he entrusted particular Monasteries. Such were *S. Thecla*, as likewise *Lioba* and *Valpurgis*, two Sisters of *Vilibald* and *Vunibald*, with several others. The Church of *Rome* found this Mission highly advantageous. Nothing could afford the Pope greater Comfort, during the Transactions of the *East*, than that the Nations, who formerly always resisted the *Roman* Arms, now submitted to their Doctrine, and spiritual Discipline. Hereby he

(13) *Boniface's Letters may serve to shew the Poverty and Sincerity of these Times*: *Ethelbert, King of Kent, begs ep. 42, he would send him a Pair of Falcons. Unam rem præterea a vobis desidero mihi exhiberi, quod vobis acquirere valde difficile esse, juxta quod mihi indicatum est, nullatenus reor: id est, duos falcones, quorum ars & artis audacia sit, grus velle libenter capiundo arripere, & arripienda consternere solo. Ob hanc etenim causam de harum acquisitione & transmissione ad nos avium vos rogamus: quia videlicet & perpauci hujus generis accipitres in nostris regionibus, hoc est, in Cantia, reperiuntur, qui tam bonos producant fœtus, & ad supra dicta martem animo agiles ac bellificosi educuntur. The Abbot Gutbert desires, ep. 89, they would send him a Muscian and some Glasses, because no such Thing was made in England. Boniface sends to Archbishop Ecbert, ep. 85, a small Vessel of Wine, and desires him and his Brethren, to make themselves merry with it. Præterea celsitudini vestræ, vice osculi, duas vini cupellas per hunc portitorem litterarum transmisimus, petentes, ut charitatis inter nos precibus nostris, inde lætum diem cum fratribus vestris faciatis.*

(14) *Ep. 3. Paternitatis vestræ clementiam de uno solatio peregrinationis meæ intimis precibus diligenter rogare velim, si præsumam. id est, ut*

librum Prophetarum, quem venerandæ memoriæ Wynbertus, Abbas & Magister quondam meus, de hac vita ad Dominum migrans dereliquit, in quo sex Prophetæ in uno corpore, claris, & absolutis litteris, scripti reperiuntur, mihi transmittatis. Etsi hoc Deus cordi vestro facere inspiraverit, majus solatium vitæ meæ senectuti, & majus vobis mercedis præmium transmittere non potestis. Quia librum Prophetarum talem in hac terra, qualem desidero, acquirere non possum: & caligantibus oculis minutas ac connexas litteras discere non possum. Et propterea de illo libro supradicto, rogo, quia tam clare discretis & absolutis litteris scriptus est.

(15) *Ep. 85. ad Ecbertum, Archiepiscopum*: Modo enim inhiante desiderantes flagitamus, ut nobis ad gaudium nostri mœroris eo modo, quo antea jam fecistis, aliquam particulam, vel scintillam de candela ecclesiæ, quam illuxit spiritus sanctus in regionibus vestris, destinare curetis, id est, de tractatibus, quos spiritualis presbyter & investigator sanctarum scripturarum, *Beda*, referendo composuit, partem qualemcunque transmittere dignemini. Maxime autem, si fore possit, quod nobis prædicantibus habile, & manuale, & utilissimum esse videtur, super lectionarium anniverfarium, & Proverbia Salomonis, quia commentarios super illa condidisse eum audimus.

gain'd

gained more and more Esteem in the *Franconian* Church, which likewise produced good Effects in temporal Matters. Whilst *Boniface* was occupied in *Hessia* and *Thuringia*, *S. Pirminius* founded several Monasteries among the *Alemanni*, especially in *Alsatia* (16). Among these is particularly famous, that at *Reichenau*, in *Suevia*, which was founded about the Year 724.

§ VII. *PIPIN* had, indeed, made several Expeditions against the *Alemanni*, who, as well as the *Bavarians*, probably withdrew their Allegiance from the *Franks*, after *Clovis's* Death. *Charles's* appear'd again in the Field against them, A. 725, and the Duke seems, at that Time, to have submitted (1). *Charles* then pass'd over the *Danube* to the *Bavarians*. *Theodo II* had reign'd with great Renown, over this Nation from about the Year 680 to 723, and, in his Life-time, resign'd a Tract of Land to each of his three Sons, *Theodebert*, *Theodebald*, and *Grimoald*; infomuch that we meet with four Princes, at one Time, in the History of the *Bavarians* †. A good Understanding subsisted between them and the *Longobards*; for, by their Assistance, *Ansprand* conquer'd the Kingdom (2), and *Luitprand*, his Son, chose a Wife from the House of *Bavaria*. The same *Theodo* propagated, with great Industry, the *Christian* Faith, and the Constitution of the Churches, which were greatly decay'd in *Noricum* ††. In his Reign, *S. Rupert*, and *S. Corbinian*, the first Bishop of *Freyssingen*, came into *Bavaria*: And the former built at *Furavia*, or *Saltzburg*, the Monastery of *S. Peter*, the first Seat of that Bishoprick ||. *Theodo* himself took a Tour to *Rome*, A. 716 (3), and, in all Appearance, the Regulation of the *Bavarian* Church was the Motive to that Journey: For we find, that Pope *Gregory II*, not long after, sent *Marcian*, Bishop of *Sabina*, with two other Divines, into *Bavaria*, and the Instructions they had were remarkable, because he directed them only to the *Bavarian* Princes, without making the least Mention, either

(16) Of *S. Pirminius*, see *RADERUS*, T. I. ex utraque parte multa strages populorum. *St. GEBERTUS* ad An. 710. Adsprandus cum Bojoariis Italiam repetit, &c.

§. VII. (1) See below, not. 5.

(2) *PAULUS*, Lib. 6. c. 34. Igitur post quam Ansprandus apud Bojoarium jam novem expletis annis exulasse, promotus tandem Theudeberto, decimo anno Bojoariorum ductor cum exercitu venit Italiam, pugnavit cum Ariberto & facta est

(3) *ANASTASIUS*, n. 179. Eo tempore Teudo, Dux gentis Bojoariorum, ad Apostoli B. Petri limina prima de gente eadem occurrit, orationis voto. add. *PAULUS*. 6. 44.

of the King of the *Franks*, or the *Maire de Palais* (4). *Grimoald*, the last surviving of the three before-mention'd Brothers, died about this Time, and all the Dominions were re-united under *Hubert*, a Grand-Son of *Theodo*: And this very Revolution, was, perhaps, the Occasion of *Charles's* Journey to *Bavaria*. The *Franconian Annals*, which relate neither the Causes nor the real Circumstances thereof, mention only, that he subdued the Country, and carried off *Bilitrudis*, *Grimoald's* Widow, together with *Sunebild*, her Niece, whom he chose for his second Wife (5): And we find yet fewer Accounts of another Expedition, which he is said to have made, *A. 728* (6). In the ancient Laws of the *Bavarians*, as they are now extant, we meet with some Traces of the State of the Nation, and particularly with Regard to their Behaviour towards the *Franks* †. Their Duke was always chosen out of the Family of the *Agilolfingians*, preferable to all other; whether he was put in by the King, or elected by the Nation. He exercis'd a kind of Authority, in that Country, which was only distinguish'd from that of a King, by his being oblig'd, in a certain Measure, to acknowledge the Supremacy of the Kings of the *Franks*.

† See Annot.
20.

History of the
Saxons.
Of the Name
of the *Ancient*
Saxons.

§ VIII. A WAR broke out between *Charles* and the *Saxons*, about the Year 728. This Nation, which was then call'd *Ancient Saxony* (1), to distinguish

(4) See the same, T. VI. CONC. LAEB. p. 1432. and the following Words are particularly remarkable: Ut datis nostris scriptis, ita cum duce provinciae deliberetis, quatenus conventus congregetur sacerdotum, & judicum, atque universae gentis ejusdem primariorum, & ex quaesitis sacerdotibus, atque ministris, quorum canonicam approbaveritis extitisse promotionem, ac rectae fidei tenere, aut recipere rationem, his sacrificandi, & ministrandi, sive etiam psallendi ex figura, & traditione sanctae apostolicae & Romanae sedis ecclesiae ordine tradetis potestatem. And n. 3. Ut consideratis locorum spatiis, juxta gehennationem uniuscujusque ducis episcopia disponatis, & subjacentia singulis fedibus terminetis. Et si tres, aut quatuor, vel majoris numeri visae fuerint constitutae sedes, reservato praecipuo sedis loco pro archiepiscopo reserendo, adhibito trium episcoporum conventu, probabiles fide, ac boni testimonii, & eruditos sana doctrina viros, ordinetis antistites, ex auctoritate beati Petri Apostoli.

(5) CONTINUATOR FREDEGARII, cap. 108.

Evoluto anni circulo, coadunata agminum multitudo, Rhenum fluvium transiit, Alamannosque & Suavos lustrat, usque Danubium peraccessit, illoque transmeato, fines Bajoarense occupavit. Subacta regione illa, thesauris multis cum matrona quadam, nomine Bilitrude, & nepte sua, Sonichilde, regreditur.

ANAL. METENS. ad An. 719. Carolus, congregato exercitu, Rhenum fluvium transiit, Alamanniamque lustrat, & ad Danubium usque pervenit. Illoque trajecto, cum thesauris multis & matrona quadam, nomine Bilitruda & nepte sua, SONIHILDE, adjuvante Domino, victor ad proprias fedes revertitur.

(6) We find but very slender Footsteps of this second Expedition. ANAL. TILIANI ad An. 728. Secunda vice pugnavit in Bajoaria: Id. habent ANAL. NAZARIANI et CHRONOGRAPHUS SAN. DIONYSIANUS ap. PAGIUM, an An. 728. n. 1.

§ VIII. (1) NENNIUS in Hist. Brit. names omne genus AMERONUM, id est, ALT SAXONUM. BEDA

distinguish it from those, who dwelt in *Britain*, were not united under one King or Duke, as modern Chronicles pretend to assert.—*Beda*, a cotemporary Author, relates, that they were subject to several single Lords, who were all equal, and independent of each other; but in Case of a War, a Duke was chosen among them, by Lot (2), to whose Command the Rest were oblig'd to submit. *Boniface* repeats, in particular, in Praise of the *Saxons*, what *Tacitus* says of the ancient *Germans* in general, that they very rigorously observ'd their matrimonial Vows (3). They were so fond of their Liberty, that the Introduction of Christianity among them prov'd the more difficult: But tho' the Attempt of the two before-mention'd † *Anglo-Saxon* Priests was unsuccessful, yet *Boniface* † See xv. 24. earnestly desir'd to effect their Conversion, and was, besides, encourag'd in it, by his Friends in *England* (4): And he so far succeeded, that some were actually baptiz'd. As their Borders joined to those of the *Ostro-Franks*, *Thuringians* and *Hessians*, we need not wonder to find frequent Ruptures between these Nations. It would be difficult to conclude, from the Histories of the *Franks*, what real Motive induc'd *Charles* to wage War against the *Saxons*: But we find it in the Life of *S. Boniface* (5).

BEDA, Lib. 1. c. 15. De Saxonibus, id est, ea regione, quæ nunc ANTIQVORVM SAXONVM cognominatur, venere orientales Saxones, meridiani Saxones, occidui Saxones. *More Passages from Beda are cited above, L. 15. § 24. n. 5, & 8.*

(2) BEDA, Lib. 5. cap. 11. Non enim habent Regem iidem antiqui Saxones, sed Satrapas plurimos suæ genti præpositos, qui ingruente belli articulo, mittunt æqualiter fortēs, & quemcunque fors offenderit, huic tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur, huic obtemperant. Peracto autem bello rursus æqualis potentia omnes fiunt Satrapæ.

(3) BONIFACIUS, in Epistola 19. ad Etbelbaldum, Regem Merciorum: Quia ipsi pagani verum Deum ignorantes, naturaliter, quæ legis sunt, & quod ab initio Deus constituit, custodiunt hac in re; quia propriis uxoribus matrimonii fœdera servantes, fornicatores & adulteros puniunt. Nam in ANTIQVA SAXONIA, si virgo paternam domum cum adulterio commaculaverit, vel si mulier maritata, perduto fœdere matrimonii, adulterium

perpetraverit, aliquando cogunt eam propria manu per laqueum suspensam vitam finire, & super bustum illius incensæ & concremata corruptorum ejus suspendunt: aliquando congregato exercitu fœmineo, flagellatam eam mulieres per pagos circumquaque ducunt, virgis cædentes, & vestimenta eis abscindentes juxta cingulum, & cultellis suis totum corpus ejus secantes, & pungentes, minutis vulneribus cruentatam & laceratam de villa in villam mittunt, & occurrunt semper novæ flagellatrices, zelo pudicitia adductæ, usque dum eam aut mortuam, aut vix vivam derelinquant: ut ceteræ timorem adulterandi & luxuriandi habeant.

(4) Conf. ep. BONIFAC. 43.

(5) WILLIBALD in vit. Bonif. cap. 8. Fatiscente suorum Regum dominio, magna quidem eorum Comitum multitudo, sub THEOBALDI & HEDENIS periculoso primatu, qui lugubre super eos tyrannici ducatus, & in festum vastationis potius, quam devotionis obtinebant imperium, vel corporali per eos præventa morte, vel hostili siquidem educatione captivata est; ut cætera, quæ manebat residua populi turba, Saxonem se subiceret principatui.

The *Thuringians* were greatly oppress'd by their Dukes, *Theodebald* and *Heden*, which made a Part of them so disaffected, that they submitted to the *Saxons*, who tyranniz'd over them, on the other Side. To drive these Guests back again, and thereby, at the same Time, to procure a Tranquility for the *Christians*, was the Design of *Charles's* Expedition. The *Franconian* Writers take Notice of diverse other IncurSIONS of the *Saxons* and *Franks* (6): But I shall only mention those which, by Degrees, will render us better acquainted with this People: Nor are all the Transactions, related of the *Saxons*, to be understood of the Nation in general, but principally of those who dwelt on the Borders.

History of the
Empire.
Leo Isaurus
prohibits the
Adoration
of Images.

§ IX. THE Empire, which I left in a declining State, was, in the mean Time, fallen into the Hands of *Leo Isaurus*, A. 717, who had caused *Constantine*, his Son, tho' but two Years of Age, to be crown'd Emperor with him, A. 720. He immediately freed *Constantinople* from the Siege of the *Saracens*, and obtain'd considerable Advantages over them, both by Sea and Land. The Empire seem'd now to be recovering itself, when a new Controversy in Religion arose (1). If we consider, how many of this Kind were, at different Times, rais'd by the *Grecians*, after the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, and with what Violence they were pursued, old *Cato's* Advice appears to be almost justified, who warn'd the *Romans*, rather to be without the Wit and Learning of *Greece*, than, together with them, to give Way to their Fondness for Novelty, and their Inconstancy (2). And what could we expect from them, at this Time, when Superstition and Ignorance had wholly taken Place of their ancient Arts and Valour? The present Controversy was occasion'd by the Adoration of Images, and, for a long Time, divided the *East* and *West* (3). The

(6) CONTIN. FREDEGAR. cap. 108. ad An. 738. Itemque rebellantibus Saxonibus paganissimis, qui ultra Rhenum fluvium consistunt, strenuus vir, Carolus dux, commoto exercitu Francorum in loco, ubi Lipa fluvius Rhenum amnem ingreditur, sagaci intentione transievit, maxime ex parte regionem illam dirissimam stravit, gentemque illam savissimam ex parte tributarios esse precepit, atque quamplures obsides ab eis accepit.

ANNAL. METENS. ad An. 736. Saxoniam bello contrivit, sibi tributarios fecit.

And ad An. 738. Carolus princeps Rhenum transiens, Saxoniamque hostiliter invadens, Saxones obsidibus acceptis propriæ ditioni restituit, ipsosque iterum sibi tributarios fecit.

ANNAL. FULDENS. ad An. 737. Carolus Saxones tributarios facit.

§ IX. (1) This Controversy is particularly examin'd by Dallæus, and by F. Natalis Alexander. F. Maimbourg's Histoire des Iconoclastes, does not at all merit the Name of a History, as Frid. Spanhemius proves in Historia imaginum restituta.

(2) Cato said of the Greeks: Quodocunque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet. PLIN. Hist. Nat. 29. 1.

(3) See the Passages in Spanhemius. S. 1. § 7. seqq.

primitive

primitive *Christians* knew of no Images, nor of the Worship of them. After *Constantine the Great*, the Images of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary*, and the Apostles, and some scriptural Histories, begun, by Degrees, to be set up in Churches. At first they serv'd as Ornaments, and for the Instruction and Encouragement of the Faithful. The Simplicity of those People, who were just converted from *Paganism*, occasion'd them in Time to be ador'd, and the most sagacious among them pleaded as an Excuse, that this Honour was not shewn to the Images, but to those they represented. Yet *Austin*, *Gregory the Great*, and other eminent Teachers, always disapprov'd of this Worship of Images (4); and the *Jews* and *Saracens* upbraided the *Christians* with it, as a Piece of Idolatry. The Emperor *Philippicus Bardanes* had before prohibited it, in a Synod at *Constantinople*, and was, on that Account, at Variance with Pope *Constantine*. *Leo Isaurus* now publish'd an Edict of the same Import (5), in which he alledg'd, that the said Adoration was not enjoin'd in any of the six general Councils, and was rather forbidden in sacred Writ. *Leo* had before attempted to compel the *Jews* to Baptism (6), and hoped, perhaps, to render their Conversion the more easy by this Edict. We find indeed generally related, that two *Jews* foretold him in his Youth, that he would become Emperor, and when afterwards this Prophecy was verifi'd, they desir'd, that, as an Acknowledgment, he would abolish Images. But the Absurdity of these Circumstances, suffices to explode them. If, in the former Controversies on Religion, which related chiefly to subtle Opinions, the Heat of the People was so extream, we need not wonder to find them now so zealous, when the Subject of the Dispute was obvious to their Eyes. The Inhabitants of *Greece* re-

(4) That *Leo* intended at first, only to abolish the Adoration of Images, appears from the Life of *S. Stephanus Junior*, who is mention'd as a Martyr in this Controversy. Post decimum sui imperii annum, novus ille *Baltassar*, *Manichæam* hæresim & *Æphtatrodocitarum*, ut ita loquar, forte haud dissimilem, in Ecclesiam spiravit. Itaque subiecta sibi plebe convocata, coram omnibus *leonium* rugiens inhumana hæc bellua & *Leonis* nominis insignis, ex iracundo corde, velut ex *Ætna* monte, ignem & sulphur miserandam illam vocem eructavit, & protulit: Quandoquidem imaginum fabricatio ars est idolica, illas adornare non oportet.

(5) THEOPHAN. & CEDREN.

(6) THEOPHAN. Interea populi, qui Græciam, & Cycladas insulas habitabant, PIO IN DEVM

MOTI AFFECTU; conspiratione inter se facta, parataque maxima classe, adversus Imperatorem rebellavere, Cosmam quendam, qui partes eorum sequebatur, imperio destinantes. Aciem ducebant *Agallianus*, *Græcanicorum Turmarcha*, & *Stephanus*. Isti mensis Octobris die decimo octavo, Indictione decima, ad urbem imperatricem appellentes, commisso cum Byzantinis proelio, navibus arte facto igne combustis, superantur: adeo ut alii circa profundum submersi sint: inter quos ipse *Agallianus*, ut erat armatus, se ipsum præcipitavit: superstitibus vero ad victorem Imperatorem ultro se conferentibus, *Cosmas* & *Stephanus* capite plexi sunt. Ex quo impii *Leonis*, sectariumque ejus malitia oppido crevit, adeo ut susceptum adversus pietatem bellum latius promoverint.

Q q 2

bell'd,

bell'd, and came with a Fleet to *Constantinople*, in Order to depose the Emperor, *Leo* repell'd them, and this Opposition caus'd him to persist the more earnestly in his Purpose. He had at first only prohibited the Worship of Images, but in Process of Time he resolv'd wholly to abolish them.

The State of
Italy, &c.

§ X. THIS Division prov'd highly prejudicial to the State of *Italy*. *Luitprand*, King of the *Longobards*, was a dangerous Neighbour to the Remainder of the *Roman* Empire, and very capable of turning, to his own Advantage, all the Errors, that could be committed at *Constantinople*. He possess'd, besides his warlike Disposition, all the Virtues of Peace, and a Love of Religion and Morals. In the Camp he was brave and rigorous, kind and beneficent at Home. He gain'd the more Honour by his Victories, as he was, at the same Time, stil'd the Father of his People (1). About this Time (2) he had the good Fortune to take *Chiassi* and even *Ravenna* (3). The Emperor and Pope were not, at that Time, so greatly exasperated against each other, as they became afterwards. *Gregory* was therefore solicitous, how to put a Stop to these Proceedings, which might prove dangerous to the *Roman* Church. A Letter (4) is extant, from him to *Ursus*, Duke of *Venice*, wherein he excites him to assist the *Exarch*, who was then at *Venice*, in re-taking *Ravenna*, which he actually did (5). Had the *Longobards* conquer'd all *Italy*, *Venice* would likewise

§ X. (1) PAULUS VI. 58. Fuit vir multæ sapientiæ, consilio sagax, pius admodum & pacis amator: Bello potens, delinquentibus clemens, castus, pudicus, orator pervigil, eleemosynis largus, literarum quidem ignarus, sed philosophis æquandus, nutritor gentis, legum augmentator.

(2) From the Letter of *Gregory II.* to *Leo*, it appears that *Ravenna* was taken after he had declar'd against Images: Delectu habito *Longobardi* & *Sarmatæ*, cæterique, qui ad Septentrionem habitant, miseram *Decapolim* incursionibus infestant, ipsamque metropolim *Ravennam* occupant, & ejectis magistratibus tuis, proprios constitucere magistratus, & vicinas nobis sedes regias, ipsamque *Romam* sic tractare studuerunt, cum tu nos defendere minime possis. §. below XIII.

(3) ANASTASIUS in *Greg. II.* Rex vero, *Luitprandus*, generali motione facta *Ravennam* progressus est, atque illam obsedit per dies aliquot, & castrum pervadens Classes, captos abstulit plures, & opes abstulit innumeras. PAULUS mentions this Lib. 6. c. 49: Eo tempore Rex *Luitprandus*

Ravennam obsedit, Classem invasit, atque destruxit: But from the Quotation in the following Note it appears, that he actually took it. Farther Circumstances of this Conquest may be seen in *Ag-nelli Vita Johannis, Ravenn. Episcopi. 39.*

(4) This Letter we find in *BARONIUS ad An. 726*: Quia peccato faciente, *Ravennatum* civitas, quæ caput exstat omnium, a nec dicenda gente *Longobardorum* capta est, & filius noster, eximius dominus *Exarchus* apud *Venetias*, (ut cognovimus) moratur: debeat nobilitas tua ei adhærere, et cum eo nostra vice pariter decertare, ut ad pristinum statum sanctæ reipublicæ, in Imperiali servitio, dominorum filiorum nostrorum, *Leonis*, & *Constantini*, magnorum Imperatorum, ipsa revocetur *Revennatum* civitas, ut zelo & amore sanctæ fidei nostræ in statu reipublicæ, & Imperiali servitio, firmi persistere, domino co-operante, valeamus.

(5) PAULUS Lib. VI. c. 54. Rursus cum *Ravennam* *Hildebrandus*, Regis nepos, & *Per-edeo*, *Vincentinus* Dux, obtinerent, irruentibus subito

likewise have been endanger'd. The Country being once laid waste, the Inhabitants yet experienc'd, that they should at least be more at Liberty, if it remain'd divided.

§ XI. But the Worship of Images soon caus'd them to forget the Vicinity of the *Longobards*. The Pope maintain'd this Worship at a *Synod* (1); and the Troops in *Venetia* and *Pentapolis* became so zealous, that they refus'd any farther Obedience to *Paul*, the *Exarch*. They chose particular Dukes for themselves; and would have proclaim'd a new Emperor, had not the Pope prevented them, as *Anastasius* says, in his Praise (2). *Leo* threaten'd *Gregory* with the same Treatment, which *Martin* had receiv'd from *Constantine* †: But he depended on the Zeal of the *Romans*, and the Aid of the Dukes of *Spolet*o and *Benevento*, who were frequently at Variance with their King, and, on that Account, kept up a good Understanding with the *Romans*. *Anastasius* even accuses the Emperor of having intended to murder the Pope in *Rome*; But *Gregory* himself makes no Mention of such a Design, in those Letters, wherein he reproaches *Leo* with all his Proceedings against him. Nor can we give Credit to the *Greek* Historians, who pretend, that the Pope anathematiz'd the Emperor at the *Synod*, and that he withdrew *Rome*, and the other Provinces of *Italy*, from their Allegiance to the Emperor (3).
Cardinal

Gregory II,
vindicates
the Adoration
of Images,
&c.

† See XV. 12.

subito Veneticis, Hildebrandus ab eis captus est. Perdeo viriliter pugnant occubuit.

§ XI. (1) *We have only a Fragment of this Synod, in a Letter of Pope Hadrian to Charles the Great, in Baronius ad An. 726. n. 21.*

(2) *ANASTASIUS*, p. 169. Jussionibus itaque postmodum missis decreverat Imperator, ut nulla imago cujuslibet sancti, aut martyris, aut angeli, ubicumque haberetur. Maledicta enim omnia asserebat, & si acquiesceret in hoc Pontifex, gratiam Imperatoris haberit: si & hoc fieri præpediret, a suo gradu recideret. Respiciens ergo pius vir profanam Principis jussionem, jam contra Imperatorem quasi hostem se armavit, renuens hæresim ejus, scribens ubique cavere se Christianos, eo quod orta fuisset impietas talis. Igitur permoti omnes Pentapolenses, atque Venetiarum exercitus contra Imperatoris jussionem resisterunt, dicentes nunquam se in ejusdem Pontificis condescendere nece, sed pro ejus magis defensione

viriliter decertare. Ita ut anathemati Paulum Exarchum, vel qui eum direxerat, ejusque consentaneos submitunt, spernentes ordinationem ejus, SIBI OMNES UBIQUE IN ITALIA, DUCESELEGERUNT: atque sic de Pontificis, deque sua immunitate omnes studebant. Cognita vero Imperatoris nequitia, omnis Italia consilium iniit, ut sibi eligerent Imperatorem, & Constantinopolim ducerent. Sed compescuit tale consilium Pontifex, sperans conversionem Principis.

(3) *I shall here cite these Passages, which have caus'd so many to err, one after the other: THEOPHANES: Anno 9. Imperii sui cœpit impius Imperator contra sanctas & venerandas imagines facere verbum. Quod cum didicisset Gregorius, Papa Romanus, tributa Romanæ urbis prohibuit, Italiæ, scribens ad Leonem epistolam dogmaticam, non oportere Imperatorem de fide facere verbum, & novitate violare antiqua dogmata Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quæ a sanctis Patribus sunt prædicata.*

CEDRENU3

Cardinal *Baronius* is indeed of the same Opinion (4), and hence many modern Writers call this the Beginning of the Temporal Jurisdiction of the Popes: But we shall find, in the Sequel, that the Report of the *Anathema* is groundless, and that both *Rome*, and the Rest of *Italy*, continu'd still to acknowledge the Emperor's Supremacy.

Leo makes a League with the King of the Longobards, &c.

§ XII. THE *Longobards* made the greatest Advantage of this; and took one Place after another, in *Æmilia* and *Pentapolis* (1). As *Paulus* was, in the mean Time, murder'd by the mutinous Soldiers, the Emperor sent into *Italy* *Eutychius*, an Eunuch, who had already been *Exarch*, some Years before. He endeavour'd first to gain *Luitprand*. The King was displeas'd with the Dukes of *Spoletto* and *Benevento*, and these were, on the other Hand, in Friendship with the Pope and the *Romans*. The *Exarch* took from hence Occasion to lay the Foundation of a Treaty, the Import of which was, that the King should be assisted by the Imperialists in reducing the Dukes of *Spoletto* and *Benevento* to Obedience; and that he, on the other Side, should not hinder the *Exarch* from executing his Design against the Pope and the *Romans*. The two *Longobard* Princes were soon after obliged to subject themselves to the King at *Spoletto*; who proceeded to *Rome*, and incamp'd on the *Tyber*, near *St. Peter's Church* (2); but what his real Intention was, is not mention'd in History. The Pope came out to him, and prevail'd on him so far, that he laid down his Arms, and Royal Robes, at the Apostle's

CEDRENIUS ad annum 10 Leonis; Romæ autem Gregorius, Apostolorum Coryphæi assessor, qui ob suas lucubrationes Dialogi nomen adeptus est, a Leone, ob ejus impietatem defecit, & pacto cum Francis inito, tributa Leoni negavit: ANASTASIUM ET SOCIOS ANATHEMATE FERUIT.

ZONAR. Gregorius, qui tum Romæ veteris Ecclesiam gubernabat, repudiata societate Præfidis novæ Romæ, nec non eorum, qui illum sequerentur, ILLOS UNA CUM IMPERATORE SYNODICO ANATHEMATE OBSTRINXIT, & vestigalia, quæ ad id usque tempus Imperio inde pendebantur, inhibuit, iusto cum Francis fœdere. And farther: Igitur Papa Gregorius, deserta Imperatoris obedientia, propter perversam ejus opinionem (ut dictum est) pacem cum Francis fecit, cum prius sæpe dedisset operam, ut Leonem per litteras ab odio Dei revocaret, atque ad cultum sacrarum Imaginum reduceret.

(4) BARONIUS ad An. 730. n. 4. Tum demum factum est, ut idem Pontifex tandem eundem Imperatorem, utpote penitus impœnitentem hæreticum cognitum & declaratum, fuerit anathemate execratus; tumque Romanos, tum Italos ab ejus obedientia recedere penitus fecerit.

§ XII. (1) ANASTASIUS,

(2) ANASTASIUS. p. 171. Eo vero tempore sæpius dicti Eutychius Patricius, & Luitprandus, Rex, inierunt consilium nefarium, ut, congregatis exercitibus, Rex subjiceret Duces Spoletanum & Beneventanum, & Exarchus Romam, & quæ pridem de Pontificis persona jussus fuerat, impleveret. Paulus, mentions the Disputes of these two Dukes, Lib. 6. 55, but does not assign the Circumstances of the Time.

Tomb,

Tomb, and even undertook the Mediation between the Pope and the *Exarch* (3). *Eutychius* soon found this Reconciliation advantageous. For whilst he was yet at *Rome*, Advices were brought, that a Person, nam'd *Petastus*, had set up for Emperor in the Neighbourhood, on the Frontiers of *Tuscany*. When the Hearts of the People were almost universally alienated from *Leo*, a trivial Alarm might cause a general Revolt: But the Pope lent *Eutychius* all possible Aid, and the latter was so successful, that he sent the Rebel's Head to his Emperor at *Constantinople*. *Leo* was nevertheless still disgusted at the *Romans*, because they persisted in the Adoration of Images (4).

§ XIII. HE publish'd a fresh Edict, *An. 730*, by Virtue of which all Images were to be entirely abolish'd (1). The Golden and Silver Vessels, on which they were engrav'd, were even melted down, and Relicks were as rigorously suppress'd, as Images. *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who oppos'd these Proceedings, with some Warmth, was forc'd to resign, and was succeeded by *Anastasius*, who came into all the Measures of the Court. But *Gregory* would neither hold any Intelligence with *Anastasius* (2), nor consent to a general Council, which the Emperor desir'd. Two Letters are extant, which he wrote to him on this Occasion

A new Edict concerning the Abolishment of Images, &c.

(3) ANASTAS. I. c. Ad quem egressus Pontifex, eique præsentatus studuit, ut potuit, Regis mollire animum commonitione pia, ita ut se prosterneret ejus pedibus, promitteret, se nulli inferre læsionem: atque sic ad tantam compunctionem piis monitis flexus est, ut quæ fuerat indutus, exueret, & ante corpus Apostoli poneret, mantum, armilassiam, balteum, spatam, atque ensen deauratum, nec non coronam auream, & crucem argenteam. Post orationem factam obsecravit Pontificem, ut memoratum Exarchum ad pacis concordiam suscipere dignaretur, quod & factum est.

(4) IDEM I. c. Igitur Exarcho Romæ moranti venit in partibus Tusciæ in castrum Manturianense quidam seductor, Tiberius nomine, cui cognomen erat Petastus, qui sibi regnum Romani Imperii usurpare conabatur. Leviores quoque decipiens, ita ut Manturianenses, Lucenses, atque Bledani ei sacramentum præstitissent. Exarchus vero, hæc audiens, turbatus est, quem sanctissimus Papa confortans, & cum eo Proceres Ec-

clesiæ mittens, atque exercitus, protecti sunt. Qui venientes in Manturianensi castello, ibidem vetastus interemtus est. Cujus abscissum caput Constantinopolim ad Principem missum est, & nec sic Romanis plenam gratiam largitus est Imperator. MANTURANUM, or MARTURANUM, is the present Barberano in the Patrimon. di S. Pietro.

§ XIII. (1) THEOPHANES: Die septima mensis Januarii, indictione decima tertia, feria hebdomadis tertia, irreligiosus Leo SILENTIUM, contra sanctas venerandasque imagines, IN NOVENDECIM ACCUBITORUM TRIBUNALIO celebravit, Germano Sanctissimo Patriarcha advocato, cui persuadendum arbitrabatur, ut suo de abolendis imaginibus decreto tandem subscriberet. At fortis Christi servus abominando Leonis consilio nequaquam cedens, imo veritatis verbum recto sensu distribuens, Episcopatu sece abdicavit.

(2) ANASTASIUS: Pro qua causa etiam Germanum Constantinopolitanæ ecclesiæ Antistitem, eo quod ei consensum præbere nolisset, Pontificatu

fion (3). In the former, he remonstrates, that such a Council was needless (4), and evades the Accusation, that the Worship of Images was Idolatry (5). He puts the Emperor in Mind, that, when at his Accession to the Throne, he procur'd for him the Friendship of the *Western* Princes, his Pictures were every where receiv'd with the usual Tokens of Honour; but that the same were pull'd down and trod under Foot, when the News arriv'd of what was transacted at *Constantinople* (6); that the *Longobards* and *Sclavi* laid the Imperial Dominions waste, without any Resistance, and that the former had even taken *Ravenna*, and already design'd to make an Attempt on *Rome* *. And, as the Emperor had threaten'd to banish him, he ridicules his impotent Rage, and tells him, he relies on the Protection of the *Western* Nations, who, he says, would not forsake him and *St. Peter*; That the Sea was but a few Miles distant, by Means of which he could safely escape his Persecution (7); and that a mighty Prince had but just then entreated him to come and baptize him (8). The other Letter is a Reply to an Answer of the Emperor, which has not been preserv'd. In this, he explains the Distinction between the

catu privavit idem Imperator, fibique complicem Anastasium Presbyterum in ejus locum constituit. Qui missa synodica ad Gregorium Pontificem, dum tali errori eum consentientem reperiret Vir Sanctus, non censuit, ut fratrem & confacerdotem solito; sed rescriptis commonitoriis, nisi ad Catholicam se converteret fidem, etiam extorrem a sacerdotali officio esse mandavit. Imperatori quoque mandavit salutaria suadens; & ut a tali execrabili miseria declinaret, scriptis commonuit.

(3) *BARONIUS* places the Date of these Letters in the Year 726. But *Pagius* ad eund. An. n. 3. eq. proves, that they cannot have been written before 730

(4) Scripsisti, ut Concilium Universale cogeretur, & nobis inutilis ea res visa est. Tu persecutor es imaginum, & hostis contumeliosus & everfor. Cessa, & nobis hoc largire, ut taceas. Tum mundus pace perfruetur, & scandala cessabunt. Finge nos tibi paruisse, ex universo terrarum orbe Pontifices congregatos esse, senatumque ac consilium confedissee. Ubi est Christi amator, ac pius Imperator, qui de more in Senatu confidere debet, & eos, qui recte loquuntur, munerari, eosque, qui aliena a veritate blaterant, amandare, cum tu Imperator vacilles ac barbaros imiteris?

(5) Dicis, nos lapides, & parietes, ac tabulas adorare. Non ita est, ut dicis, Imperator, sed ut memoria nostra excitetur, & ut stolidi & imperiti, crassaque mens nostra erigatur, & in altum provehatur per eos, quorum hæc nomina, et quorum appellationes & quorum hæc sunt imagines, & non tanquam Deos, ut tu inquis; absit, non enim spem in illis habemus.

(6) Testis est Deus, quascunque misisti ad nos epistolas auribus cordibusque Regum Occidentis obtulimus, pacem illorum tibi ac benevolentiam concilians, &c. Idcirco etiam laurata tua receperunt, ut Regis a Regibus honore affici convenit, &c.

* This Passage is quoted above § X. n. 2.

(7) Quod si nobis insolenter insultes, & minas intentes, non est nobis necesse, tecum in certamen descendere; ad quatuor & viginti stadia secedet in regionem Campaniæ Romanus Pontifex: tum tu vade, ventos persequere.

(8) Nuper siquidem ab anteriori Occidente preces illius, quem Septetum appellant, accepimus, qui vultum expetit nostrum, Dei gratia, & ut ad impertiendum ei sanctum baptismum illuc proficiscamur.

Imperial

Imperial and Sacerdotal Power, both which *Leo* arrogated to himself (9), remonstrates to him, that he had spoken his own Sentence, when at his Inauguration, he subscrib'd to the Confession, that whoever deviates from the Doctrine of the Fathers is accursed. He calls him an inhuman Prince, void of all Shame, who could persecute, by Force of Arms, a Bishop, who had it not in his Power to resist, and calls upon the Almighty to visit him with an evil Spirit (10): And, towards the Conclusion, he repeats, that he was upon the very Point of retiring into the remotest Parts of the *West*. As the Pope boasts so much of the Friendship of the *Western* Powers, it is probable, that he relied on the Assistance of the *Franks* and other *German* Nations. Many pretend, that he actually applied to *Charles*, for Protection, and made a League with him, in Prejudice of the Emperor: but they confound his Negotiations with those of *Gregory III*, his Successor. I find, at least, no certain Traces of any Treaty between *Gregory II*, and *Charles*, against the Emperor (11).

§ XIV. THE

(9) Quemadmodum Pontifex introspectendi in Palatium potestatem non habet, ac dignitates regias deferendi; sic neque Imperator in ecclesias introspectendi, & electiones in clero peragendi, neque consecrandi, vel symbola sanctorum mysteriorum administrandi: sed neque participandi absque opera sacerdotis. Sed unusquisque nostrum, in qua vocatione vocatus est a Deo, in ea maneat.

(10) Imperatores, qui pie & in Christo vixerunt, Ecclesiarum Pontificibus obedire minime recusant, nec eos vexant. Tu vero, Imperator, cum transgressus fueris, ac perversus evaseris, & manu propria subscripseris, te ipsum subjiciens, & confessus fueris, cum, qui terminos Patrum tollit, execrabilem esse, in hoc proprio judicio condemnatus es, ac Spiritum Sanctum a te alienasti. Persequeris nos, ac tyrannice vexas militari carnalique manu. Nos inermes ac nudi, qui terrenos ac carnales exercitus non habemus, invocamus Principem exercitus omnis creaturæ, sedentem in cælis Christum, qui est super omnes exercitus supernarum virtutum, ut immittat tibi dæmonem, sicut ait Apostolus: Tradere hujusmodi satanæ in interitum, carnis ut spiritus salvus sit.

(11) *The Byzantine Historians, whose Works are cited above § XI. not. 3, and particularly Zonaras.*
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ras, relate, that *Gregory* enter'd into Alliance, with the *Franks*, in Prejudice of the Emperor. But it is certain, that these Writers were not well acquainted with what pass'd in the *West*. *Baronius* ad An. 726. n. 42. applies to this a Passage from the *Continuat. Fredegarii*, but which is very plainly meant of his Successor of the same Name. *Anastasius* indeed likewise mentions, that this *Gregory* demanded the Aid of the *Franks*, in vit. *Stephani*: Itaque dum idem sanctissimus vir jam fatum pestiferum *Longobardorum* Regum iteratis vicibus, innumerabilia tribuens munera, deprecaretur pro gregibus sibi a Deo commissis, & perditis civibus, scilicet pro universo exercitu *Ravennæ*, atque cuncto istius *Italiæ* provinciæ populo, quos diabolica fraude ipse impius deceperat Rex & possidebat: & dum nihil hac de re ab eo obtineret, cernens præterea & ab Imperiali potentia nullum esse subueniendi auxilium: tunc quemadmodum prædecessores ejus, beatæ memoriæ dominus *Gregorius*, & *Gregorius secundus*, & tertius, & dominus *Zacharias*, beatissimi Pontifices, *Carolo* excellentissimæ memoriæ Principi *Francorum* direxerunt, petentes sibi subveniri propter oppressionem & invasionem, quas & ipsi in hac *Romana* provincia, a nefanda *Longobardorum* gente perpeffi sunt: ita modo & ipse venerabilis Pater, divina gratia inspirante, clam per quendam peregrinum suas misit litteras. Pl.
R r pinq,

Continuation
of these Con-
troversies un-
der Gregory
III, &c.

§ XIV. THE Death of *Gregory* (1) did not terminate this Dispute. *Gregory* III, his Successor, held a Synod at *Rome*, and threaten'd to excommunicate those, who prophan'd the Images (2). All *Italy* sent a Remonstrance to the Emperor, and begg'd he would permit them the Use of Images. But these Papers were suppress'd, in *Sicily*; and never reach'd the Court (3). *Leo* even equipp'd a Fleet against *Italy* (4), but it was dispers'd by a Tempest. These Distractions greatly promoted the Declension of the Emperor's Power and Authority in *Rome*, and those Provinces of *Italy*, which still appertain'd to the Empire; and the disaffected adher'd but the more zealously to the Pope. It cannot nevertheless be affirm'd, that they endeavour'd to withdraw their Allegiance from the Empire. The Sequel will rather shew, that *Zachary* and *Stephen* still acknowledg'd, at least in all outward Appearance, the Supremacy of the Emperors over the City of *Rome*, and over *Italy*; for all Records are dated according to the Years of their Reigns. *Leo*, on the other Hand, caus'd the Effects and Revenues, appertaining to the *Roman* Church, in *Apulia* and *Calabria*, to be confiscated; and depriv'd the Patriarch of *Rome* of the Churches in *Sicily*, as well, as of *Illyricum Occidentale*, of which *Theffalonica* was the Metropolis. The *Roman* Popes endeavour'd afterwards, in vain, to recover the spiritual Jurisdiction in *Illyricum*; and this Separation contributed not a little to the Division between the *Roman* and *Grecian* Churches (5).

Charles's Ex-
pedition
against *Eudo*.
The *Saracens*
invade *Aqui-*
tain, &c.

§ XV. CHARLES appear'd in the Field against *Eudo*, Duke of *Aquitain*, A. 731 (1), and which of them first violated the Peace is

pino, Regi Francorum, nimio dolore huic provinciae inhærente, conscriptas, But according to this very Relation, he sought Charles's Protection, not against the Emperor, but against the Longobards.

§ XIV. (1) He died A. 731. about the 10 of February.

(2) The Acts of this Synod are not indeed extant, but in Anastasius we have the following Extract, n. 192: Siquis deinceps antiquæ consuetudinis, & apostolicæ ecclesiæ tenentes fidelem usum contemnens, adversus eandem venerationem sacrarum imaginum, videlicet Dei, & domini nostri Jesu Christi, & genitricis ejus, semper virginis immaculatæ, atque gloriosæ, Mariæ, beatorum Apostolorum, & omnium Sanctorum, depositor atque destructor, & profanator, vel blas-

phemus extiterit, sit extorris a corpore & sanguine domini nostri Jesu Christi.

(3) IBID. n. 193. Cuncta generalitas istius provinciae Italiae similiter pro erigendis imaginibus supplicationum scripta unanimiter ad eosdem Principes direxerunt, quæ & ipsa, similiter ut anteriora, ablata sunt a Sergio, Patricio & Stratego ipsius insulae Siciliae.

(4) THEOPHAN. ad An. 16. Leon: Aft Imperator contra Papam atque recessum Romæ ac Italiae sæviebat. Constructumque stolum, exercitum videlicet magnum, direxit adversus eum, Manem Prætozem, Cyberotenfium caput, in eo constituens.

(5) Conf. PAGIUS ad An. 730. n. 11.

§ XV. (1). ANNAL. NAZAR. an hunc an. Carolus

is uncertain : But a new Enemy, whom both had equal cause to fear, oblig'd them afterwards, to keep up a better Understanding. *Zama*, the *Saracen* Lieutenant in *Spain*, had form'd the Design of conquering that Part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, which appertained to the *Goths*, and from thence of extending his Arms farther. He had already taken (2) *Narbonne* †, and laid Siege to *Toulouse*, which then appertain'd to *Eudo*. The latter ventur'd to relieve the City ††, and succeeded so well, that the †† *Saracens* were beat, and *Zama* was kill'd on the Spot. *Ambiza*, his Successor, pursued the same Design ; and took * *Carcaffone*, *Nimes*, and the other Cities of *Septimania*, as far as the *Rhône*. The then Lieutenant *Abderramen*, or *Abdiram*, now undertook a yet greater Exploit. He went by the Way of *Pampelona*, open'd a Passage thro' the Midst of the *Gascons*, who then extended their Habitations as far as the *Garonne*, and besieged *Bordeaux*. *Eudo*, in this Extremity, desir'd *Charles's* Aid, whom it likewise concern'd, to put a Stop to the Progress of the *Saracens*. But before he could come to his Assistance, *Abderramen* took *Bordeaux*, proceeded over the *Dordogne*, and, in a pitch'd Battle, vanquish'd the Duke of *Aquitain*, who had plac'd himself in that Neighbourhood. All the Country was now expos'd to the Fury of the Infidels. *Abderramen* took *Poitiers*, and had already resolv'd upon going to *Tours*, where he knew he should find a great Treasure in the Church of *St. Martin's*. But *Charles* advanced, in the mean Time, and encamped near *Poitiers*. The two Armies were not long in View of one another, before a pitch'd Battle ensued. *Charles* attack'd the Infidels, and both Parties had Reason to exert themselves to the utmost. The *Franks* fought for the Honour of the *Christian* Name ; and the Example of *Spain* warn'd them, what they had to apprehend from these Enemies to them and their Country. The *Muslemen*, on the other Hand, likewise perceiv'd, that all would be lost, if they did not gain the Victory : But Heaven granted it to the *Franks*, who were superior to their Enemies, even in natural Strength, and knew how to make better Use of their Swords, than they could of their Arrows. The Historian takes particular Notice of the gallant Behaviour of the *Austrasians* (3). *Eudo*, at the same Time, fell upon the Rear of the Camp,

Carlus vastavit duas vices ultra Ligere. CONTINUATOR FREDEGARII, c. 108. Carolus Princeps commoto exercitu Ligeram fluvium transiens, ipso Duce Eudone fugato, præda multa sublata, his eo anno ab his hostibus populata, iterum remeatur ad propria.

DERICUS in Hist. Arab. cap. 12. seq. CONTINUATOR FREDEGAR. l. c.

(3) RODERICUS, c. 14. Sic gens Austriæ, membrorum præminetia valida, & gens Germana, corde & corpore præstantissima, quasi in istu oculi, manu ferrea, & pectore arduo, Arabes extinxerunt.

(2) ISIDORUS PACENSIS, and from him Ro-

and thereby gain'd no small Honour (4). *Abderramen*, and many Thousands of his Soldiers, were kill'd on the Spot, and the Rest fled into *Septimania*. *Charles* did not pursue them, but return'd over the *Loire*, near *Orleans*.

Charles possesses himself of *Burgundy*, &c.

† Vol. I.
B. III. 14.

§ XVI. I SHALL not detain the Reader with an Account of *Charles's* Armaments in *Burgundy* and *Provence*, the next Year. Some of the Chiefs in these Provinces seem to have attempted, to follow the Example of other Nations, and to cast off the *Franconian* Yoke, or at least to have refused Obedience to *Charles* (1). He therefore plac'd Garrisons, such as he could rely upon, in *Lyons*, *Marseilles*, and other Cities. The History of the *Germans*, is more nearly concern'd in his Expedition against the *Frisians*, A. 734. This Nation depended on the Situation of their Country, which was partly protected by the Sea, and partly by their marshy Soil: But *Charles* came with a Fleet, and landed his Soldiers on those Coasts, where the *Frisians* thought themselves most secure (2). This Expedition would appear as miraculous as that of *Drusus* †, if it had been related by as able a Hand. He himself encamp'd on the River *Borden* *, which to this Day separates *Ostergow* from *Westergow*. He overcame Duke *Poppo* in a Battle, demolish'd, in several Parts of the Country, those Groves and Altars, which the yet *Pagan* Inhabitants had devoted to their Superstition, and, if we may believe Historians, subjected all *Friesland* to the Dominion of the *Franks*. *Eudo*, Duke of *Aquitain*, died, A. 735, and *Hunold* and *Hatto*, his Sons, resolv'd to maintain the same Dignity.

(4) PAUL. Lib. 6. cap. 46. Eudo quoque, cum suis super eorum castra irruens, pari modo multos interficiens, omnia devastavit.

§ XVI. (1) CONTINUATOR FREDEGARII, cap. 109. Procedente alioquin anno sequente (DCCXXXIII) egregius bellator, Carolus Princeps, regionem Burgundiæ sagaciter penetravit, fines regni illius LEUDIEBUS suis probatissimis, viris industriis, ad resistendum gentibus rebellibus & infidelibus statuit. Pace patrata Lugdunum Galliæ suis fidelibus tradidit. Fideles were those, who had bound themselves to him particularly, as Servants.

(2) IBIDEM, cap. 109. In gentem durissimam maritimam Frisionum nimis crudeliter rebellantem, præfatus Princeps navali expeditione prope-

rat, certatim altum mare ingressus, navium copia adunata. Wistrachiam & Austrachiam, insulas Frisionum, penetravit, super Burdine fluvium castra ponens. Poponem gentilem Ducem illorum fraudulentum consiliarium interfecit, exercitum Frisionum prostravit, fana illorum idolatriæ contrivit, atque combussit igni. Cum magnis spoliis & prædis victor reversus est in regnum Francorum.

ANNAL. METENS. A. DCCXXXIV. Carolus Princeps in Frisiam proficiscitur, omnesque rebelles ejus gentis trucidavit, ceterosque, quos vivos reliquit, acceptis obsidibus, suæ ditioni subjugavit.

* The CONTINUATOR FREDEGARII mentions *Borden*, as a River, in the before-cited Passage. Altingius, p. 734. imagines it to be *Bordicep*.

But

But *Charles* pass'd the *Loire*, and made himself Master of the Country, as far as where the *Dordogne* falls into the *Garonne* (3); but enter'd at last into a Treaty, by Virtue of which *Hunold* retain'd the Dukedom of *Aquitain*; promising on Oath, to bear Allegiance to *Charles* and his two Sons (4). Hence we may conjecture, what Views he had, with Regard to his Sons: Besides, the Vicinity of the *Saracens* oblig'd him to keep up a Friendship with *Hunold*, how unwilling soever he was to encourage the Rise of such Dukes.

§ XVII. WHEN King *Theoderick* died, *A.* 737, *Charles* was in no Hastē to appoint him a Successor. The Throne was vacant above five Years, before *Childerick* was chosen to fill it in his Room. We cannot, by any Footsteps, penetrate into the real Causes of so unusual an *Interregnum*, or into the particular Views of the *Maire de Palais*, on this Occasion. These Years are, however, in Records, dated after *Theoderick's* Death, or perhaps even according to the Years of *Charles's* Administration (1). And as the *Franks* had besides only lost the Name of a King, the Behaviour of *Charles*, and his glorious Exploits, render'd them the less sensible of their having no Monarch.

A BLOODY War broke out, the same Year, with the *Saracens*. A Person nam'd *Maurontius*, was carrying on Innovations in *Provence*; and tho' the true Grounds of them, and his real Views, are unknown, yet modern Historians conjecture, with some Probability, that he attempted to set up for Duke of that Province, as *Eudo* had before done in *Aquitain*. His Faction was strong, and he had drawn in the *Saracens*, who border'd on *Provence*. These first made themselves Masters of the City of *Avignon*: From thence they proceeded into *Burgundy*, took *Vienne*, and ravag'd the County as far as *Lyons* (2). *Charles* immediatly order'd *Childebrand*, his Brother, and some other Counts and Dukes, to march against them. At the Approach of these, the Infidels retreated to *Avignon*, to which Place, *Childebrand* laid Siege. *Charles* came with Re-inforcements, and now the *Franks* took the City by Storm, and massacred all the *Saracens*

(3) CONTIN. FREDEGAR. cap. 109. In illis quippe diebus Eudo dux mortuus est. Hæc audiens præfatus Princeps Carlus, inito consilio Procerum suorum, denuo Ligerem fluvium transit, usque Garonnam, vel urbem Burdegalem, vel castrum Blaviam veniens occupavit, illamque regionem cepit, ac subjugavit, cum urbibus ac suburbanis castrorum.

(4) ANNAL. METENS. ad An. 735. Ducatumque illum solita pietate Hunaldo, filio Eudonis, dedit, qui sibi & filiis suis, Pippino & Carlomanno, fidem promisit.

§ XVII. (1) PAGIUS ad An. 735, n. 5. ECH. p. 370.

(2) CONTIN. FREDEGAR. add. VALES. p. 501.

they

they found there. *Charles* proceeded over the *Rhône*, and pillag'd all *Septimania*, as far as *Narbonne*. The *Saracens* had made this City their Arsenal, and *Athina*, who commanded in *Septimania*, was himself in the Town. *Charles* invested it (3); and the *Saracens*, on the other Hand, equipp'd a Fleet, in the adjacent Parts of *Spain*, to relieve *Narbonne*, and landed their Men between that Place, and *Leucate*, where the River *Berre* falls into the Sea. *Charles* left the Care of the Siege to his Brother, and went himself, with the Rest of the Army, to meet these fresh Troops: A bloody Battle ensued on the said River, when the greatest Part of the Enemy were kill'd on the Spot, or on their Flight (4): But *Athina* behav'd so bravely in *Narbonne*, that *Charles*, at last, found his Hopes of winning the City vain. He took instead of it, *Beziers*, *Agde*, *Magalonne*, and *Nîmes*; and the *Saracens* kept only those Places, which lay beyond the *Aude*, towards the *Pyrenean* Mountains. The Walls and Towers, in the conquer'd Cities, were all demolish'd, that the Infidels might not so easily gain a Footing again, and the Inhabitants were, besides, oblig'd to give particular Hostages for their Fidelity. The Empire of the *Franks* has preserved a notable Memorial of this Expedition. The *Franks* have ever since, retain'd all *Charles's* Conquests in *Septimania*, and thus the Province of *Languedoc* was united with the other *Franconian* Dominions. *Charles* was no sooner return'd, than *Maurontius* rais'd a fresh Disturbance in *Provence*: But he went thither again, A. 739, with an Army, when all submitted to him, and *Maurontius* took Refuge in the adjacent Isles and Rocks (5).

THE *Longobard* Historian relates, that King *Luitprand* likewise arm'd himself to assist *Charles* against the *Saracens* (6), and mentions, in general,

(3) CONTIN. FREDEGAR. cap. 109. Super Adice (al. Adace) fluvio, munitionem in gyrum, in modum arietum, instruxit.

(4) CONTIN. FREDEG. ANNAL. METENS. &c. VALESIIUS, p. 505. confirms this Relation at large.

(5) CONT. FREDEGAR. cap. 109. Denuo circulo anni illius, mense secundo, prædictum Germanum suum, (Childebrandum) cum pluribus Ducibus atque Comitibus, commoto exercitu, ad partes Provinciæ dirigit. Avenionem urbem venientes, Carolus properans accessit, cunctasque re-

giones, usque littus maris magni, suæ dominationi restituit: fugatoque Duce Mauronto, impenetrabilibus tutissimis rupibus, maritimis munitionibus, &c. F. le Cointe and F. Pagi change the first Words in this Passage, and read Denuo circulo anni secundo.

(6) PAUL. L. 6. c. 54. Iterato Saraceni Gallorum fines ingressi, usque ad Provinciam venerunt, & capta Arelate, omnia circumquaque demoliti sunt. Tum Carolus legatos cum muneribus ad Luitprandum Regem mittens, ab eo contra Saracenos auxilium poscit. Qui nihil moratus,

neral, the good Understanding that subsisted between these two Princes. He observes, on this Occasion, the singular Custom, that *Charles* sent *Pipin*, his eldest Son, to the King, to cut off his first Hair (7); which was, in those Times, a particular Mark of Friendship and Confidence. Herein the *Franks* and *Longobards* probably imitated the *Romans*; who, as well as the *Greeks*, made it a particular Solemnity, when their young Men first cut their Hair, or their Beards were shaved. The first Hair was dedicated to the Rivers, or offer'd to one of their Gods (8). Sacrifices of this Kind were frequently made to *Hercules*, *Apollo* and *Æsculapius*, and the Value of them was enhanc'd by additional Presents. Those, who were proud of their own Persons, generally consecrated the masculine Ornament of their Faces, to the Goddess of Love (9). *Nero* even devoted his to *Jupiter Capitolinus* (10). Intimate Friends were chosen to cut off the Hair, on which Occasion, a particular Festival was held in the Family (11). When this Ceremony happen'd in the Imperial House, the Festival was celebrated by all the People of *Rome* (12). The *Christian* Church afterwards, as it were, sanctified this Custom, by a particular

tus, cum omni Longobardorum exercitu in ejus adjutorium properavit. Quo comperto gens Saracenorum, mox ab illis regionibus aufugit. Luitprandus vero cum omni suo exercitu ad Italiam rediit. But *Paulus's Relation is doubtful. We find no Traces in the History of Arles, that the Saracens took that City in this War. The King's Preparations against the Saracens are mention'd on his Epitaph:*

Deinceps tremuere feroces
Usque Saraceni, quos dispulit impiger, ipsos
Cum premerent Gallos, Carolo poscente juvari.
But the Learned imagine this Epitaph to be of later Date.

(7) *PAULUS, L. 6. c. 53.* Carolus, Princeps Francorum, Pipinum, suum filium ad Luitprandum direxit, ut ejus, juxta morem, capillum susciperet: qui ei cæsariem incidens, pater effectus est, multisque eum ditatum regis muneribus genitori remisit.

(8) *PETRON. in Satyr. cap. 107.* Cui Deo crinem novisti?

(9) *PETRON. in Satyr. cap. 29.* Præterea grande

armarium in angulo vidi, in cujus ædícula erant lares argentei positi, Venerisque signum marmoreum, & pyxis aurea non pusilla, in qua barbam ipsius conditam esse dicebant.

(10) *SUETON. in Nerone, cap. 12.* Barbam primam posuit, conditamque in auream pyxidem, & pretiosissimis margaritis adornatam, Jovi Capitolino consecravit.

(11) *JUVENAL. Sat. III. 186.*

Ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati.
Plena domus libis venalibus

That it was customary among the Greeks for young Men to have their first Beard taken off by intimate Friends, appears from CALLIMACH. in Hymn. in Del. v. 289: And the ANTHOL. GRÆC. VI. 22.

(12) *Dion says of Augustus, L. 48.* Cæsar tum primum barbam radens, & ipse diem eum plane festum habuit, & aliis publicam festivitatem indixit.

SUET. Calig. 10. Uno atque eodem die togam sumit, barbamque posuit, sine ullo honore, qualis contigerat tirocinio fratrum ejus.

Form

Form of Prayer (13), and those who were invited thereto, were distinguished by a certain Veneration, insomuch, that it was regarded as a Kind of Adoption. And the same was retain'd by the *Christian* Emperors. Thus *Constantine Pogonatus* sent to Pope *Benedict* II, the Hair-Locks of his two Sons, *Justinian* and *Heraclius*, which were receiv'd at *Rome* with great Pomp (14). We have therefore the less Cause to wonder, that the *Longobards* and *Franks* imitated these Customs. Especially as the Time of cutting Children's Hair, was particularly prescrib'd among the latter (15). As we here find the Example of Hair, so *Paulus* elsewhere relates the Circumstances of shaving the first Beards of the *Longobard* Princes (16).

Boniface obtains the *Pallium*. His third Journey to *Rome*.

§ XVIII. GREGORY III, had, in the mean Time, sent the *Pallium* to *Boniface*, and constituted him Arch-Bishop, and Vicar over the Churches in *Germania* (1). He took a third Tour to *Rome*, A. 738, and was kindly received by the Pope, who, at his Departure, gave him several Letters. One was directed to all the Clergy in general (2), another to the *Thuringians*, *Hessians*, and other *German* Nations situate Eastwards (3), to exhort them to Constancy in the *Christian* Religion, and Obedience to their Pastors. In a third, he admonish'd the Bishops in *Bavaria* and *Alemania* (4), to regard *Boniface* as his Vice-gerent, not to suffer *Britons* *, Hereticks, and false Priests, among them; to conform

(13) V. *Formul. precum in libr. Sacram. Gregorii: ad capillaturam incidendam, and ad puerum tonsorandum.*

(14) ANASTASIUS, in *Bened. II.* Hic una cum clero, & exercitu suscepit mallones capillorum, dominorum Justiniani & Heraclii, filiorum clementissimi Principis, simul & ejus jussionem, per quam significabat, eosdem capillos direxisse.

(15) L. SAL. Tit. XXVIII. Si quis puerum infra duodecim annorum, non tonsuratum occiderit.

(16) PAUL. IV. 40. Of *Taso*, Duke of *Friuli*, and his Brother: Hos duos fratres Gregorius Patricius Romanorum in Civitate Opitergio dolosa fraude peremit. Nam promittens *Tasoni*, ut ei barbam, sicut moris est, incideret, eumque sibi filium faceret, &c.

§ XVIII. (1) V. *Ep. Gregorii III. inter Ep. BONIFACII, n. 122.*

(2) IBID, n. 127.

(3) IBID, ep. 128. The Supercription runs thus: Universis Optimatibus & populo Provinciarum Germaniæ, Thuringis & Hassis, Borthariis, & Nistresis, Wedreciis & Lognais, Sudvodis, & Graffeldis, vel omnibus in Orientali plaga constitutis. These Names are explain'd by ECH. p. 374.

(4) IBID, ep. 129. It is thus superscrib'd: Dilectissimis Episcopis in Provincia Bajoariorum, & Alemannia constitutis: Viggoni, Luidoni, Rydolfo, & Philippo, seu Adæ. *Vigo was Bishop of Augsburg, Luido of Spire, Rudolf of Constance, Vivilo (as it should be read instead of Philip) of Passau, Adda or Etto of Strasburg.*

* Gentilitatis ritum & doctrinam, vel venientium Britonum, &c. abjiciatis. All the People in Britain did not agree with the Roman Church, as I observ'd above, L. XIV. § 32.

to the Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, and to appear at the Convention, which *Boniface* should appoint (5). On his Return, he visited King *Luitprand*, and, at Duke *Odilo's* Entreaty, made some Stay in *Bavaria*. The Regulation of the *Bavarian* Church, which had already been several Times on the Carpet †, was then entirely establish'd : † See above With the Approbation of the Duke, and the Rest of the Nobles, he § 7. divided it into four Bishopricks (6), namely, *Saltzburg*, *Ratisbon*, *Frey-singen* and *Passau*; which Division may, in some Measure, shew us the Extent of the *Bavarian* Dominions, at that Time. He consecrated a Native of *England*, named *John*, Bishop of *Saltzburg*; *Gozbert*, Bishop of *Ratisbon*; *Erembert*, Brother to *S. Corbinian*, Bishop of *Frey-singen*; and *Vivilo*, whom the Pope had before ordain'd, was made Bishop of *Passau*. The certain Establishment of these Sees is plac'd at this Time; for, after that, each of them had constantly its own Bishop. *Arno*, Bishop of *Saltzburg*, was constituted Metropolitan, in the Time of *Charlemagn*, A. 798, and, by this Means, a separate Province, and national Church was erected.

§ XIX. IN *Italy*, a Rupture broke out, A. 739, between the *Romans* and King *Luitprand*, which happen'd on Occasion of an intestine Commotion among the *Longobards*. *Thrasamund*, Duke of *Spoletto*, was in Disgrace with the King, and had taken Refuge at *Rome*. The King demanded to have him surrender'd; but the Pope, as well as *Stephen*, *Patricius* and Duke of *Rome*, and the Chiefs of the *Roman* Militia, refus'd to comply. *Luitprand* therefore invaded † the *Ducatus Romanus*, and took *Ameria*, † A. 740. *Horta*, *Bomarzo* ††, and *Bleda* || (1). When he was returned to *Pavia*, †† *Polimartium*. || *Bleda*.

(5) *Int. Epist. BONIFACII* 129. Gentilitatis ritum & doctrinam, vel venientium Britonum, vel falsorum sacerdotum hæreticorum sive adultores, aut undecunque sint, renuentes ac prohibentes abjiciatis, & ut populum vobis a Deo commissum piis admonitionibus edoceatis: & a sacrificiis mortuorum omnino devitetis: & juxta quod fueritis a prædicto nostro Confacerdote edocti, ita Catholicam & Apostolicam doctrinam tenentes Domino Deo & Salvatori nostro placere festinetis: & in quo vobis loco ad celebranda concilia convenire mandaverit. sive juxta Danubium, sive in civitate Augusta, vel ubicunque judicaverit, pro nomine Christi parati esse inveniamini.

(6) *WILLIBALD. c. 3. add. PAGIUS ad An. 739*

. 1. seq.

VOL. II.

§ XIX. (1) *ANASTASIUS in Zacharia, p. 182.* Hic invenit totam Italiæ provinciam valde turbatam simul & ducatum Romanum, persequente Luitprando, Longobardorum Rege, ex occasione Trasimundi, Ducis Spoletini, qui in hac Romana urbe eodem Rege persequente refugium fecerat. Et dum a prædecessore ejus beatæ memoriæ, Gregorio Papa, atque ab Stephano, quondam Patricio, ET DUCE, VEL OMNI EXERCITU ROMANO, prædictus Trasimundus redditus non fuisset, obsessione facta, pro eo ab eodem Rege ablatae sunt A ROMANO DUCATU civitates quatuor. i. e. Ameria, Hortas, Polimartium & Blera. Et sic idem Rex ad suum palatium est reversus per mensem Aug. indict. 7.

S f

the

† A. 741.

the Capital of his Kingdom, *Thrasamund* recover'd the Dukedom, by the Assistance of the *Romans*. *Gotschalc*, on the other Hand, assum'd the Title of Duke of *Benevento*, without the King's Knowledge and Consent, and had likewise made a League with the *Romans* (2). The Situation *Italy* was then in, prov'd almost the only Means they could wish for obtaining their Liberty, as the *Longobards* were divided, and especially as a Part of them associated themselves to them. *Luitprand*, resolv'd to take Revenge, as well on the two Dukes, as on the *Romans*; and when he was on his March towards *Spoletto*, the Duke, assisted by the *Roman* Troops, ventur'd an Engagement with him (3). *Luitprand*, on the other Hand, committed Depredations as far as the Walls of *Rome*. Pope *Gregory III*, in this Extremity, applied to the Hero, *Charles* †; on whom the Eyes of all the Christian World were then fix'd, and earnestly entreated him, to aid the *Roman* Church; alledging, among other Particulars, that the *Longobards* had taken the Candlesticks and Donations out of *St. Peter's* Church (4).

Luitprand
makes fresh
Incurſions as
far as *Rome*,
&c.

§ XX. BUT, as I observ'd before, *Luitprand* continu'd in Friendship with *Charles*, and remonstrated, on his Part, that he could not be blamed for endeavouring to subdue the two Dukes, who had rebelled against him. *Charles* was perhaps not so immediately inclin'd to a Rupture with the *Longobards*, as we may conclude by another Letter of the Pope's, in which he complains, that *Charles* had given Ear to the King's Excuses, and was thereby mov'd to stand Neuter; tho' they were without any Grounds, and the Dukes had done nothing to deserve the King's Displeasure, but by refusing to serve him against the City of *Rome* (1). In the mean Time,

(2) *Conf. PAULUS, Lib. 6. c. 55 & seq.*

(3) *PAULUS, l. c. cap. 56.* Spolerani se cum Romanis sociantes magna incommoda Regis exercitui intulerunt.

(4) *Vid. Ep. GREGORII ad CAROLUM: ap. BARON. 739. n. 6.* Omnia enim luminaria ad honorem ipsius Principis Apostolorum, & quæ a vestris parentibus, vel a vobis oblata sunt, ipsi abstulerunt. Et quoniam ad te post Deum confugium fecimus, propterea ipsi Longobardi in opprobrium habent, & opprimunt: unde & Ecclesia Sancti Petri denudata est, & in nimiam desolationem redacta.

§ XX. (1) *Epist. Gregorii III. ad Carolum ap. BARON. A. 740. n. 20.* Propterea coarctati dolore,

in gemitu & luctu consistimus, dum cernimus, id, quod modicum remanserat præterito anno, pro subsidio & alimento pauperum Christi, seu luminarium concinnatione, in partibus Ravennatum, nunc gladio & igne cuncta consumi a Luitprando & Hilprando, Regibus Longobardorum. Sed in istis partibus Romanis mittentes plures exercitus, similia nobis fecerunt & faciunt: & omnes scalas S. Petri destruxerunt, & peculia, quæ remanserant abstulerunt: et nulla nobis, ad te, Excellentissime fili, refugium facientibus pervenit hactenus consolatio. Sed ut conspiciamus, dum indultum a vobis eisdem Regibus est motiones faciendi, quod eorum falsa suggestio plus, quam nostra veritas apud vos recepta est, & timemus, ne tibi respiciat ad peccatum. In this Letter he maintains the Innocence of the

Time, the King not only continued his Hostilities, in the District of *Ravenna*, but set down, a second Time, before *Rome*; and the Pope complains, in the very same Letter, that the *Longobards* had broken down the Steps of *St. Peter's* Church, and had now entirely carried off what was left after the last Plunder. He caus'd the Walls of the City to be repair'd, with all Expedition (2), and sent *Anastasius*, a Bishop, and *Sergius*, a Priest, in Ambassy to *Charles* †, who as they could not get † An. 741. thro', with Safety, by Land, were obliged to pursue their Journey by Water (3). They propos'd to *Charles* ††, that the *Romans* would †† See An. 39. readily declare him a *Patricius*, and put themselves under his Protection, if he would stand by them against the *Longobards*. The Pope, as a surer Motive to win him, sent him even the Keys of the Apostle *Peter's* Tomb (4). *Charles* receiv'd the Ambassadors very favourably, and made them rich Presents: He likewise appointed *Grimo*, Abbot of *Corbey*, and *Sigebert*, a Monk of the Monastery of *St. Dennis*, to accompany them back again to *Rome* (5). But his Death, which happen'd soon

the Dukes: Non credas, fili, falsidicis suggestionibus & suasionibus eorundem Regum. Omnia enim tibi falso suggerunt, scribentes corumventiones, quod quasi aliquam culpam commissum habeant eis eorum Duces, id est, Spoletanus & Beneventanus. Sed omnia mendacia sunt. Non enim pro alio, (satisfaciat tibi veritas, fili) eosdem Duces persequuntur crimine, nisi pro eo, quod noluerunt præterito anno de suis partibus super nos irruere, & (sicut illi fecerunt,) res S. S. Apostolorum destruere, & peculiarem populum deprædare, ita dicentes ipsi Duces: Quia contra Ecclesiam Sanctam Dei, ejusque populum peculiarem non exercitamus, quoniam & pactum cum eis habemus, & ex ipsa Ecclesia fidem accepimus; ideoque mucro eorum desævit contra eos. Nam ipsi prædicti Duces parati fuerunt, & sunt, secundum antiquam consuetudinem eis obedire; Sed illi retinentes iram pro eo, quod superius diximus, per exquisitam occasionem volentes illos & nos destruere & invadere; ideoque utroque persequentes, & vestrae bonitati suggerunt falsa, ut & Duces illos nobilissimos degradent, & suos ibidem pravos ordinent Duces, & multo, amplius quotidie, & ex omni parte Dei ecclesiam expugnent, et res Beati Petri, Principis Apostolorum, dissipent, atque populum peculiarem captivent.

(2) ANASTAS. 180. Hujus temporibus plurima pars murorum hujus civitatis Romanæ restaurata est.

(3) ANASTASIUS. Hujus temporibus concussa est provincia Romanorum, ditioni subjecta nefandorum Longobardorum, seu & Regi eorum Luitprando. Veniensque Romam in campo Neronis tentoria tetendit, deprædataque Campania MULTOS NOBILES DE ROMANIS, MORE LONGOBARDORUM TOTONDIT, ATQUE VESTIVIT. Pro quo vir Dei undique dolore constrictus, Sacras, claves ex confessione B. Petri Apostoli accipiens, partibus Franciæ Carolo, sagacissimo viro, qui tunc regnum regebat Francorum, navali itinere per missos suos direxit: per Anastasium sanctissimum virum, Episcopum, nec non & Sergium, presbyterum, postulantes a præfato excellentissimo Carolo, ut eos a tanta oppressionē Longobardorum liberaret. *But this Passage is not to be found in every Codex, as is evident by Branchini's Edition.*

(4) EP GREGOR. loc. cit. Conjuro Te, per Deum vivum & verum, & PER IPSAS SACRATISSIMAS CLAVES CONFESSIONIS B. PETRI, QUAS VOBIS AD REGNUM TRANSMISIMUS.

(5) CONTIN. FREDEGAR. cap. 110: Ipse
S f 2 mirifico

soon after, interrupted the whole Affair; so that it is very uncertain, whether he was ever actually declar'd *Patricius*. This Treaty is, however, very remarkable, as it is the first Plan, according to which, in After-times, the Pope, treated with the Kings of the *Franks*.

Pope Zachary comes to an Agreement with the King, and visits him at Narni.

§ XXI. *ZACHARY*, Gregory's Successor (1), had therefore no Means left, but to make as good an Agreement as he could, with *Luitprand* himself, who was preparing for a fresh Attack upon the *Romans*. He gave him to understand, that he was ready to abandon the Duke of *Spoletto*, if the King would restore the four Cities. It is, indeed, often the Case in Treaties, that an impotent Ally is sacrific'd to a more powerful Enemy. However, in the present Instance, the Duke gave but a too apparent Pretence for it, against himself; by not having performed one single Article of all that he had promised to the Pope and the Duke of *Rome*; especially with Regard to re-taking the four Cities, just now mention'd. The King accepted the Proposal; and the *Romans* themselves march'd to his Assistance against *Thrasamund* (2). His offer of throwing himself upon the King's Mercy would now no longer do: He was oblig'd to give up his Duchy, and retire into a Monastery (3). As for *Godescalc*, he did not think it safe to wait the King's Arrival at *Benevento*. *Luitprand* delaying to evacuate the above-mention'd Places, the Pope resolv'd to visit him in Person. The King then resided at *Narni*, on the Confines of the Duchy of *Spoletto*. He no sooner receiv'd Advice, that the Pope was arriv'd at *Orta*, than he sent *Grimoald*, one of his

mirifico ac magnifico honore ipsam Legationem recepit, munera pretiosa contulit, atque cum magnis præmiis, cum suis fodalibus missis, *Grimonem* Abbatem Corbensis (*Corbeiensis*) Monasterii, & *Sigebertum*, Reclusum Basilicæ Sancti Dionysii Martyris, Romam ad limina S. Petri & S. Pauli destinavit.

§ XXI. (1). F. FRANC. PAGI in Brev. Pontif. in Zachar. n. 1. pretends, that this Pope was consecrated, without the Confirmation being ask'd of the Exarch, as 'till then had always been customary, and was yet done at the Election of Gregory III. But this Conjecture, which arose meerly, because it was believed, that the Romans had withdrawn their Allegiance, in Leo's Time, is but slenderly grounded: On the contrary, we shall find, in the Sequel, that as well Zachary, as the Romans in general, still acknowledg'd the Emperor, and the Exarch.

(2) ANAST. Missa igitur legatione apud jam dictum Regem Longobardorum salutaria illi prædicavit. Cujus sancti viri admonitionibus inclinatus, prænominatas quatuor, quas a Ducatu Romano abstulerat civitates reddere promisit. Dumque motione militum facta ad comprehendendum Thrasimundum, Ducem Spoletinum, accingeret se, exhortatione sancti viri, exercitus Romanus in adjutorium prædicti Regis egressi sunt. Et dum ipse Thrasimundus suam deceptionem conspiceret, egressus a Spoletana civitate sese prædicto tradidit Regi.

(3) PAULUS L. 6. c. 57. At vero Luitprandus Spoletum perveniens Thrasimundum ducatu expulit, eumque clericum fecit. Cujus in loco Agiprandum, suum nepotem, constituit, &c.

principal

principal Civil Officers, to receive him, and went himself a considerable Way out of the City to meet him. In general, greater Tokens of Honour and Confidence cannot be imagin'd, than were shewn at this Interview. After having, the first Day, which happen'd to be on a *Friday*, perform'd their Devotion together, in the Church of *St. Valentin*, the King accompanied the Pope half a Mile back again to his Tent. The next Day, they began a Negociation in earnest; and the Pope obtained all that he desired. The King made a Truce with the Duchy of *Rome*, for twenty Years; and not only made a Present to the Pope of the four Cities above-mention'd; but of several other Estates, which had, in former Times, belong'd to the *Roman Church*; but had 'till then been retain'd by the *Longobards* (4). The following *Sunday*, the Pope entertain'd *Luitprand*, at Dinner, and the King gave evident Marks of his Satisfaction (5). The next Day, the King took his Leave of the Pope, and gave Orders to *Aldeprand*, Duke of *Chiusi*, his Kinsman, and three others of the principal Officers of the Kingdom, to accompany him (6), and actually to evacuate the four Cities (7). Perhaps the Pope

promis'd

(4) ANASTAS. *Æ*. 184. Cujus piis eloquiis flexus, & constantiam sancti viri, & admonitionem admiratus, omnia, quæcunque ab eo petiit, per gratiam Spiritus Sancti obtinuit, & prædictas quatuor civitates, quas ipse ante biennium, per obfessionem factam pro prædicto Thrasimundo, Duce Spoletino, abstulerat, eidem sancto, cum earum inhabitatoribus, redonavit viro. Quas & per donationem firmavit in Oratorio Salvatoris, sitam intra ecclesiam B. Petri Apostoli, in ejus nomine ædificato. Nam & Sabinense patrimonium, quod per annos fere triginta fuerat ablatum, atque Narnicense & Auximanum, atque Anconitanum, nec non & Polimarense, & vallem, quæ vocatur magna, sitam in territorio Sutрино, per donationis titulum ipsi B. Petro Apostolorum Principi reconcessit, & pacem cum Ducatu Romano ipse Rex in viginti confirmavit annos.

(5) IBID. 184. Eodem vero die Dominico, post peracta missarum solemnias, ad prandium eundem Regem, ad apostolicam benedictionem suscipiendam, ipse beatissimus Pontifex invitavit. Ubi cum tanta suavitate esum sumsit, & hilaritate cordis, ut diceret ipse Rex tantum se nunquam meminisse comessatum.

(6) IBID. Alia vero die, quæ fuit secunda

feria, valesciens, ei ipse Rex misit in ejus obsequium Agriprandum, Ducem Clusinum, nepotem suum, seu Tacipertum Castaldum in ejus obsequium, & Ramingum Castaldum Tuscanensem, atque Grimoaldum, qui eidem sancto viro usque ad prædictas civitates obsequium facerent: easdemque civitates cum suis habitatoribus traderent, quod & factum est. Imprimis Amerinam civitatem, deinde Hortanam: dumque in Polimartio castro convenissent, eumque recepisset, & fuisset itineris longitudo per circuitum finium Reipublicæ, eundique ad Bleranam civitatem per partes Sutrinæ civitatis, per fines Longobardorum Tusciæ, quia de propinquo erat, id est, per castrum Viterbium, ipse missus Regis, Grimoaldus, eundem beatissimum Pontificem perduxit usque ad Bleranam civitatem, quam & ipsi sancto viro prænominatus Ramingus Castaldus, & jam dictus Grimoaldus missus, contradiderunt. Et sic regressus est, Deo propitio, cum victoriæ palma in hanc urbem Romam.

(7) *The King had taken these four Cities from the Duchy of Rome: It is therefore probable, that they were now restor'd to that Duchy: As Anast. in Greg. III. p. 180. writes of another Place: Hujus temporibus*

promis'd the King something considerable, in Return for all this: At least, we shall soon find, that the *Longobards* were treated with great Confidence in *Rome*.

Carolomannus & Pipin divide the Administration, between them &c.
† *Carissacum.*

§ XXII. *CHARLES* died, *A. 741*, the 22^d of *October*, at his Country-house of *Quiercy* †, on the *Oyse*, in about the 50th Year of his Age. His History alone, as mutilated as it is handed down to us, is a sufficient Eulogy of him. His Experience in War, Wisdom in his Preparations, Valour, and, what is more, Success in the Execution, gained him the Confidence of the Nation, and the Admiration of Foreigners. Tho' amidst the great Wars he had to carry on, the Estates and Constitution of the Church may have suffered something in general (1); yet, on the other Hand, he contributed greatly to the Propagation of the *Christian* Religion, and himself laid some charitable Foundations. Not long before his End, at a general Assembly of the Nation, he divided the Administration of the Government among his Sons; in such Manner, that *Carolomannus* was to have *Austrasia*, *Swabia* and *Thuringia*, and *Pipin*, *Neustria*, *Burgundy* and *Provence* (2); but set apart a certain Portion, for his youngest Son, *Grifo*, whom he had by his *Bavarian* Consort, *Suneild*. But this Partition did not take Effect; for neither the two eldest Sons, nor the *Franks* themselves, who were to be under the Portion allotted *Grifo*, were satisfied with it. The two eldest Brothers, therefore, immediately after their Father's Death, set upon the younger, who fled to his Mother at *Laon*; but was soon oblig'd to surrender: And he himself was sent a Prisoner by *Carolomannus*, to a Castle in the *Arduennian* Forest, whilst *Suneild* was oblig'd to retire to a Convent, at *Chelles* (3). In the mean Time, *Chiltrud*, the Daughter of *Charles*, had, without the Knowledge and Consent of her Brothers, married *Odilo*, Duke of *Bavaria*, by Procurement of her Step-mother,

temporibus Gallienſum caſtrum recuperatum eſt, pro quo quotidie expugnabatur ducatus Romanus, a ducatu Spoletino: dans pecunias non parvas Thraſimundo, duci eorum, ut ceſſarent bella, & ſic cauſa finita eſt: & in COMPAGE SANCTÆ REIPUBLICÆ atque in corpore CHRISTO DILECTI EXERCITUS ROMANI annecti præcepit.

§ XXII. (1) On this Occaſion, many Fables are forged of Charles Martel, which Valeſius, F. le Cointe. Pagius, and other French Hiſtorians ſufficiently explode.

(2) CONT. FREDEGAR. 110. Igitur memoratus Princeps confilio Optimatum ſuorum expetito filiis ſuis regna dividit. Itaque primogenito ſuo, Carlomanno nomine, Auſter & SUAVIAM, quæ nunc Alemannia dicitur, atque Thuringiam tradidit. Alterum vero ſecundum filium, Pippinum nomine, Burgundiæ, Neuſter & Provinciæ præfecit. ANN. Met. ad A. 741.

(3) ANNAL, METENS. ad. A. 741. Add. VALESIIUS, T. 3. p. 547.

who

who perhaps thought this Marriage might very much help to support her Son's Interest (4).

§ XXIII. THE Death of *Charles* was alone enough to occasion great An Expedition against *Acquitain*, *Childeric III*, King of the *Franks*.
 Revolutions; especially at a Time when there was no King: His personal Qualities were sufficient to keep in Aw such as might be inclin'd to any Attempts, even against their Wills. But now, besides his Death, a Dissention arising between his Sons; the Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Swabia*, and *Acquitain*, thought it a more favourable Juncture to exert themselves. *Carolomannus* and *Pipin* march'd first, A. 742, against *Hunold* (1), who, in their Father's Life-time, had sworn Allegiance to them: They went, however, this Time, no farther than *Bourges*. During this Expedition, they made a new Partition (2): And the same Year they gave the *Franks* a new King (3), perhaps because they hoped to govern with more Security, under his Name (4). This King was *Childeric III*, the last of the *Merovingian* Line, and, as it is supposed, a Son of *Chilperic II*. In Harvest, *Carolomannus* march'd against *Theodebald*, Duke of *Swabia*; but tho' the *Franconian* Historians say, in his Praise, that he advanced as far as the *Lech*, and reduc'd the *Alemanni* to Obedience (5), yet the Sequel evidently shews, that the Reduction of this Nation, cost him more than one Campaign.

(4) CONT. FREDEG. cap. III. Chiltrudis quoque filia ejus, faciente consilio nefario novercæ suæ fraudulenter per manus sodalium fuorum Rhenum transiit, & ad Odilonem, ducem Bagoariæ pervenit: ille vero eam ad conjugium copulavit, contra voluntatem & consilium fratrum fuorum.

§ XXIII. (1) CONTIN. FREDEGAR. l. c. Interea rebellantibus Wasconibus in regione Aquitanæ, cum Chunoaldo Duce, filio Eudonis quondam, Carlomannus atque Pippinus principes Germani, congregato exercitu, Ligeris alveum Aureliani urbe transeunt, Romanus proterunt, usque Beturigas urbem accedunt, suburbana ipsius igne comburunt. Chunoaldum ducem persequentes fugant, cuncta vastantes. He calls the Inhabitants of *Acquitain*, *Romani*, the Reason of which is already shewn, § 3.

(2) ANN METENS. ad. An. 742. In ipso autem itinere diviserunt regnum Francorum, in loco qui dicitur Vetus Pictavis.

(3) It is not yet certain, at what precise Time, *Childeric* was made King: But, by Records, it appears, that he reign'd the 20th of June. Vid. ECH. p. 443.

(4) F. Daniel is of Opinion, that *Pipin* made *Childeric* only King of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*; and that *Austrasia* remain'd quite separate: But there are Records in *Austrasia* dated according to the Year of this King's Reign.

(5) CONT. FREDEGAR. l. c. Inde (ex Aquitania) reversi, circa tempus autumni, eodem anno, iterum exercitum ordinaverunt ultra Rhenum contra Alemannos, federuntque, castra metati super fluvium Danuvii, in loco nuncupato Usquequo. Habitatores Alemanni, se victos videntes, obsides donant, jura promittunt, munera offerunt, petentes eorum se ditioni submitunt. Some Annals ascribe this Expedition to *Carolomannus* alone.

The Franco-
nian Dukes
vanquish Odi-
lo.

§ XXIV. THE Duke of *Bavaria* had omitted nothing that could favour his Design against the *Franks*. *Theodebald*, King of *Swabia*, and the *Sclavi*, his Neighbours on the other Side, were in Alliance with him, as were likewise the *Saxons*, and even the Duke of *Aquitain*. It was, in particular, stipulated, with the latter, that if one of them should be attack'd, the other should make a Diversion in his Favour, and, from his Side, invade the *Franconian* Dominions. Thus an Ambition to rule, and a Love of Liberty, can unite Nations at so great a Distance, and of so different Languages and Manners. In 743, both Brothers march'd with an Army towards *Bavaria* (1), and advanc'd, without Opposition, as far as the *Lech*, on which River *Odilo* placed his greatest Dependence. He had caused all the Bridges to be broken down, all the Boats to be taken away, and the Banks, on his Side, to be lin'd with pointed Palisadoes. The Armies lay fifteen Days opposite to one another, when, at Length, the *Franks* discovered a Ford in the River, and falling upon the *Bavarians*, when they least expected it, obtain'd, with the greatest Ease, a Victory. The Battle being lost, *Odilo* retreated over the *Inn*, and the Duke of *Swabia* sought his Safety in his own Country (2). Among the Prisoners made by the *Franks*, were *Gunzebald*, Bishop of *Ratisbon*, and *Sergius*, Pope *Zachary's* Nuntio (3). The latter had been, the Day before, in the *Francoian*

§ XXIV. (1) *For the Cause of this Bavarian War, see the* CONTIN. FREDEGAR. 112. Inde reversi anni II. regni eorum, cognatus eorum *Odilo*, Dux *Bagoariorum*, contra ipsos rebellionem excitato. Compulsi sunt generalem cum *Francis* in *Bagoaria* admoveere exercitum. ANN. METENS. ad An. 743. *Ogdilo*, Dux *Bajoariorum*, qui *Hiltrudem*, filiam *Karoli* ad se fugientem in conjugium sibi copulaverat, contra voluntatem *Pippini* & *Carlomanni*, se, & etiam ducatum suum, quem largiente olim Principe *Carolo* habuerat, a dominatione *Francorum* subtrahere nitebatur. Qua de causa compulsi sunt gloriosi *Germani* exercitum contra ipsum ducere.

(2) CONTIN. FREDEG. l. c. Venientesque super fluvium, qui dicitur *Lech*, federunt super ripam fluminis uterque exercitus, hinc inde se mutuo videntes usque ad dies quindecim, qui tandem provocati irrisuibus illius gentis, indignatione commoti, periculo se dederunt per loca deserta & palustria, ubi mos transeundi nullatenus

aderat. Nocteque irruentes, divisim exercitibus eos improvisos occupaverunt. Commissoque proelio, prædictus dux, *Odilo*, cæso exercitu suo, vix cum paucis turpiter ultra *Ignem* fluvium fugiendo evasit. His triumphis peractis, non sine dispendio multorum, tamen feliciter victores ad propria remeaverunt.

(3) ANN. METENS. l. c. Ipsi vero victores cum exercitu suo *Bajoariam* circumeunt, & moram fecerunt in eadem regione quinquaginta duorum dierum. Captus est autem in eodem proelio *Sergius*, Presbyter, Missus Domini *Zachariæ*, Papæ, qui pridie, quam bellum committeretur ab *Ogdilione*, *Carlomanno* & *Pippino* directus fuerat, falsoque ex auctoritate Domini Apostolici bellum interdixerat, & quasi ex præcepto supradicti Pontificis *Francos* a *Bajoariis* discedere persuaferat. Patrata itaque victoria, in præsentiam invictorum principum perductus est una cum *Gauzebaldo*, Episcopo, (nempe *Ratisbonensi*) cui *Pipinus* Princeps sedato pectore dixit: O Domine *Sergi*, modo cogn-

Franconian Camp, and had endeavour'd, in the Name of the Pope, and the Apostle *Peter*, to prevail on the two Dukes, not to molest the *Bavarians*. This was now imputed to him, by the Conquerour, as a Partiality, since the Apostle himself had granted him the Victory. The *Franks* remained near two Months in *Bavaria*, and thereby obliged the Duke to acknowledge the Supremacy of the *Franconian* Empire, in the same Manner he had before done (4).

§ XXV. IN the mean Time, *Hunold* had indeed pass'd the *Loire*, and ravag'd the Country as far as *Chartres*, together with that City, with Fire and Sword (1). The *Saxons* were likewise not backward to invade *Thuringia*: But as the War in *Bavaria* came to so unexpected an End, these Motions had not the Effect that was hop'd. When *Carolomannus*, after the *Bavarian* Expedition was at an End, led his Army against the *Saxons*, they sued for Peace, and *Dietric*, a mighty Lord, of that Nation, who, tho' without sufficient Grounds, is generally accounted a Duke of all *Saxony*, offer'd himself as an Hostage (2). At the

An Expedition against the *Saxons* and *Swabians*, &c.

cognovimus, quia non probaris esse Sanctus Petrus Apostolus, nec legationem illius ex veritate geris. Dixisti enim nobis hesternae die, quod Dominus Apostolicus ex auctoritate Sancti Petri, & sua, nostram justitiam de Bajoariis contradixisset. Et nos diximus tibi, quod nec Sanctus Petrus, nec Dominus Apostolicus te istam legationem misisset dicere: Id circo autem scias, quia si Sanctus Petrus cognovisset, quod nostra justitia non fuisset, hodie in isto bello nobis adjutorium non praestitisset. Nunc vero certus esto, per intercessionem Beati Petri, Apostolorum principis, & per judicium Dei, quod subire non distulimus, Bajoariam, Bajoariosque ad Francorum imperium pertinere.

(4) The ANN. FULDENS, mention a Peace concluded, ad An. 744. Carlomannus cum Odilone, duce Bajoariorum, pacem facit.

§ XXV. (1) ANNAL. METENS. l. c. Hæc dum apud Bajoarios agerentur, Hunaldus, Dux Aquitaniae, Ligerim transiens cum manu valida, ad Carnotis urbem perveniens, ipsa civitate diruta, igne eam cremavit, cum ecclesia Episcopali, quæ in honore sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ consecrata fuerat: Hæc autem fecit per suggestionem

Ogdilonis, ducis, qui per internuntios foedus inierunt, ut unusquisque eorum, inruentibus Francis, ferre alter alteri subsidium debuissent.

(2) CONTINUAT. FREDEGAR. c. 113. (An. 744.) Carolomannus confinium Saxonorum, ipsi rebellantibus, cum exercitu inrupit, ibique captis habitatoribus, qui suo regno adfines esse videbantur, absque belli discrimine feliciter adquisivit, & plurimi eorum, Christo duce, baptismi sacramento consecrati fuerunt.

ANN. BERTIN. A. 743. Tunc Carolomannus & Pippinus contra Idolonem (lege Odilonem) ducem Bajoarium, inierunt pugnam, & Carolomannus per se in Saxoniam ambulavit in eodem anno, & cepit castrum, quod dicitur Ohserburg, per placitum, & Theodericum Saxonem, placitando conquisivit. And ad A. 744. Iterum Carolomannus & Pippinus perrexerunt in Saxoniam, & captus est Theodericus Saxo, altera vice.

ANN. METENS. A. 743. Carolomannus perrexit in Saxoniam, & cepit castrum, quod dicitur, Ogsoburg; & Theodericum, Ducem Saxonum subjugavit. And ad A. 744. Rebellantibus Saxonibus Carolomannus & Pippinus super eos exercitum ducunt, & Theodericum, perfidum ducem illorum, ceteris subactis, altera jam vice ceperunt.

same Time, *Pipin* had visited *Theodebald*, Duke of *Alemannia* (3). Nevertheless, the Transactions with the *Saxons*, and *Swabians*, which we find recorded in the succeeding Years, evidently shew, how difficult it was to them, to live in Peace. At Lengrh, in the Year 745, both Brothers fell upon the Duke of *Aquitain*, who followed the same Example, and offer'd Hostages as a Security for his Fidelity. Soon after, he resolv'd to resign the Government to his Son *Waifaricus*, put his Duches into a Convent; and chose himself a Monastick Life, on the Island of *Rhea*, which lies on the Coasts of *Aquitain* (4). It is hard to judge, whether he was really weary of the World, or only resign'd the Administration to his Son, that he might try his Fortune against the *Franks*. At least *Waifaricus* pursued these Measures, and his Father, after 25 Years Retirement, again left his Monastery, to embrace the Ensigns of War.

The Founda-
tion of the
Bishopricks
of *Wurtzburg*
and *Eisstadt*.

§ XXVI. *BONIFACE* had, in the Year 741, with the Approbation of *Carolomannus*, founded three Bishopricks, in the Countries where he had propagated the *Christian* Faith; and consecrated *Burcardus* Bishop of *Wurtzburg*, *Willibald* Bishop of *Eichstädt*, and *Vitta* or *Vittanus*, Bishop of *Buriburg*, who were all three *Anglo-Saxons*, by Birth, and his Fellow-Labourers in the Word. The two first Foundations yet subsist; but that of *Buriburg*, a Place in *Hessen*, not far from *Fritzlar* (for *Vittanus* is likewise nam'd Bishop of *Fritzlar*) is no more, and was probably afterwards collated to the See of *Mentz*. It is likewise generally ascrib'd to *Boniface*, that he founded a Bishoprick at *Erfurt*; but without sufficient Grounds (1). The Dukes of *Franconia*, and particularly *Carolomannus*, plac'd so great a Confidence in him, that they employ'd him to re-establish the Constitution of the Church, which had suffer'd much in the late Distractions. We have the Decrees of a Synod held by the Duke of the *Ostro-Franks*, in the Year 742 (2); at which were present,

(3) CONT. FREDEG. c. 113. (An. 744.)
Per idem tempus, rebellante Theodebaldo, Filio
Godfridi, Ducis, Pippinus cum virtute exercitus
sui, ab obsidione Alpium turpiter expulit fugien-
tem, revocatoque sibi ejusdem loci ducatu, victor
ad propria remeavit.

(4) ANN. MET. ad An. 744.

§ XXVI. (1) ECKHARD, p. 400. and 403.

(2) Vid. Acta, T. 6. CONC. (LABB.) p. 1533.
The Preamble to the Decrees of this Synod is remark-

able: Ego Carolomannus, Dux & Princeps Fran-
corum, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXLII.
XI. videlicet Kalendas Maii, cum consilio servo-
rum Dei, & optimatum meorum, Episcopos, qui
in regno meo sunt, cum presbyteris, ad Concilium
& Synodum, pro timore Christi, congregavi; id
est, Bonifacium archiepiscopum & Burchardum &
Regenfridum, Wittanum, & Wilbaldum, & Da-
danum & Eddanum, ac reliquos Episcopos, cum
presbyteris eorum, ut mihi consilium dedissent,
quomodo lex Dei & ecclesiastica religio recupe-
retur,

sent, with *Boniface*, among others, *Hetto*, Bishop of *Straßburg*; *Burchard*, of *Würtzburg*; *Regenfried* of *Cologne*; *Vintanus* of *Bürzburg*, and *Vilibald* of *Eichstädt*. In that Synod, the new Bishopricks were confirm'd (3); the Clergy in general were forbid going to the War, following the Chace, and wearing the Habit of the Laity; the Monks and Nuns were confin'd to the Order of *St. Benedict* (4), and the Bishops, together with the Counts, enjoin'd, fully to root out the Remains of *Paganism* (5), which was ratified the next Year, in another Assembly at *Liptin* (6), in the District of *Cambray*. *Pipin* followed this Example, in *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, and, in the Year 744, conven'd an Assembly at *Soissons* (7), at which were present, 23 Bishops, with a great Number of the inferiour Clergy, as well as Lay-Officers of the State, on whose general Approbation, the Canons are grounded (8): So that, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal Affairs, were, in the most ancient Times, cognisable in the Assembly of the whole Nation. A Difficulty arose, concerning the

retur, quæ in diebus præteritorum principum dissipata corrui, & qualiter populus Christianus ad salutem animæ pervenire possit, & per falsos sacerdotes deceptus non pereat. F. Papebrocius questions the Genuineness of the Decrees of this Synod: But Baluzius and F. Mabillon defend them.

(3) *Can. 1.* Itaque per consilium sacerdotum religiosorum, & Optimatum meorum, ordinavimus per civitates Episcopos, & constituimus super eos Archiepiscopum Bonifacium qui est missus S Petri. This is probably to be understood of the three above-mention'd Bishopricks.

(4) *Can. 2. & 7.*

(5) *Can. 5.* Unusquisque Episcopus in sua parochia sollicitudinem gerat, adjuvante GRAVIONE, qui defensor ecclesiæ ejus est, ut populus Dei paganas non faciat.

(6) V. CANONES SYNODI LIPTINENSIS, T. 6. CONCIL. (LABB.) p. 1537. It begins thus: Modo autem in hoc synodali conventu, qui congregatus est ad Kalendas Martias, in loco, qui dicitur Liptinas, omnes venerabiles sacerdotes Dei, & comites & præfecti, prioris synodi decreta consentientes firmaverunt, seque ea implere velle & observare promiserunt: Et omnis ecclesiastici ordinis clerus, Episcopi, & presbyteri, diaconi, cum reliquis

clericis, suscipientes antiquorum patrum canones, promiserunt, se velle ecclesiastica jura moribus, & doctrinis, & ministerio recuperare. Abbates vero & monachi receperunt regulam sancti patris Benedicti, ad restaurandam normam regularis vitæ.

(7) V. CANONES SYNOD. SUESSIONENS. IBID. p. 1552. The Beginning of it is as follows: In Dei nomine & Trinitatis. Anno DCCXLIV. ab incarnatione Christi, sub die VI. Nonas Martii, & Luna XIV. in anno secundo Childerici, regis Francorum, ego Pippinus, Dux & Princeps Francorum. Dum pluribus non habetur incognitum, qualiter nos in Dei nomine, una cum consensu Episcoporum, five Sacerdotum, vel servorum Dei consilio, five comitum & optimatum Francorum colloquio, apud Sueffionis civitatem, synodum vel concilium facere decrevimus, &c.

(8) IBID. can. 10. Si quis contra hoc decretum, quod XXIII. Episcopi cum aliis Sacerdotibus vel servus Dei, una cum consensu Principis Pippini, vel Optimatum Francorum consilio, constituerunt, transgredi, vel legem irrumpere voluerit vel despexerit, judicandus sit ab ipso Principe, vel Episcopis, vel Comitibus, & componat secundum quod in lege scriptum est, unusquisque juxta ordinem suum.

Estates of the Clergy, with which *Charles Martel*, and his Sons, had invested their Soldiers, and which the Church would now fain have had restored: But it was agreed, in Consideration of the War, which yet subsisted against the Infidels, that as many of them as the Church and Monasteries could spare, should, upon their Supplication, be left in the Hands of the Possessors, paying a yearly Rent for them*.

† See Annot.
28.

We likewise find some Tokens †, that, at the same Time, each Metropolitan had the Inspection over his Province confirm'd to him; and it was likewise ordain'd, that every one should apply to *Rome*, for the *Pallium*; which they consented to with Reluctance, alledging the Expence they would thereby be render'd liable to.

THUS was Christianity, and the Constitution of the Church, establish'd in *Germania*. Now as this Constitution does not consist in Points of Faith only; but, at the same Time, has Regard to the Actions and Duty of Mankind; so we might reasonably expect happy Consequences from a Religion, in which Truth and Virtue constitute the most noble Part of its Worship: But the Ignorance and unciviliz'd Customs of these Times, were not easily curb'd; to which I shall only add a Remark or two, on the then State of the Sciences and even of Manners. *Boniface* was at Variance with *Virgilius*, a *Bavarian* Priest, who, however, was a Native of *Ireland*, among other Things, because he taught, that the World was round, and that there were *Antipodes*; which seem'd to *Boniface* and to Pope *Zachary*, to be an erroneous and a dangerous Tenet (9). We cannot, however, so very much blame *Boniface*, since the Fathers of the Church, and in particular *Lactantius*, *Jerom*, and *Austin*, in general deviated from the Opinion of the Philosophers, and imagin'd the Earth to be a Plain. *Beda*, the most learned of this Age, for whom *Boniface* had so great an Esteem, taught indeed that the Earth was round (10); but did not believe the whole Circumference to be inhabited; because there was no certain Knowledge of

* SYN. LIPTIN. Can. 2. Statuimus cum consilio servorum Dei & populi Christiani, propter imminencia bella, & persecutiones ceterarum gentium, quæ in circuitu nostro sunt, ut sub precario & censu aliquam partem ecclesiæ pecuniæ IN ADJUTORIUM EXERCITUS NOSTRI, cum indulgentia Dei, aliquanto tempore retineamus, ea conditione, ut annis singulis, de una quaque cassata, solidus, i. e. duodecim denarii, ad ecclesiæ vel monasterium reddantur, &c. Add. SYN. SUESION. Can. 3.

ep. Bonifac. 140.) De perversa autem & iniqua doctrina, quam contra Deum & animam suam locutus est, si clarificatum fuerit, ita eum confiteri, quod alius mundus, & alii homines sub terra sint, hunc, accito concilio, ab ecclesiæ pelle, sacerdotii honore privatum.

(10) BEDA de natura rerum, cap. 46. (Op. T. 2. p. 37.) Orbem Terræ dicimus, non quod absoluti Orbis sit forma, in tanta montium camporumque disparilitate, sed cujus amplexus, si cuncta linearum comprehendantur ambitu, figuram obsoleti Orbis efficiat.

(9) This we find by Pope Zachary's Letter (int.

its

its being so (11). Nor is it any Disparagement to *Virgilius*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Saltzburg*, if we suppose him to be the same Person, mention'd in Pope *Zachary's* Letter *. What Pains *Boniface* took to reform the vulgar Customs of those Times, we may see by the Questions he propos'd, on that Head, to the Pope. Among other Things, he was offended, that the *Germans* eat raw Bacon (12) and Horse-flesh (13); which latter the ancient *Northern* Nations were wont to make Use of, not only for their Sacrifices, but for their daily Food: But he might e'en have allow'd these poor People to eat what they were habited to; if they had not practis'd many other execrable Customs. Human Sacrifices were yet here and there, in Use (14), and if we have an Eye to the Remains of *Paganism* (15), which were condemn'd at the Synods, we shall there find all the Follies and Wickedness, which, in After-times, are constantly related of Witches and Sorcerers.

§ XXVII. HITHERTO *Boniface* had propagated the Gospel, as an *Boniface made* Archbishop, and the Pope's Vicar, without having any constant Sec. *Archbishop of* The Bishoprick of *Cologne* was intended for him (1); but as that was *Mentz, &c.*

(11) IDEM *de Temp. rat. cap. 32. (Ibid. p. 111.)* Solstitialem & brumalem significat, quæ vicina utrinque ferventis & gelidarum sunt vi temperatæ: ideoque ambas dicunt habitabiles, id est, habitationi habiles, & nec frigoris immanitate, nec caloris, mortalium a se repellentes accessum: quamvis unam solummodo probare possunt habitatam. Neque enim vel Antipodarum ullatenus est fabulis accommodandus assensus, vel aliquis refert Historicus vidisse, vel audisse, vel legisse se, qui meridianas in partes solem transferunt hybernum, ita ut eo post tergum relicto, transgressis Æthiopum fervoribus, temperatas ultra eos hinc calore, illinc frigore, atque habitabiles mortalium repererint sedes.

* It is generally believed, that *Virgilius*, Bishop of *Saltzburg*, the Successor of *John*, is the very same Person, with whom *Boniface* had this Controversy, tho' *F. le Cointe* and *F. Pagius*, chose rather to make two of them.

(12) ZACHARIAS, (ep. 142. inter ep. Bonif.) Nam & hoc inquisisti, post quantum temporis debet lardum comedi. Nobis a patribus institutum quo hoc non est. Tibi autem petenti con-

filium præbemus, quod non oporteat illud manduciare priusquam super fumo siccetur, aut igne coquatur.

(13) GREGORY, III. writes to *Boniface*, ep. 122. Inter cetera agrestem caballum aliquantos comedere adjunxisti, plerosque & domesticum. Hoc nequaquam fieri deinceps, sanctissime frater, finas, sed quibus potueris, Christo juvante, modis, per omnia compesce, & dignam eis impone poenitentiam. Immundum enim est, atque execrabile. Pope *Zachary* renews this Prohibition, ep. 142. Equi sylvatici multo amplius vitandi. Conf. KEYSER de Interdict. carnis equin. usu, in *Antiq. Sept. & Celticis*, p. 322.

(14) GREGORY, III. writes, Ep. 122. Et hoc inter alia agi crimen in partibus illis dixisti, quod quidam ex fidelibus, ad immolandum, paganis sua vendunt mancipia. I have already given an Account of the Human Sacrifices of the *Germans*, V. I. B. 2. § 26.

(15) They are call'd *Paganizæ*. We find, p. 405. seq. an *Indic. Paganiarum*, which *Monf. von Echard* has illustrated with learned Remarks.

§ XXVII (1) Conf. *Pag. ad An. 745. n. 4. Ech. 470.* not.

not brought to bear, he obtain'd, about the Year 745, the See of *Mentz* in the Room of it. *Zachary* confirm'd him in it, in the Year 748, and allow'd him, in Consideration of his Age, and Decay of Strength, to consecrate another sufficient Person, as Bishop, to make his Office more easy to him (2). 'There is yet a Letter extant, of the same Pope, in which he declares *Mentz* to be an establish'd *Metropolis*, and subjects the Churches of *Worms*, *Spire*, *Cologne*, *Tongres* and *Utrecht*, and all the German People, whom *Boniface* had converted, to its Jurisdiction (3). But tho' this may have been the Pope's Design, his Order never took Place, with
 † See Annot. 28. *Regard* to the Churches of *Cologne*, *Tongres* and *Utrecht* †; for *Cologne* remain'd the *Metropolis* of *Germania Secunda*, and the Bishops of *Tongres* and *Utrecht* were Suffragans to it. In the mean Time, the Foundation was laid, in the *Buch-Wald*, on the Borders of *Thuringia*, on the River *Fulda*, to the famous Monastery, which has its Name from that River. *Boniface* made a Choice of this Place, to be a constant Habitation for the Clergy who were his Assistants; and *Carolomannus* not only added to it a District of four German Miles in Circumference, but prevail'd upon others who had Lands adjacent, to do the same. *Sturmio*, a Native of *Bavaria*, and a zealous Disciple of *Boniface's*, was the first, who, with seven Monks, took Possession of it, A. 744, and caus'd the Building of the Church and Monastery to be pursued. This encreased, in a short Time, so greatly, that before the Death of *Sturmio*, there were 400 Monks in it. *Pipin* took it afterwards under the immediate Royal Protection; and as it was long the most famous Seminary in the German Church, many Bishops who were educated there, shewed their Gratitude in the Sequel, by rich Donations (4). This Monastery, in Process of Time, was dignified with the remarkable Privileges, that the Abbot obtain'd, of being Primat throughout *Germania* and *Gallia*, a Prince of the Empire, and Arch-Chancellor to the Roman Empress.

Continuation
of the His-
tory of the
Empire, &c.

§ XXVIII. DURING these Transactions, *Leo* died, in the Year 741, the 12th of *July*; and his Son, *Constantine*, enter'd upon the Government alone. This Prince, who was surnam'd *Copronymus*, bore a very bad Character, in the Mouths of those who favour'd the Adoration of Images. While he was engag'd in a War with the *Saracens*, *Artabasdus*, who had married his Sister, assum'd the Imperial Dignity, and caus'd the

(2) *Vid. PAG. ad An. 748. n. 3.*

(3) *IDEM. ad An. 751. n. 8.*

(4) *The History of this Abby is sufficiently illus-*

trated, by Schanat, in Hierarchia Euldensi, in corpore Traditionum Euldensium, and in Archivis Euldensi vindicato.

Images in *Constantinople* to be restor'd (1), in which he had the Approbation of *Rome*, and all *Italy*. *Constantine* now sought for the Assistance of the *Saracens*, and as *Artabasdus* likewise sued for their Friendship; the *Caliph* could pride himself with the Satisfaction, that both Parties made him, as it were, the Umpire of the Empire; and he fed them up with vain Hopes, while, in the mean Time, his Troops plunder'd the Imperial Dominions, without Molestation. In all Probability, this Division was the Occasion of *Luitprand's* taking to Arms again in *Italy* †. He took † *An. 743.* *Cesena*, and threaten'd even to attack *Ravenna* again. *Entychius*, the *Exarch*, the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and the principal Inhabitants of *Pentapolis* and *Æmilia*, entreated the Pope to espouse their Party. At first he made Remonstrances to the King; but his Deputies not being able to effect much, he undertook the Journey in Person. When he approach'd, *Ravenna*, he was met at a considerable Distance from the City, by the *Exarch* (2), and from thence he went farther to *Pavia*. He succeeded so far, that a Truce was concluded, 'till the first of *June*, of the following Year; and, in the mean Time, the King was to keep a third Part of *Cesena*, and to restore the other two to the Empire, whilst he sent Ambassadors to *Constantinople* to treat with *Artabasdus* himself (3). The same Year, 743, *Zachary* held a Synod at *Rome* (4), by the Acts of which we may see, that a good Intelligence then subsisted between the *Romans* and *Longobards*; for they were equally zealous in engaging to conform to the Tenets of it (5); and for the Acts themselves, they are dated,

§ XXVIII. (1) NICEPH. PATRIARCH. in *Brev. p.* 39, 40.

(2) ANASTASIUS, n. 213. In subsequenti XI. Indictione, dum nimium opprimeret prædictus Rex provinciam Ravennatium, fuissetque præparatus ad motionem faciendam & obsidendam Ravennatium urbem, cognita motione ejusdem Regis, Entychius, excellentissimus Patricius, & Exarchus, una cum Joanne, Archiepiscopo ecclesiæ Ravennatis, atque universo populo prædictæ civitatis, ac civitatum Pentapolios, & Æmiliæ, facta in scriptis obsecratione, prædicto sancto miserunt viro petentes, ut pro eorum curreret liberatione. Qui sanctus vir, missa legatione, & muneribus, ad obsecrandum eundem Regem per Benedictum, Episcopum, & Vice Dominum, atque Ambrosium, Primicerium notariorum petiit, ut a motione cessaret, & Cesenatense Ravennatibus redderet casttrum. Sed passus non est. Cujus dum duram perseverantiam conspiceret jam nominatus sanctissimus vir, trophæo fidei munitus, relicta Ro-

mana urbe jam dicto Stephano, Patricio & Duci, ad gubernandum, non sicut mercenarius, sed sicut vere pastor, relictis ovibus, ad eas, quæ peritura erant, redimendas occurrit, &c.

(3) IDEM, n. 216. Et duas partes territorii Cesenæ castri ad PARTEM REIPUBLICÆ restituit. Tertiam vero partem de eodem castro sub obtentu retinuit, inito constituto, ut usque ad Kal. Junii, dum ejus missi a regia reverterentur urbe, quam pignoris causa detinebat, PARTI REIPUBLICÆ restitueret.

(4) T. VI. CONCIL. (LABB.) p. 1546.

(5) In the Acts, the Bishops who were present, are introduced as speaking to the Pope thus: Quæ a vestro sancto apostolatu decreta sunt Capitula, cum præmissis, nobis lectione pandantur, ut antidoto salutari morbus a grege Domini expellatur, ne deinceps quisque Romanus aut Longobardus, vel cujuscunque gentis, qui inter baptizatos sunt, attentare præsumat.

not

not only according to the Years of the Emperor's Reign, but also according to those of King *Luitprand* (6).

Constantine
makes *Artabasdus* Prisoner, &c.

† See above,
xiv.

† An. 754.

§ XXIX. BUT the Face of Affairs was suddenly changed. *Constantine* made himself Master of the Capital of the Kingdom, the second of *November*, 743, made *Artabasdus* and his two Sons Prisoners, and led them, together with the Patriarch *Anastasius*, in a Sort of Triumph. He took a severe Revenge on the Adherents of *Artabasdus*; but shew'd himself very graciously disposed to the Pope's Ambassadors, who were at *Constantinople*, and made a Present to the *Roman* Church, of two Estates, belonging to the Imperial Chamber in *Italy* (1): And the Pope, after that, again dated all his Writings, from the Years of the Reign of *Constantine*. From all which, it is plain †, that *Rome* and *Italy* had not then withdrawn their Allegiance; and that the Imperial Officers of State, yet exercis'd their Jurisdiction there, in the same Manner as in former Times; tho' the greatest Confidence was reposed in the Pope, whom the *Romans*, as well as the *Longobards*, held in great Esteem, on Account of Religion. *Constantine* was successful against the *Saracens*, the *Christian* Arms being favour'd by a Quarrel these Infidels had among themselves; and, as long as he was busied with this War, he left the People to their own Wills, with Regard to the Adoration of Images: But he was no sooner freed from this Incumbrance, than he resolv'd to pursue what his Father had begun, and conven'd a Synod, at which there appear'd 338 Bishops †, who abolish'd the Adoration of Images; of which I shall treat more circumstantially in the Sequel.

Rachis, King
of the *Longobards*, retires
into a Monastery.

§ XXX. AT the Beginning of the Year 744, *Luitprand* died in *Italy*, before the Truce agreed on was expir'd. His Grandson, *Hildebrand*, who had born the Title of King, from the Year 736, now possess'd the Government alone: But the *Longobards* revolted against him, and elected *Rachis*, Duke of *Friuli*, for their King. This Prince, at the Instances of the Pope, renewed the Truce with the *Roman* Empire, for 20

(6) *And the Conclusion is*: Factum est hoc Concilium anno II. (f. III.) Artabaldi, Imperatoris, nec non Longobardorum Regis, Luitprandi, Anno XXXII. Indi&. XII.

§. XXIX (1) ANASTASIUS, n. 220. Post hæc requirens missum Apostolicæ sedis, quem ibidem in tempore perturbationis contigerat ad-

venisse, eumque repertum ad sedem absolvit Apostolicam, & juxta quod beatissimus Pontifex postulaverat, donationem in scriptis de duabus mansis, quæ Nymphas & Normias appellantur, JURIS EXISTENTES PUBLICI, eidem sanctissimo ac beatissimo Papæ, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, jure perpetuo direxit possidendas.

Years

Years (1): But it was not long before, under what Pretence I know not, he invaded the *Roman* Dominions, and besieged *Perusia*. Pope *Zachary*, together with several other Persons of Distinction, as well Clergy as Laity, went to him to the Camp, and prevail'd on him to raise the Siege. He soon after laid down as well the Scepter as the Sword, and went with his whole Family to *Rome*, designing to spend the Remainder of his Life in Retirement (2). For that Purpose, he fix'd on the Monastery on Mount *Cassino*, where he took the Habit, and his Queen and Daughter founded a Nunnery in the Neighbourhood (3). His Brother *Aistulphus*, succeeded him in the Government †: This Prince was of a Disposition very different † *An. 749.* from his Brother *Rachis*; and engag'd in that War with *Pipin*, which produced so great a Revolution in *Italy*.

§ XXXI. Not long before, the *Franconian* Prince, *Carolomannus*, *Carolomannus* was taken with the like Fit of Devotion. In the Beginning of the Year *747*, he left the Dominions he had 'till then govern'd, to *Pipin*, to whose Care, he, at the same Time, recommended his Son, *Drogo*, and went with a large Retinue of Persons of Distinction, both Ecclesiasticks and Laicks, to *Rome*. He was there consecrated by Pope *Zachary*, and chose, at first, for the Place of his Retirement, Mount *Soraacte*, or *St. Sylvester*, lying not far from *Rome*, but he afterwards retir'd to the Monastery at *Cassino* *, where he was a Pattern of as great Humility and Devotion, as he was of Valour and Magnanimity in his Government. About the same Time, several Kings of the *Saxons* in *Britain*, and but just before the Duke of *Aquitain*, had embrac'd the same Resolution. Such strange Revolutions are the Minds of Men subject to. Some

§ XXX. (1) ANASTASIUS, n. 217. p. 188. Aldeprandum, nepotem suum, quem ipse reliquerat, regem malevolum, projecerunt de regno, & Rachisum, qui fuerat Dux, sibi Longobardi, elegerunt in Regem. Ad quem missa legatione ipse beatissimus Pontifex continuo ob reverentiam Principis Apostolorum, & ejus precibus inclinatus Rex, usque ad viginti annorum spatium in pace, universus Italiz quievit populus.

(2) IDEM, n. 223. Ipsis itaque temporibus Rachis, Longobardorum Rex, ad capiendam civitatem Perusinam, sicut cætera Pentapoleos oppida, vehementi profectus est cum indignatione, quam & circumdans, fortiter expugnabat. Hoc audiens sanctissimus Papa continuo spe divina fretus, assumptis aliquantibus ex suo clero, cum optimatibus, quanto opus, ad eandem pervenit civitatem, im-

penisique eidem regi, pluribus muneribus, atque oppido eum deprecans, opitulante Domino, ab obsessioe ipsius civitatis eum amovit. Cui & salutifera prædicans, Deo auctore, valuit animum ejus in speciali studio inclinare. Et post aliquantos dies isdem Rachis, Rex, relinquens regalem dignitatem, decore cum uxore, & filiis ad beati Petri, Principis Apostolorum, conjunxit, limina acceptaque a præfato sanctissimo Papa oratione, clericusque effectus, monachico indutus est habitu, uxore, & filliis.

(3) HEREMPERTUS in Epit. ap. CARACCIOL: p. 18.

§ XXXI. * ANN. FULD. & METENS. ad An. 747.

give up all Thoughts of every Thing else, and run all Hazards, for the sake of Rule, while others spontaneously lay down the Crown and Purple. But this very Difference of Inclination, is necessary to keep human Life in Motion; and is no less an Ornament on the Stage of this World, than a Mixture of Light and Colours, and different Bearings are in Painting.

Rebellion of
the Saxons.
Grifo joins
them.

§ XXXII. *PIPIN* having thus engross'd the whole Power of the *Franconian* Monarchy, into his own Hands, it is no wonder if he was thereby excited to great Undertakings, which he, some Time afterwards, put in Execution; but this Power, at first, gave Occasion to great Uneasiness. The *Swabians*, *Bavarians*, and Part of the *Saxons*, would not now stand to what they had stipulated with *Carolomannus* (1); as indeed it was customary, on the like Occasions, for all Obligations to cease. Some civil Dissentions among the *Franks* themselves, gave more Force to their Resolution. *Pipin* had releas'd his half Brother, *Grifo*, from his Imprisonment, and put him in Possession of several considerable Estates; but he thought all too little, unless he could be allow'd a Share in the Government; and he soon found Adherents, not only among the *Franks*, and more especially among the younger Sort; but even among the *Saxons*, with whom he held a private Intelligence. How dangerous this Insurrection appear'd to *Pipin*, we may judge by the Preparations he made to stifle it. He prevail'd upon the *Frisii* and *Venedi*, to fall upon the *Saxons*, on their Side, whilst he himself march'd thro' *Thuringia*, (the very Country *Grifo* seems to have first fix'd his Views on) (2), to pursue him even in the Midst of the *Saxons*. The first

§ XXXII. (1) *The* Cont. *Fredegarii*, cap. 117. mentions these Transactions with the Saxons. Eodem anno Saxones, more consueto, fidem, quam germano suo promiserant, mentiri conati sunt. Quae de causa, adunato exercitu, ad eos pervenire compulsus est. Cui etiam Reges Vinidorum, seu Frisionum, ad auxiliandum uno animo conveniunt. Quod videntes Saxones, consueto timore perculsi, multis ex iis etiam trucidatis, & in captivitatem missis, regionibus eorum igne concrematis, pacem petentes, juri Francorum sese, ut antiquitus mos fuerat, subdiderunt, & ea tributa, quae Chlotario quondam praestiterant, plenissima solutione ab eo tempore deinceps se reddituros promiserunt. Ex quibus plurima multitudo videntes, se contra impetum Francorum rebellare

non posse, propriis viribus destituti, petierunt sibi Christianitatis Sacramenta conferri. He does not mention *Grifo*, for which Particular, we may have Recourse to the *Annales Metenses*, and *Fuldeneses*, or other Accounts.

(2) This we may presume, by the Contents of a Letter from St. Boniface to *Grifo*; (ep. 26.) Obsecro — si Deus tibi potestatem donaverit, ut adjuvare studeas servos Dei, sacerdotes, presbyteros, qui sunt in *Thuringia*, Monachos & ancillas Christi defendere contra paganorum malitiam. He, at the same Time, assures him of his constant good Wishes: Cognoscite, quod memoria vestra nobiscum est coram Deo, sicut & pater vester vivus, & mater jam olim mihi commendarunt.

who

who were the Objects of his Fury, were the *North-Swabians* (3), the Descendants of those *Swabians*, who, in the sixth Century, took Possession of a Part of *Saxony* *. At length the two Armies came within * xiv. 7. Sight of one another, on the River *Ocker*, about the Place where the City of *Wulfenbuttel* is now situate. The *Saxons* entering into a Treaty with *Pipin*, *Grifo*, not trusting to their Mediation, left the Army, and fled into *Bavaria*: They came to an Accommodation with the Duke of the *Franks*, and again promis'd to pay the same Tribute, they had, in former Times, given to *Clotarius* †: And, on this Occasion, † See xv. 6. many were baptiz'd (4).

§ XXXIII. *GRIFO* was kindly received in *Bavaria*, having several Relations, by the Mother's Side, of that Nation, and *Odilo*, who died but just before, had left an only Son, a *Minor*. The *Franconian* Histories make him Lord over the whole Duchy, and pretend that *Lanfrid*, Duke of *Allemannia*, was his Ally (1). *Carolomannus* was very uneasy in his Retirement, to hear of this Dissention between his Brothers, and did

Grifo escapes into Bavaria; but is obliged to surrender to Pipin. Tassilo Duke of Bavaria, &c.

(3) ANN. METENSES ad An. 748. Fines Saxonum, quos Nordo-Squavos vocant, cum valida manu intravit. Ibiq. Duces gentis asperæ Slavorum in occursum ejus venerunt, unanimiter illi auxilium contra Saxones ferre parati. Pugnatores quasi centum millia. Saxones vero, qui NARDOSQUAVI vocantur, sub suam ditionem subactos contritosque subegit. Ex quibus plurimi per manus sacerdotum baptizati ad fidem Christianam conversi sunt.

care cupientes. ORHEM is now a poor Village on the River Ocker. ANN. BERTINIANI: Grifo scilicet fugit in Saxoniam, & Pipinus iter faciens per Thuringiam, Saxoniam intravit usque ad fluvium MISSAHA, in loco, qui dicitur SCHAHANINGI. Et Grifo collectam fecit in Saxonibus supra fluvium ABACRO, in loco, qui dicitur ORLUM. MISSAHA is an inconsiderable River. Schöningen is a Town in the Duchy of Wolfenbüttel.

(4) ANN. METENSES, l. c. Inde proficiscens, pervenit ad fluvium, qui dicitur OBACRA, & castra metatus est juxta ripam ejusdem fluminis. Saxones vero cum Grippone ex alia ripa erant, ubi maximam inter se, & Francos firmitatem statuerunt. Sed cum viderent, quod eos eadem firmitas minime defendere posset, per noctem fuga lapsi castra deseruerunt. Pippinus vero cum exercitu suo totam pene Saxoniam per dies XL. vastavit, & castella eorum destruxit, indeque victor remeavit ad propria. ANN. FULDENSES ad A. 748. Grypho frater Carlmanni & Pipini, potestatem quandam affectans, ad Saxones se contulit. Pipino vero per Thuringiam ingresso Saxoniam, super fluvio OBACRA, in loco, qui dicitur HOROHEIM, Saxones occurrunt, Gryphonem cum eo pacifi-

§ XXXIII. (1) ANN. METENS. ad A. 749. Grippo videns, quod Saxonum armis minime defendi posset, in Bajoariam confugit. Quorum Dux eo tempore Odilo defunctus erat, cui Thassilo filius ejus successerat. Quem de principatu Grippo abegit, & sibi ipse Bajoarios subjugavit, cui etiam in solatium Lanfridus venit. ANN. FULD. 748. Grypho autem nec Saxonibus, nec Francis se credens, in Bajoariam aufugit. ANN. BERTIN. ad A. 748. Grifo de Saxonia iter peragens, fugiendo in Bajoariam, usque Palatium, ipsum ducatum sibi subjugavit. Hiltrudem cum Tassilone conquisivit. SUIDGER ad eum venit in solatio supradicti Grifonis: It is believed that this is the very Suidgerus, who is mention'd in the History of S. Vilibald, as a powerful Lord, in Nortgow.

what he could to reconcile them. He likewise prevail'd on Pope *Zachary*, to write to the *Franconian* Clergy, for the same End (2): But where Revenge and Ambition are the Grounds of Disgust, amicable Propositions have little Weight, and do but add to a Hatred among Relations. The easy Reduction of the *Saxons*, was a good Omen of Success to *Pipin*, in *Bavaria*. He pass'd the *Lech* without Opposition; for the *Bavarians* were retired, with their Wives and Children, over the *Inn*; where *Grifo* and the Duke of *Swabia*, were encamp'd with their Troops. But the *Bavarians* soon found, that *Grifo* would not be able to protect them, and therefore, on their Side (3), were ready to accept of Terms; and *Grifo* himself, together with the Duke of *Swabia*, were oblig'd to submit (4). *Pipin* granted the Duchy to young *Thassilo*, who, in succeeding Times, was very famous, as well for his good as adverse Fate. *Grifo* was satisfied with the City of *Mans*, and twelve Counties, which at that Time, were accounted equal to a Duchy: But whether he did not place any Confidence in his Brother, or hoped he might, soon or late, have better Fortune, he fled from thence to *Waifaricus*, Duke of *Aquitain* (5).

Pipin made King of the Franks; *Chil-deric* is oblig'd to retire into a Monastery, &c.

§ XXXIV. THE *Franconian* Annals say, that the two following Years, were peaceable: But the greater was the Revolution, *Pipin* was

(2) ZACHARIAS PAPA, ep. 15. Tom. 6. Conc. (LABB.) p. 1529. ad sacerdotes & presbyteros Franciæ: Quia innotuerunt nobis Optatus, religiosus Abbas, presbyter monasterii S. Benedicti, & Carolomannus, Dei amabilis monachus, germanus filii nostri Pippini, excellentissimi Majoris domus, per hos religiosos Dei servos, monachos, concordiae & pacis sermones inter eum & Griphonem, fratrem ejus misisse, ut et nos in ea ipsa admonendo dirigamus Excellentiam ejus, ut ad pacis concordiam redeant, vobis propter Deum pacifice mediantibus, &c.

(3) Of this Bavarian Expedition, we have an Account in the Cont. Fredegarii, c. 117. but without any Mention of Grifo: Quo peracto tempore Bajoarii consilio nefandorum, iterum eorum fidem fefellerunt, & contra præfatum Principem eorum fidem mentiti sunt. Qua de re commoto exercitu, cum magno agmine apparato eorum patrias accessit. Ipsi vero terrore compulsi ultra fluvium Igni, cum uxoribus ac liberis eorum, fugientes, & memoratus Princeps super ripam Igni castra metatus, navale prælium preparavit, qualiter eos ad internecionem persequeretur. Quod videntes Bojoarii, eorum viribus se auxiliare non posse, legatos cum muneribus multis transmittunt, & in ejus ditione se subdunt, & sacramenta vel obfides

donant, ut ne ulterius rebelles existant. Ipse vero, duce Christo, cum magno triumpho in Franciam, ad propriam sedem, feliciter transmeavit.

(4) ANN. METENS. l. c. Hæc audiens Pippinus, cum exercitu illuc pervenit victisque Bajoariis, Griponem secum & Lanfridum inde abducens, Tassilonem in Ducatum Bajoariorum collocavit. ANN. FULDENS. ad A. 749. Pippinus in Bajoarium pergens Thassilonem, nepotem suum, natum ex Hiltrude, sorore sua, ducem ibi constituit: Griphone & Lanfrido inde eductis. ANN. BERTINIAN. ad A. 748. Hæc audiens Pippinus, iter illic arripiens cum exercitu suo, supra nominatos totos sibi subjugavit. Griphonem secum abduxit, similiter & Lanfridum. Tassilonem vero in ducatu Bajoariorum collocavit per suum beneficium.

(5) ANN. METENS. l. c. Solita autem pietate Griponi fratri suo, & omnibus his, qui cum eo confugium facerunt, misericorditer non solum pepercit, sed etiam beneficiis ditavit. Nam Griponi Cinomaniam urbem cum xii. comitatibus dedit. Quibus ille solito more despectis, Wafconiam petiit; & ad Waifarum, ducem perfidum Aquitanicum, pervenit.

preparing

preparing for, in his own Favour. The Kings of the *Franks* had long before only had the Shadow of Power: But it is uncertain, whether their own natural Incapacity, or their evil Conduct, and the exorbitant Power the *Maires de Palais* had already assum'd, were the Occasion of it. Most of them came young to the Throne, and many of them died young; before they could, on Account of their Minority, make any Figure in the World. *Eginhard*, and other Writers, who liv'd in the Time of *Charlemaign*, and his Successors, give indeed a very despicable Account of them: But it is evident, that Prejudice, and an Inclination to set the Undertakings of *Pipin* in the most plausible Light, were, in a great Measure, their Guides (1). Besides, the *Maires de Palais* had long been, as it were, within a Step of the Throne; and we have an Instance, in the foregoing Century *, that *Grimoald*, even then attempted, * A. 650. after King *Sigebert's* Death, to place the Crown of *Austrasia*, on his Son's Head †. But *Pipin* had now a fairer Prospect, on his Side, than any of † xv. his Predecessors ever had. His Grand-father *Pipin II.*, and his Father, *Charles Martel*, had rais'd the Power and Reputation of their Office to the highest Pitch; and now, upon the Resignation of *Carolomannus*, he had it wholly in his own Hands. He had, at the same Time, Reason to hope, the Nation itself could not be against him. The most Valiant of the *Franks*, had, in many Campaigns, been in Person, Witnesses of his Valour and Success: Articles which are but too apt to blind the Eye, and easily lead away the Minds of Men from a minute Examination of Circumstances: The Clergy were oblig'd to him for their new Constitution, of which I have already taken Notice; and *Boniface*, who was the most renown'd of all the Prelates of the *Franconian* Church, had already as many Obligations to him, as he had future Expectations from him. It was likewise said, that Pope *Zachary* himself approved of this Revolution. Historians mention a particular Ambassy, which was sent to *Rome*, on that Account; and some Annals mention *Burchard*, Bishop of *Wurtzburg*, and *Fulrad*, Abbot of *St. Denys*, who had always great Influence over *Pipin*, as the Persons employ'd (2). How far *Zachary* explain'd himself, on this

§ XXXIV. (1) *Valesius* and *F. le Cointe* have already shewn, how little Credit is to be given to these Relations. The Abbot de Vertot has done it more at large, in a particular Dissertation.

(2) ANN. BERTIN. ad A. 749. *Burchardus*, *Wirceburgensis* Episcopus, & *Fulradus* *CAPELANUS*, missi sunt a *Pipino* *Romam*, ad *Zachariam* Papam, ut consulerent Pontificem de causa Regum, qui in illo tempore fuerunt in *Francia*,

qui nomen tantum Regis, sed nullam potestatem regiam habebant. Per quos dictus Pontifex mandavit, melius esse illum vocari Regem, apud quem summa potestas consisteret. Dataque auctoritate sua, iussit *Pipinum* *Francorum* Regem institui. Of the Ambassy in general other ancient Annals, and particularly the *Contin. Fredegarii*, give an Account. *Cointius*, ad A. 752. n. 8. seq. will not allow, that this Matter was laid before *Zachary*, or that an Ambassy was sent him for that Purpose:

this Head, is uncertain (3): But they certainly go too far, who pretend, that it was by his Command *Childeric* was dethron'd, and *Pipin* chosen King †. This Pretence is neither consistent with the then State of the *Franks*, nor even with that of the *Roman Church* (4). Even the ancient Annals give us to understand, that *Zachary's* Opinion was only requir'd, and *Boniface* had before accustom'd himself to apply to him frequently for his Advice. *Pipin* was solicitous for his Approbation, to justify himself to those who might pretend a Scruple of Conscience, on Account of their Oath to *Childeric*. It is, likewise, easy to be conceived, why *Zachary* did not omit this Opportunity of laying *Pipin* under an Obligation to him. We may remember what Views his Predecessor, *Gregory III*, had with *Charles Martel*. That Plan was "not forgot" in *Rome*; and *Stephen III*, a few Years afterwards, brought that Treaty to a Conclusion with *Pipin*, which *Gregory* begun with *Charles*. The Matter, in short, was brought upon the Carpet, in a Convention of the States of the Realm, at *Soissons*, which seems to have been held in the Year 752. We have no certain Account of any Thing that pass'd there, excepting that *Childeric* was depos'd, and *Pipin* chosen King (5). *Boniface* anointed and crown'd the new King, together with his Consort,

pose: But Pagius ad An. 751. n. 2. seq. confutes him. Notwithstanding which, the Opinion of some famous Men, as F. Alexander, Monf. le Gendre, and von Eckard, favour the former, and doubt of this Ambassy, or that Zachary ever consented to this Revolution. l. c. p. 580. seq.

(3) CONT. FREDEGAR. Quo tempore una cum consilio & consensu omnium Francorum, MISSA RELATIONE, a sede apostolica, auctoritate percepta, præcellus Pippinus electione totius Franciæ in sedem regni, cum consecratione episcoporum, & subjectione principum, una cum regina Bertrandane, ut antiquitus ordo deposcit, sublimatur in regnum. F. le Cointe is of Opinion that this Passage is corrupted, and that we ought to read: Quo tempore præcellus Pippinus, electione totius Franciæ in sedem regni una cum Regina, &c. But as he cannot justify his Assertion by any Manuscript Codex, it is a pretty bold one. In an ancient Account, written A. 767. which we find in Pagius, ad A. 751. n. 4. it is said: Ipse prædictus Dominus florentissimus Pippinus, Rex pius, per auctoritatem & imperium sanctæ recordationis Domini Zachariæ Papæ, & unctionem sancti chrismatis, per manus beatorum sacerdotum Galliarum, & electionem omnium Francorum, in regni solio sublimatus est,

† Here a new Doubt arises, what it was then, that Zachary contributed towards the Advancement of Pipin to the Throne? According to some, he had the Franconian Crown in his Disposition. Such a Passage we find in the Decr. Gratiani. Caus. 15. 9. 6. Alius item Romanus Pontifex, Zacharias scilicet, Regem Francorum non tam pro suis iniquitatibus, quam pro eo, quod tantæ potestati erat inutilis a regno deposuit, & Pipinum, Caroli Magni, Imperatoris, patrem, in ejus locum substituit, omnesque Francigenas, a juramento fidelitatis, quod illi fecerant, absolvit. But this Passage is taken out of one of Gregory VII Letters.

(4) The best French Historians have sufficiently exploded this Pretence, and particularly, Blondellus in his Treatise, de formula regnante Christo, p. 159. & seq. LAUNOIUS Ep. 645. and 651. gives a special Answer to Card. BELLARMINO. Add. PETR. RIVAL Dissert. si le Pape Zacharie deposa Childeric III?

(5) The exact Time of this Revolution is not yet determined. F. Mabillon and Pagius place it in 751. Monf. von Eckhard in 752. with more Probability. He even pretends to assign the Day, viz. the 3d of May, l. c. p. 508. seq.

Bertrada,

Bertrada, in the Presence of the Rest of the Bishops (6). Some learned Men are likewise of Opinion, that this was the first Time the *Franks* ever anointed a King (7); and that this Ceremony was now chosen, the better to bring the People into a Belief, that *Pipin* was ordain'd by God himself, for the Government. On the other Hand, *Childeric* repair'd to the Monastery of *Sithieu*, which is now the Abby of *St. Bertin*, at *St. Omer's*, where he died, a few Years afterwards (8). His Son *Theoderic*, was sent to the Monastery of *Fontenelle*, in *Normandy*, where he was oblig'd to take the Habit (9). Thus the Successors of the great *Clovis* were oblig'd to resign the Throne, which their Ancestors had establish'd at the Expence of much Labour and Peril, to another Family, and in Return to take up with a Monastick Life. History can go no farther than the Certainty of this Event; but, for the particular Circumstances of it, must leave it in its Obscurity. The few Accounts we find among the Ancients are obscure and imperfect, and modern Writers confound them yet more, because they allow or disapprove of Things as their particular Views direct them (10). As this Matter was concluded at a general Convention of the whole Nation, and put in Execution, without any Opposition, on the Part of King *Childeric*, one would almost presume, that they were able to give it the Appearance of Justice:

(6) That Boniface anointed Pipin, we have the concurrent Testimony of the most approved Historians of this Time. ANN. METENSES ad A. 750. Ex consensu B. Zachariæ, Papæ urbis Romæ, Pippinus Princeps a Bonifacio Archiepiscopo unctus, rex Francorum constituitur. ANN. BERTIN. ad e. an. Hoc anno, secundum Romani Pontificis sanctionem Pippinus Rex Francorum appellatus est, & ad hujus dignitatem honoris unctus sacra unctione, manu S. memoriæ, Bonifacii, Archiepiscopi & martyris: & more Francorum elevatus in folium regni, SUESSIONE civitate. And, in particular the ANN. FULDENSES: Pippinus vero, in civitate Sueffionum, a S. Bonifacio, Archiepiscopo, in regem unctus, regni honore sublimatus est. But F. le Cointe doubts of this Circumstance, ad A. 752. n. 5. because Villibald and Othlonus take no Notice of it, in the Life of Boniface. So, likewise, Monf. von Eckhard, l. c. p. 508. seq. takes a great deal of Pains to prove, that Boniface had no Share in, nor even was pleas'd with this Revolution: But these Conjectures cannot weaken the express Testimony of the approved Historians of these Times.

(7) Several learned Men, and but latterly F. Daniel, T. 1. p. 363. are of Opinion, that the Ceremony of anointing was now first introduced

among the Franks. I my self have defended this Opinion in Diss. de Regali, Imperialique coronatione, Cap. II. §. 4. & seq. But the Words in CONTINUATORE FREDEGARII: Cum consecratione Episcoporum, & subjectione Principum, UT ANTIQVITUS ORDO DEPOSCIT, sublimatur in regnum, might make one almost believe, that this Ceremony of Anointment had been before in Use with the Franks: Especially as it was also introduc'd among the Kings of the Wisi-Goths, in Spain. At least, this is the first express Mention made of this Custom in the History of the Franks.

(8) CHRON. FONTANELL. Childericum depositum, tonsuratum.

(9) CHRON. FONTANELL. Cujus filius, nomine Theodericus, in hoc Fontanellensi monasterio, anno sequenti, clericus effectus collocatus est.

(10) So many Circumstances occurring, we are not to wonder, that the Dethroning of Childeric, and Pipin's Election are related differently. F. le Cointe, F. Natalis Alexander, and F. Gerardus Du Bois have written particular Dissertations on this Subject.

It

It shews, at least, how wisely *Pipin* had taken his Measures; and how ill advis'd the Royal Family must have been. The new King, however, govern'd in such Manner, that Posterity has almost forgot, by what Means he came to the Throne (11).

Of the Constitution of the Monarchy of the Franks.

§ XXXV. THIS Revolution is the more memorable in the History of the *Franks*, and of the *German* Nations in general, because the *Franconian* Monarchy, in many Things, chang'd its Form, under *Pipin*. We will, therefore, to conclude, cast an Eye backwards, on the Constitution of the Realm, and the Manners of the Nation, as they appear to have been at this Period, and, in a great Measure, have already been describ'd, in the Course of this History. The *Franks* had their Kings in the most ancient Times. Even the very Name of King (or *König*) was in Use, as well with them as several other *German* Nations (1). As long as they were divided into different Nations, each had its own King, 'till *Clovis* united them all under his Dominion. He, and his Successors, assumed those exterior Honours, by which the Royal Dignity is exalted above all others, as the Purple, Crown and Scepter (2), as may be partly seen by their Coins: Tho' they often bore a Lance, according to ancient Custom, instead of a Scepter; as *Gregory*, in particular, observes of *Guntram* (3). At their Accession, they followed the very ancient *German* Custom, that the King was lifted up on a Shield, and shewn to the People (4), amidst Shouts of Joy; 'till *Pipin's* Time, when the Ceremony of Coronation and Anointing were added. Among other Ornaments of their Crown and Scepter, were Figures not unlike Lillies, which in Time became the Arms of *France*. But it would be difficult to prove, that the *Franks* had, at this Time, a Coat of Arms in Form, as afterwards came into Use: And it would be as little to the Purpose to pretend it to have consisted of Lillies, as in *Chifflet*, who

(11) Among those who represent *Pipin's* Injustice we must also reckon *Eckhard*. l. c. p. 511.

§ XXXV. (1) This Name is written, in different Dialects, *König*, *Kuning*, *King*, *Koning*.

(2) Of this, See the Dissert. before the first Part of the *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, entitled: Discours sur l'inauguration des premiers Rois de France, le Nimbe, ou cercle lumineux, les couronnes, et l'origine des Fleurs de Lis, le Trone, le Sceptre, la Main de Justice, les Habits Roiaux.

(3) *GREGOR. lib. 7. c. 33. Rex Gunt-*

chramnus data in manu Regis Childeberti hasta, ait: Hoc est indicium, quod tibi omne regnum meum tradidi. XIV. 21. n. 1.

(4) In this Manner the *Canenifates* elected their Duke *Brinno*. V. 1. 4. 42. n. 1. Among the *Franks* we find several Examples. So *Clovis* was received as King, by the *Ripuarii*, at *Cologne*: (XI. 17. n. 7.) *Sigebert* in *Neustria*, (XIV. 12. n. 2.) In the Account of *Gundebald's* Accession, we find another Circumstance. *Gregory* says: *Parnæ suppositus Rex est levatus. Sed cum tertio cum eodem Gyrarent, cecidisse fertur. XIV. 20. n. 3.*

will

will have them to have been *Bees* (5). It was reckon'd as a Thing peculiar to Persons of the Royal House, that they suffered their Hair to grow, and to make Use of it as an Ornament (6). Tho' this perhaps was more an ancient Custom * than any particular Prerogative. The Kingdom was hereditary in the Male-Line (7). Of this, among others, the Partitions made either by the Kings, in their Life-time, or their Sons, after their Deaths, are Testimonies. In their Marriages, the Kings pretty much indulg'd their Inclinations (8); 'till by Degrees the Church put them under greater Restraint †. The Queens had, in some Measure, a Share in the Administration: The Nation did Homage to them (9), and when the Crown fell to a Prince in his Minority, the Queen-Mother had the Guardianship (10). The Kings had, indeed, their Palaces in the Capital Cities; but, in Conformity to the Ancient *German* Custom, and especially being moved thereto, by their Passion for the Chace, they resided chiefly at their Pleasure-houses in the Country. Among the high Offices of the Court, the *Major-Domus* (or *Maire de Palais*) and the *Archicapellanus*, were the Chief. We find likewise the Titles of *Domesticus*, *Referendarius* and *Cancellarius*; as likewise those of *Comes Pala-*

(5) *Tristan pretends that Lillies (Fleurs de Lis) were anciently the Ensign of Gaul; and, in this Period, the Arms of the Franks. Chifflet, in Anastasi Childer. cap. 11. and 12. supposes, they had, at first, Bees for their Arms: But this F. Ferrand refutes, in Epinicio pro liliis.*

center circata, sed smigmata varia ipsi sibi adhibent, diligenterque curant, idque velut insigne quoddam, eximiaeque honoris prerogativa regio generi apud eos tribuitur. Sudditi enim orbiculatim tondentur, neque eis prolixiorē comam alere facile permittitur. *Ada. MABILLON de Re Diplom. p. 137.*

(6) *Hottoman treats of this Matter, in Franco-Gallia, cap. 11. under the Title: de Jure Regalis Capillitii. Gregory, here and there mentions this Custom; particularly Lib. 3. c. 18. where the King of Paris, Childebart, writes to Clotarius, concerning the Sons of Clodomir, his Brother: Debes velociter adesse Parisiis, & habito communi consilio pertractare oportet, quid de his fieri debeat: UTRUM INCISA CÆSARIE, UT RELIQUA PLEBS HABEANTUR, an certe his interfectis regnum Germani nostri inter nosmetipsos, æqualitate habita, dividatur. So, likewise, Lib. 6. c. 24. where he says of Gundobald: Hic cum natus esset in Galliis, & diligenti cura nutritus esset, UT REGUM ISTORUM MOS EST, CRINIUM FLAGELLIS PER TERGA DEMISSIS, &c. The Greeks thought this a very strange Dress. Agathias gives the following Description of it: Solemne est Francorum regibus nunquam tonderi.*

— *Cæsaries tota decenter eis in humeros propendit, anterior coma e fronte discriminata in utrumque latus deflexa. Neque vero, quemadmodum Turcis & Barbaris, implexa iis & squalida fordidaque est coma, vel complicatione inde-*

* *So Claudian, in his Time, used the Expression: Crinigerō flaventes vertice Reges. See V. I. 8.2. n. 3.*

(7) *For this we refer to M^r. DE FONCEMAGNE: Vid. Memoire pour établir, que le Royaume de France a été successif-hereditaire dans la premiere Race; in the Memoires de Literature T. VI. p. 680.*

(8) *See, of this, the Passage from GREGORIUS TURON. XIV. 11. *.*

† *V. HERTIUS. Notit. Veteris Francor. Regni, p. 280. seq.*

(9) *See the Example of Queen Gailsvinta, XIV. 11. n. 2.*

(10) *So Fredegund had the Guardianship of her Son, Clotarius II, Brunchild, of her Grandsons, Theodebert and Theoderick (XIV. 31.) and Balthildis, of her Son, Clotarius III, (XV. 15.)*
X X *tinus,*

tinus, Marshall, Chamberlain, chief Butler, Hunt, and Falconer; the latter of which was the Director of a Diverſion almoſt peculiar to the German Nation (11). Moſt of theſe Offices had their Riſe from the ancient Cuſtoms of the *Germans*, with whom Nobles of an inferior Dignity likewiſe had them †. But the Power of the *Maires de Palais* was, in Time, the Occaſion, that the Conſtitution of the Court, and even of the Kingdom itſelf, was, in many Things, alter'd. They drew every Thing after them, as they had the Power of doing every Thing. Not wholly to paſs by the Coins of theſe Kings, we find that they followed the Romans, in their Method of Dividing and Reckoning. Their Gold-Coins preſerved the Name of *Solidi*, and their Silver of *Denarii* (12). Tho' we have an Example, that, in the Time of Pope Gregory, the Great, the *Franconian* Coins would not paſs in *Italy* (13); either becauſe they had not the intrinſick Value required, or becauſe the Emperor would not ſuffer any foreign Coin to be current (14).

The Form of
Government.
The Conſti-
tution of the
Provinces.

§ XXXVI. MOREOVER the Kings had no unlimited Power. The Authority was rather diſpos'd with a View to the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the People. When, at their Acceſſion to the Government, they received the Homage of their Subjects, they, on their Side, promiſed to maintain every one in the Enjoyment of their Liberty, Eſtates and Rights (1). With ſuch a mutual Affection and Obligation, the *Franks* eſtabliſh'd an Empire, which, next to the *Roman*, was the moſt powerful in the *Western* Parts. Affairs of the greateſt Conſequence were treated at the general Convention of the People. Under the Kings of the

(11) We find the following Titles of principal Officers of the Court, under the Kings of the firſt Line: Major Domus, Archicapellanus, Comes Palatii, Domeſticus, Referendarius, Cancellarius, Comes Stabuli, Camerarius, Præpoſitus Pocillatorum, Manſionarii, Venatores, Falconarius, Magiſter Oſtiariorum.

† Conf. Lex Salica, Tit. XI. 6.

(12) The Value of the *Solidi*, as they were reckoned in the Salick Law, we may ſee by INC-MARUS in Vit. S. Remigii: Solidorum quantitas numero quadraginta denariorum computatur, & in Francorum lege Salica continetur: & generaliter in ſolutione uſque ad tempora Caroli perduravit, ſicut in ejus capitulis continetur.

(13) So ſays Pope GREGORY M. Lib. V. ep. 10. ad Candidum, Preſbyterum, who was to receive ſome Revenues, for the Roman Church in Provence: Volumus, ut dilectio tua ex ſolidis,

quos acceperit, veſtimenta pauperum, vel pueros Anglos, qui ſunt ab annis decem & ſeptem, vel decem & octo, ut in monaſteriis dati Deo proficiant, comparet; quatenus ſolidi Galliarum, qui in terra noſtra expendi non poſſunt, apud locum proprium utiliter expendantur.

(14) How rigorous the Emperors yet were, in the ſeventh Century, not to ſuffer any Money, but what was of their own Coining, to paſs current, we may ſee in the Hiſtory of Juſtinian II. Zonaras writes of him: Iis gaudens, & fretus, etiam Arabicum ſœdus rupit, cauſa ex eo ſumta, quod annui tributi moneta, non Romanum ſignum, ſed novum Arabicum haberet.

§ XXXVI. (1) GREGOR. TUR. Lib. 9. cap. 30. Se unumquemque pro ſuo gradu, ſuaque dignitate, ac perſona, quantum poſſint, honoraturos & deſenſuros, ac ſuum cuique jus ſervaturos.

firſt

first Line, it was always held in the Month of *March*, with which the Year then begun, in *Gaul*: But *Pipin*, for more Convenience-sake, removed it to *May*, from whence it was call'd *Campus Maii*. The Kings were likewise wont, in their daily Conversation, to shew a mild and gracious Disposition; as, in particular, it is extoll'd in *Guntram*, that he would often be the Guest of private Persons †. The Monarchy of the *Franks* † xiv. 30.
was made up of several Nations. Among the *Franks* themselves, the n. 8.
Salii and *Ripuarii* are accounted particular Nations. In *Gaul*, they had reduc'd some considerable Provinces, and even the Kingdom of *Burgundy* itself, under their Dominion. In *Germania*, they had *Alemannia*, *Thuringia*, *Bavaria* and *Friesland*. The ancient Provincials were still call'd *Romani*, and the *Germans* were not ashamed of the Name of *Barbari*, which had been long in Use to signify Foreigners in general. The Dominion was properly in the *Franks*: They enjoyed all the Advantages of this Pre-eminence. But then the Obligations the other Nations were laid under were such, that they had near as much the Resemblance of being Fellow-Members of a Community, as of being under Subjection. Even the Inhabitants of the *Roman* Provinces, were not so hardly used by the Conquerors, as some pretend (2). They retain'd their Civil Liberty and Effects, their Customs and Habit, and, in some Provinces, even the Use of the *Roman* Laws, particularly in those which had belong'd to the Kingdoms of the *Burgundians* and *Wisi-Goths*. Many of them, in Time, rais'd themselves to the highest Posts of the *Franconian* Empire, as well at Court as in the Provinces and in the Army (3). So likewise the principal Cities, here and there, retain'd a good Part of their ancient Polity. These generous Proceedings proved highly advantageous to themselves. The Mildness of their Government encouraged People to live under it, and the Valour and Vigilance of the ruling Nation, prevented those from withdrawing their Allegiance, who might be inclin'd to it. The several Districts and People were govern'd, as was likewise customary with other *German* Nations, by Dukes and Counts. It was, in particular, the Care of the latter, to see Justice administer'd, and to appoint particular Judges for that End. But there were some Dukes also, who were not to be regarded so much the King's Lieutenants, as Lords of their own Lands, acknowledging only the Supremacy of the *Franconian* Monarchy. Upon that Footing were the Dukes of *Aquitain* in *Gaul*, and those of *Bavaria*, *Swabia* and *Thuringia*, in *Germany*. In the Provinces of *Burgundy*,

(2) C. DE BOULAINVILLERS Hist de l'ancien
Gouvern. de la France, T. I. p. 21. 37 & seq.

(3) Conf. Histo. de l'Etabliss. de le Monarch.
Francoise, T. III. p. 413. seq.

even the Dignity of *Patricius* (4) was retain'd, after they were under the Jurisdiction of the *Franks*; perhaps, because they had been accustomed to it in the Time of the *Roman* Power. When any Thing happen'd contrary to the common Course of Things, the *Missi-Domini* were sent, to take Care that every one perform'd his Office duly: Tho' we find but few Instances of these, under the Kings of the first Line (5): But they are the more frequent under the *Carolingian*. This Kingdom of the *Franks* was indeed divided, in diverse Manners, by the Sons of *Clovis* and their Successors; but the most common Partition was into *Austrasia* and *Neustria*, with which, after the Time of *Clotarius II*, was reckon'd that of *Burgundy* (6). *Austrasia* remain'd always the Seat of the ancient *German* Valour; because the *Ostro-Franks* themselves were reckon'd the most warlike of the whole Nation, and the other Nations of *Germany* were reckon'd a Part of this Portion (7). *Pipin*, of *Herstatt*, *Charles Martel* and his Sons, employ'd these Troops, with the greatest Advantage: But the *Neustrians* never cared to see them in their Country; because with their warlike Disposition, they did not keep the best Discipline (8).

Different
Ranks of Men
among the
Germans.

§ XXXVII. THE Nation itself was distinguish'd into several Ranks of Men. The *Germans* originally knew probably of no Distinction, but what, in a State of Liberty, was derived from Nature itself: Tho' *Tacitus*, in his Time, mentions four Degrees of Persons among the *Germans*: *Nobiles*, *Ingenui*, *Liberti* and *Servi*. So likewise among the *Franks* we find (1), *Nobles*, *Freemen*, *Freedmen* and *Slaves* (2). It is,

(4) In *Gregorius Turonensis* we find many of these *Patricii*, in the *Burgundian* Portion. I shall give an Example only in one Passage, L. 4. cap. 24. Cum autem Guntramus rex regni partem sicut fratres sui obtinuisset, amoto Argœcula, patricio, Celsum PATRICIATUS HONORE DONAVIT, virum procerum statu, in scapulis validum, lacerto robustum, in verbis tumidum, in responsis opportunum, JURIS LECTIONE PERITUM.

(5) FRANÇ. LE ROYE de *Miss. Dominic.* cap. 7.

(6) *Neuster* or *Neustria*, was perhaps so call'd from the Celtick Word *Neuis Tir* (Terra nova) and therefore signifies a Country newly gain'd, as that was which the *Franks* conquer'd in Gaul.

(7) VIT. S. BALTHILDIS, cap. 2. Factique sunt *Burgundiones* & *Françi* ex illo tempore uniti.

Tho' the *Burgundians*, at first, had no great Mind to this Union. XV. 16. n. 5.

(8) Vid. P. DANIEL Hist. de la mil. Franc. T. 1. p. 19.

§ XXXVII. (1) The C. DE BOULAINVILLIERS has very singular Opinions of the Nobility, under the *Franks*: But another learned Pen has exploded them. Vid. *Memoires de Literature et d'Histoire*, T. IX.

(2) Among the *Saxons*, *Nithardus* reckons but three Orders of Men, Lib. 4. Gens Saxonum omnis in tribus ordinibus divisa consistit. Sunt enim inter illos EDELINGI, sunt, qui FRILINGI, sunt, qui LASSI illorum Lingua dicuntur. Latina vero lingua hoc sunt: *Nobiles*, *ingenui*, *serviles*. The Word *Las* signifies *Servus*: But Ad. *Bremenensis*, Lib. 1. cap. 5. reckons four Orders: *Nobiles*, *Liberi*, *Liberti*, and *Servi*.

however,

however, yet a Doubt, whether the *Nobles* made a separate Order (3). *Roman* Writers use the Word, *Nobilis*, when they speak of the *Germans*, in the same Sense as it was taken among the *Romans* themselves, that is, of Persons and Families, who were in the most distinguish'd Employments and Posts of Honour. So, in the *German* Laws, the Titles *Nobiles* and *Optimates* are used in the same Signification; and the Word *Athalick* is in particular applied to those who were descended from renowned Families. Even Freedom itself had its different Degrees (4), and the Circumstances of Fortune made a certain Distinction among the Freemen. In particular we find an Order of Men, who making it their Business to serve others, as Masters, were, as it were, in a middle State, between Freemen and Slaves, and were properly called Servants. Bondage itself, with the *Germans*, was anciently different from what it was with the *Romans*; and they now introduced it, in the same Manner, in those Provinces which formerly belong'd to the *Romans* (5). But the Freedmen made no distinct Order among them (6).

§ XXXVIII. WAR was the chief Occupation of the *Franks*. It was not 'till after they had been long Masters of *Gaul*, that they began, by Degrees, to take a Pleasure in other Affairs. The Conquest of these Countries is the surest Proof of their Valour. And we need not wonder, that a People, naturally warlike, should take a Delight in Arms, when the fortunate Progress of their Wars turned so much to their Advantage. The Booty they made, and even the Countries they conquer'd, were divided between the King and the People, by Lot; from whence arose the Term of *Terra Salica*, among the *Franks* (1). Their chief Strength consisted anciently in their Infantry: Among whom the *Salii* were particu-

Of their State
of War, &c.

(3) HAD. VALESIIUS doubts of it, and Hertius, who follows him, explains himself, l. c. p. 310. in the following Manner. *Hac in re Franci diversum habuerunt morem a cæteris Germanis, qui distinguabantur in nobiles, ingenuos, libertos, ut alibi docuimus. At in L. Salica nobilium nulla fit mentio: non quod apud Francos nulli nobiles ac viri honorati essent, sed quia nobilium nullus ordo erat a populo separatus, nobilitatis nullum in regno Francorum corpus a plebe distinctum. He replies, at the same Time, to Thomasius, who attempts to confute Valesius.*

(half free) &c. But whether these Distinctions are so ancient as the Times we are treating of, I am uncertain.

(5) Vid. Hist. de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie. Franc. T. 3. p. 297.

(6) The Freedmen were likewise call'd *Ingenui*. Leg. Sal. Tit. 15. 3.

§ XXXVIII. (1) These Estates had probably their Name from the *Salii*, taken in the same Signification with the *Sortes Burgundicæ*, among the Burgundians, and the *Sortes Vandalicæ* among the Vandals.

(4) We find, in succeeding Times, different Degrees of Freedom: As *Semperfrei* (always free) *Mittelfrei*

larly

larly noted (2). In Time, they applied themselves more and more to the Use of Cavalry, which at Length came in as great Esteem among the *Franks*, as it had ever been before in *Gaul* (3). We likewise find, that they had, at this Time, a certain Distinction in the Service of their *Militia*, as was customary with other *German Nations* (4). This, in Time, introduced the different Kinds of Vassals, as likewise various Titles and Posts of Honour in their Army. Their common Arms were Sword and Shield, a Kind of Halberds, and the Battle-Ax, which from them was call'd *Francisca* (5), as being, in a Manner, peculiar to the *Franks* *: Bows and Slings are seldom mention'd in this Period (6): But in the Times of *Charlemaign*, and his Successors, they were more in Use. I find, among other *German Nations* (7), and particularly the

(2) *So says SIDON. APOLLIN.*
 ——— Vincitur illic
 Curfu Herulus, SALIUS PEDE.

(3) *Vid. P. DAN. l. c. p. 20.*

(4) *Of the Ostro-Goths and Longobards, see the xv Ann.*

(5) AGATHIAS, Lib. 2. *The whole Passage deserves a Place here.* Parabilis est, quantum intelligo, gentis illius armatura, nec multis opificibus indigens, sed ab ipsis quibus gestatur, facilis si quid laxatum sit, reconcinari. Loricæ & tibialia plane ignorant, instructi caput plerique, pauci galeati præliantur. Pectus & terga nudi lumbos usque, inde feminalia induuntur, ad tibias descendunt, e lino alii, nonnulli e corio. Equis, nisi paucis admodum, non utuntur; avito more & educatione ad pedestrem pugnam exerciti. Enses a femore, a sinistro latere clypeus dependet; arcus, fundas, & quæ alia eminus feriunt, non habent; sed ancipites secures, (*vulgo Franciscas a gente cognominatas*) & angones, maximorum operum instrumenta. Sunt angones hastæ, neque magnæ omnino, neque nimium exiguæ; tales ut & jaci possint, & si conferta manu pugnandum sit, incussu validæ. Pars maxima horum ferro obducta est, vix ut hastile appareat, & id, qua terræ insiguntur. In summo ad cuspidis latera spicula prominent, hamorum in modum ad inferna se deflectentia. Non temere inter pugnandum angonem emittit Francus: Si corpus intraverit, penetrat cuspis, nec facile se ea liberaverit, qui vulnus accepit. Prohibent enim

unci inhærentes carni, tantosque excitant cruciatus, ut, etiamsi ceterum lethalis ictus non sit, dolor ad interitum fatis sit. Quod si impactus sit clypeo, dependet & cum eo circumagitur, parte extrema solum verrens, neque potest, qui impeditus est, aut evellere hastam spiculis retinentibus, aut gladio abscindere, quod ad lignum pertingere nequeat, ferro intercedente. Id simul conspexit Francus, partem angonis infimam, instans ac premens pede, prægravatum deducit clypeum, ita ut ferentis cedat manus, caputque ejus & pectus nudetur; Sic patentem nactus nullo negotio interfecit, aut securi in frontem adacta, aut alia hasta gulam transverberans. PROCOPIUS agrees with this, de Bell. Goth. Lib. 2. In MAURICII Strategico, Lib. 11. cap. 4. we have a particular Reference. Quomodo cum rufis gentibus sit congreduendum, h. e. Francis, Longobardis & cæteris similibus.

* The Vandals likewise made Use of these Battle-Axes. See V. 1. B. 10. 35. n. 10.

(6) *Tho' they were not wholly unknown.* L. SAL. Tit. 20. Si quis alterum de sagitta toxicata percutere voluerit.

(7) TACITUS, Hist. IV. 22. says of the Ancient Germans, of his Times, that their Ensigns were: depromtæ silvis, lucisque ferarum imagines. See Vol. I. B. 4. 44. n. 2.

Goths

Goths (8), *Anglo-Saxons* (9), and *Longobards* (10), that Colours or Banners were in Use, and more especially that their Kings had them: And hence we may reasonably conclude, that the *Franks* made Use of these Ensigns of the Field. But their Victories were not so much owing to the Nature of their Arms, as to their Courage, and Skill in using them; which *Narses*, a famous General of Emperor *Justinian's*, himself says in their Praise (11). To this we may add the great Experience they had gain'd, in their Wars with so many different Enemies. They fought with Success against the *Romans*, against the *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and other *German Nations*, and, at Length, under the Conduct of *Charles Martel*, against the *Saracens*. The Kings generally went themselves to the Field, even in their most tender Youth (12), and the *Mairès de Palais*, found nothing so effectually establish'd their Power, as taking the Command of the Army. Their intended Expeditions were made known by a general Proclamation or Summons, call'd the *Ban*. They were generally limited to a certain Time, and every one was obliged to maintain himself, and the People under him. It was difficult, in their State of Liberty, to keep a Discipline, of which we have an Example in the History of King *Sigebert* †, However, as great Friends as they were ^{xiv. 9.]} to War, they had their Heralds, for treating of Peace and amicable Accommodations, who were as sacred as the *Feciales*, among the *Romans* (13).

§ XXXIX. ONE particular Fruit of the *German Customs*, and chiefly ^{Origin of Feodal Tenures.} of their State of War, is the Introduction of Feodal Tenures; when a Piece of Land, or certain Advantages are granted to any one, to engage his Fidelity and Service. In the Times of which *Tacitus* wrote, we find nothing explicit or certain of this Matter: But after the *German Nations* had secur'd a Footing in the *Roman Provinces*, their Chiefs were in a better Capacity, to extend their Liberality, and others learn'd how to

(8) Of the *Goths*, see Annot. X. n. 5.

(9) Of the *Anglo-Saxons*, *Beda* writes, Lib. 2. c. 16. of King *Edwin*. *Tantum vero in regno excellentiæ habuit, ut non solum in pugna ante illum vexilla gestarentur, sed & tempore pacis equitatem inter civitates, five villas aut provincias suas cum ministris, semper antecedere signifer consuevisset: nec non & antecedente illo ubi libet per plateas, illud genus vexilli (quod Romani TUFAM, Angli vero appellant THUF) ante eum ferri solebat.*

(10) Of the *Longobards and Heruli*, see Ann. 23. n. 2.

(11) He calls the *Franks*, in *Agath. Lib. 2.* Gentem apprime validam belli meditamentis.

(12) We have Examples in *Sigebert II, King of Austrasia*, (xv. 8.) *Clotarius*, (xiv. 31. 5) As likewise in *Theodebert and Theodorick, the Sons of Chidebert*.

(13) *GREGORY* says, Lib. 7. cap. 32. Of the *Heralds, which Gundobald sent to Guntram, King of Burgundy*. Cum virgis consecratis, juxta ritum Francorum, ut scilicet non contingerentur ab ullo.

make

make a better Advantage of it. Those Lands which the ancient Inhabitants were obliged to give up to the Conquerors, were divided among the most valiant of the Nation. Hence arose the *Sortes* of the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, and also probably the *Terræ Salicæ*. In Consideration of these Lands, the Possessors were obliged to serve in the Field; and for this Reason they did not descend to the Female Heirs. These Estates were probably on the same Footing as the *Fundi Militares*, of the *Romans* (1), for the Enjoyment of which the Possessors were obliged to serve in the Wars. But, with the *Franks*, we find a Circumstance which comes up nearer to Feodal Tenures. Their Kings were often wont to grant some of their own Domains to Persons who deserved it, or were so fortunate to be in the King's Esteem (2). These Grants were reverfible; or at least the Enjoyment of them only for Life, unless the Kings, as particular Marks of their Favour, granted them to the Children of the Possessors. They were therefore call'd *Beneficia* (3), which Word, with the *Franks*, had the same Sigification as *Feudum*, and the Possessors of them *Beneficiarii* (4), or likewise *Leudes* (5), *Fideles*, *Vassi* *, *Milites* **, The *Maires de Palais* had likewise their Vassals, as is evident by the Histories of *Pipin II*, *Grimoald*, and *Charles Martel* (6): So likewise the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Swabia*; and, probably all the Nobles, who possess'd so large Estates, as to be able to part with any Lands to others. We likewise find another Sort of Feodal Tenure and Vassalage. Whole Nations submitted to the *Franks*, on Condition, that they would be loyal to the King, and serve him; but that, for the Rest, they should retain their Liberty and Constitution. This was the Case of the Dukes of *Aquitain*, *Bavaria*, and *Swabia* (7). The *Longobards* (8), in this Article, made a particular Regulation, according to the Circumstances of

§ XXXIX. (1) See Vol 4. 9, and 5. 55. n. 9.

(2) Such are the *Agri Fiscales* ap. GREGOR. ix. 20.

(3) In vit. S. GODERERTÆ, p. 472. Add. HERT. 334.

(4) Regis BENEFICIARIIL occ. tempore Clodovei III. ap. DUCH. T. I. p. 671.

(5) The *Leudes* were not all of one Kind: Fredegarius distinguishes them by Higher and Lower, cap. 58. Tanto timore Pontifices & Proceres in regno Burgundiæ consistentes, seu & cæteros *Leudes* adventus Dagoberti concusserat. And soon after: Tanta

in universis Leudibus suis, tam sublimibus quam pauperibus judicabat justitia. In the Burgundian Laws, we likewise find *Leudes*. See Annot. iii.

n. 4.

* We find the Name of *Vassus*, in the LL. *Ba-joariorum*, Tit. III. Sive Regis *VASSI*, five *Ducis*.

** AVITUS calls *Gundobald*, King of *Burgundy*, *Miles Clodovei*. ix. 10. n. 13.

(6) FREDEGARIUS names *Leudes Pipini* & *Grimoaldi*. xv. 25. n. 2.

(7) See of this the xxxv, and xxxvi. Annot.

(8) See xiv. 24. n. 2.

their

their Kingdom; as did, likewise, the *Wisi-Goths* (9), *Burgundians* (10), and *Anglo-Saxons* (11). The first Traces of Things are obscure; and the Law of Feodal Tenures, likewise, was not brought into a regular Form at once. As well Lords as Vassals, according to the Circumstances of the Times, borrowed sometimes one Thing, and sometimes another, from the Customs of different People.

§ XL. As well the *Franks* as other *Germans*, were always, even ^{Their Laws, Courts of Justice, &c.} amidst the Tumults of their Wars, great Favourers of Justice; a sure Sign of a well disposed People. As to their Laws, we can the better judge of them here (1), as, in this Period, the greater Part of them were reduced into Writing. We find two Bodies of Law among the *Franks*, those of the *Salii*, and those of the *Ripuarii*. The *Burgundians* preserv'd their Laws under the Dominion of the *Franks*; and under these Kings, the Laws of the *Bavarians* and *Swabians*, were brought into some Order. The *Wisi-Goths*, in *Spain*; the *Longobards* in *Italy*; and the *Anglo-Saxons* in *Britain*, establish'd each a new Body of Laws. The *Franks* not only allow'd the other *German* Nations who were under their Jurisdiction, each the Exercise of their own Laws; but the ancient Inhabitants of some of the Provinces of *Gaul*, those of the *Romans*. We are not to look for much Politicks in the Laws of the *German* Nations (2). They chiefly consist only of the first Principles of a publick Security, which they had learned from Experience; and, as they were form'd by the Judgment, and with the Assent of the People themselves, are, in many Points, pretty mild. We might say Necessity first dictat'd them, and Liberty reduced them to Writing. They serv'd the *Germans* tolerably well, in the penurious and unciviliz'd State they were then in (3). In Time, other Manners requir'd other Laws. Under *Charlemaign*, and his Successors, many new ones were added: But the more imperfect the temporal Laws were, the more Advantages the Bishops drew into their Ecclesiastical Courts. However, these ancient Monuments of the *German* Laws, are to be valued for Antiquity's Sake. We may there observe, as it were,

(9) See the xxvi. Annot. num. 4.

(10) See the iii. Annot. num. 4.

(11) See the learned Bishop of Durham, William Nicholson's, *Diff. de Jure Feudali Veterum Saxonum*.

§ XL. (1) GREGORY, 4. 24. calls Celsus, whom Guntram, King of the Franks named Patri-cius in Burgundy, juris lectione peritus; which is bere to be understood of the Roman Law.

(2) H. GROTIUS in Prolegom. ad Script. Hist Goth. p. 63. has said all that can be said in Praise of the ancient German Laws; and will almost give them the Preference to the Roman Laws.

(3) As the Poet says of the obsolete Roman Laws;

Hæc fuerant sub Rege Numa, sub Consule
Bruto,
Nunc alia est ætas.

Y y

the

the first Steps, which our Forefathers took, in their Advances towards civil Society. They held their Assizes under the Cope of Heaven, in a general Assembly; and every Freeman had this to comfort himself with, that his Judges were his Equals. In their Pleadings, they kept as strictly to certain Forms, as the *Romans* did, and had, likewise, near as many exterior Signs, to denote the Meaning of what they were about. Even their Arms were of Use on such Occasions. At an Adoption, the Adopter presented the Adopted with some Weapon (4); because it was customary for Fathers to invest their Sons, with the first Arms they bore (5). So likewise, when any Person took an Oath, he laid his Hand on his Sword (6), probably, because they aim'd at nothing so much, as to be successful in the wielding of it. Among the *Longobards*, in the most ancient Times, an Arrow was the Token of giving a Man his Freedom (7), perhaps to signify, that he who before was a Slave, was now thought worthy of bearing Arms, and serving in their Wars, a Privilege belonging only to those who were free *. In doubtful and uncertain Cases, Superstition had introduced the Trials by Fire and Water (8), and the Fool-hardiness of Duelling. The latter is even prescrib'd in the *Burgundian Laws*, and in those of some other *German Nations*; and the *Franks* themselves carried this Folly to the highest. *Theoderic*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, can alone boast of having demolish'd it in his Nation (9). That which, in the Beginning, was a judiciary Justification, Petulancy and Revenge made at Length so common, that whoever but imagin'd his Honour to be infring'd upon by another, had recourse to his own Sword; without considering, that he, at the same Time, offer'd his own Person a Sacrifice to the Enemy. So that it has cost as much Labour

(4) *An Example of this we have in King Guntram, when he adopted Childebert. Gregory mentions, on this Occasion, a Shield and a Lance. In the same Manner, the Emperor Justin, adopted Eutharicus, Theoderic's Son in Law; (See xi. 43. n. 4.) and Theoderic himself, the King of the Heruli. Var. 4. ep. 12. (xi. 23.)*

(5) *See the Words of Tacitus, Vol. I. B. 2. 37. n. 15.*

(6) *Of this Custom, see the Testimony of Amm. Marcell. Vol. I. 2. 37. n. 16. The Franks did Homage in this Manner, to Queen Gaileswinth, Chilperic's Consort. xiv. 11. n. 2.*

(7) *Of the Longobards, Paulus Diaconus says,*

that, in the most ancient Times, manumissio per sagittam was in Use amongst them. Lib. 1. cap. 13. Longobardi tandem in Mauringam pervenientes, ut bellatorum possint ampliare numerum, plures a servili jugo erectos, ad libertatis statum perducunt, utque rata eorum haberi posset libertas, fanciunt more solito per sagittam, immurmurantes nihilominus, ob rei firmitatem, quædam patria verba. But in his Time this Custom was already obsolete, as we may see by the Longobard Laws, Lib. 2. Tit. 35.

(8) *Of the Trial by red-hot Irons, see L. SAL. Tit. 55.*

* *See the iii. Annot. of the Burgundians.*

(9) *See the xiv. Annot. num. ix.*

to prevent this Evil, by modern Laws, as to form the ancient Statutes for establishing it.

§ XLI. FROM these ancient Laws, we may likewise form a Judgment of their private Life. The first Instance I shall mention is their Marriages, the most natural of human Societies. In the most ancient Times, it was customary with the Germans, as well as other Nations, to buy their Wives of their Parents (1); Children being, as it were, reckon'd a Part of their Substance. Of this, we yet find some Traces in their Laws (2), particularly in those of the Franks, the Betrothing *per solidum & denarium*. The matrimonial Articles were stipulated in the Presence of the Family, or at a publick Entertainment (3), at which proper Witnesses were provided. There the espoused Couple exchanged the matrimonial Pledges (4), and, at the same Time, the Bridegroom assign'd the Bride a Jointure, in Case of his Decease before hers (5). The Day after the Nuptials, the new married Man made his Wife a Present, distinguish'd in the German Laws, by the Name of *Morgengabe* * (or *Morning's Gift*) (6). As Chris-

§ XLI. (1) *The same Custom was formerly in Practice with the Persians, Phrygians and Thracians, nay even with the ancient Greeks. Add. GUNDLING de Emptione Uxorum apud Germ.*

(2) *In the L. Salica we find but one Token of this Custom, Tit. 47, which treats of the second Marriages of Widows. Et tunc ille, qui viduam accipere vult, cum tribus testibus, qui adprobare debent, TRES SOLIDOS, æque penfantes, & DENARIUM habere debet. Et hoc facto, si eis convenit, viduam accipiat. But in the Burgundian Laws, it is more explicit. See the iii. Annot. n. 5.*

(3) *We find a memorable Passage of the Marriages of the Germans, in Tacitus, cap. 18. Quanquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. Interfunt parentes & propinqui, ac munera probant: munera non ad delicias muliebres quæsitæ, nec quibus nova nupta comatur; sed boves & frenatum equum, & scutum cum framea, gladioque. In hæc munera uxor accipitur. Atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro offert. Hoc maximum vinculum, hæc arcana sacra, hos conjugales Deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes, extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur, venire*

se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in prælio passuram, ausuramque. Hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denunciant. Sic vivendum, sic pereundum: Acipere se, quæ liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quæ nurus accipiant, rursusque ad nepotes referant. It is evident, that he mentions this Instance of the German Customs, in Order, as is usual with him, to compare it with those of the Romans. At the Time I am now writing of, it is necessary to consult the German Laws, to understand those of the Romans.

(4) *FREDEGARIUS, cap. 18. where he describes the Espousals of Clotildis: Legati offerentes solidum & denarium, ut mos est Francorum, eam partibus Clodovei sponfant. Conf. BIGNONIUM in not. ad formulas Marculfi, p. 219. & 364.*

(5) *This Dotalitium is, indeed, wholly different from the Bride's Fortune or Portion; and yet Writers sometimes call it Dos. In this Sense, Gregory uses that Word, Lib. 6. cap. 18, where he mentions the Ambassadors, which King Chilperic sent into Spain, to take a View of what was design'd for his Daughter's Jointure: Igitur legati Chilperici Regis, qui ad CONSPICIENDAM DOTEM in Hispanias fuerant missi regressi sunt. So, in another Passage, n. 6.*

* *A peculiar Kind of matrimonial Articles are therefore call'd Matrimonium ad Morganaticam*

(6) *GREG. 9. 20. De civitatibus vero — quas Galesuindam, tam in DOTE, quam in MORGANEGIBA, hoc est, matutinali dono, in Franciam venientem certum est acquisivisse.*

tianity caused, in general, a great Alteration in their Customs, so it reduced the Ceremony of their Marriages into better Form; and, in particular, required the Priest's Blessing to be added to it. It is generally believed, that, among the ancient *Germans*, Husbands had no great Fortunes with their Wives. Of ancient *Germania*, as describ'd by *Tacitus*, this is very probable: But Time made also an Alteration in this. According to some Laws, Daughters had only their Mother's Jewels, Ornaments and Attire (7). In others they were admitted as Co-heirs (8), except in the *Terra Salica*, and *Burgundica*. We likewise find Instances in *Gregorius Turonensis*, where Brides have been thought more agreeable on Account of their Portions. What *Tacitus* says, of the *Germans* being unacquainted with last Wills and Testaments, must not be understood of the *Franks* after they were possess'd of *Gaul*. The same *Gregory* makes frequent Mention of their Testaments, and Legacies, for pious Uses; and even the Laws give Sanction to this Privilege. The more a Man possesses, the greater Satisfaction it must naturally be to him, that he has a Power to dispose of it, at his last Moments, according to his own Will and Pleasure.

Of the Language of the Franks, &c.

§ XLII. IT is no Wonder, that the *Franks* were so long, before they chang'd their Customs, in *Gaul*, since they preserv'd their Language likewise. In the Year 813, at the Council of *Tours*, it was decreed, that the Bishops should preach either in the *German* or vulgar *Roman* Tongue (1): For there were, at that Time, two Dialects of the *Roman* Tongue in Use in *Gaul*. In Divine Service, in publick Deeds, and in the small Remains of Learning, a Sort of *Latin* was in Use, which favour'd very much of the Declension of the Times: But the Vulgar spoke it yet worse, and their Dialect was called *Lingua Rustica* (2). The Kings, as well as the whole Nation, not only retain'd the *German* Tongue (3); but likewise understood and spoke that which was call'd the *Roman*. At least so it is said in Praise of some of them; as well as of those Persons of Distinction (4), who qualified themselves for the Service of both

(7) See the Passage taken from the Laws of the Burgundians and Saxons in the iii Annotation, n. 3.

(8) Vid. L. Sal. Tit. 42. Where we find the following remarkable Passage. De Terra vero Salica in mulierem nulla portio hereditatis transit, sed hoc virilis sexus acquirit, hoc est, filii in ipsa hereditate succedunt. Sed ubi inter nepotes aut pronepotes, post longum tempus, de alode terræ contentio suscitatur, non per stirpes, sed per capita dividantur.

§ XLII. (1) CONCIL. TURON. III. de An. 813. cap. 17. Ut Episcopi habeant homilias rustica Romana lingua, aut Theotisca.

(2) MABIL. R. Dipl. Lib. 2. cap. 1.

(3) CONT. FREDEGAR. cap. 103. Pippinut duxit aliam uxorem, nobilem & elegantem, nomine Alpheidam, ex qua genuit filium; vocavitque nomen ejus LINGUA PROPRIA Carlum.

(4) VENANTIUS FORTURATUS says this in Praise of King Charibert. xiv. l. n. 2.

Nations (5). But, by Degrees, the *Franks*, in *Neustria*, began to accustom themselves to the Dialect of the ancient Provincials, and these, on the other Side, borrowed a great deal of the Dialect of the *Franks*, so that, out of both, gradually arose the modern *French* Tongue. The Inhabitants of *Austrasia*, on the contrary, remain'd by their Mother Tongue. This Distinction is most discoverable in the Reigns of the Successors of *Charlemain*, and the Difference grew greater, after the Monarchy itself came to be divided.

XLIII. THE *Franks* retain'd a great deal of the ancient *German* Dress, Their Habit, as describ'd by *Tacitus* (1), particularly their streight Garments, and the Custom of wearing their Hair long (2), which *Sidonius Apollinaris* likewise says of the *Burgundians* (3). Ancient Writers, represent the *Franks*, in this Particular, pretty near in the same Manner, as *Tacitus* does the *Swabians* (4). But these Passages are either only to be understood of Persons

(5) GERARD. in vit. S. ADALARDI, Abbatis: Qui si vulgari, i. e. Romana, lingua loqueretur, omnium aliarum putaretur infcius: si vero Teutonica, eminebat perfectius: si Latina, in nulla omnino absolutius.

§ XLIII. (1) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS describes the Stature and Cloathing of the *Franks*, Lib. 4. ep. 20. where he relates the Entry of *Sigimer*, a Prince of the *Franks*, See Vol. I. 10. 27. n. 2. Another Passage, in the Panegy. Majoriani, is likewise generally understood of the *Franks*. (ix. 21. n. 3.)

Hic quoque monstra domat, rutili quibus arce cerebri.

Ad frontem coma tracta jacet, nudataque cervix
Setarum per damna nitet: tum lumine glauco
Albet aquosa acies, ac vultibus undique rasis
Pro barba tenues perarantur pectine cristæ
Strictius assutæ vestes procera coercent
Membra virum. Patet his altato tegmine
poples:

Latus & angustam suspendit balteus alvum.

But it is not quite a Certainty, that this is to be understood of the *Franks*.

(2) As to this Circumstance in particular, we find, besides *Sidonius Apollinaris*, the following Testimonies of it. *Eumenius*, Paneg. Constantii, cap. 16. mentions the Overtbrow which *Allectus* suffer'd in Britain, (vi. 10.) and on that Occasion, takes the following Notice of the *Franks*, who were in his Army. Illa barbara, aut imitatione barbariæ

olim CULTU VESTIS, & PROLIKO CRINE RUTILANTIA corpora, &c. *CLAUDIANUS* de 6. Conf. Honor. when he describes the Transactions which *Stilico* had with the *Alemanni* and *Franks*, says of the latter; (Vol. I. viii. 2. n. 3.)

Ante Ducem nostrum flavam sparsere Sicambri
Cæsariem, pavidoque orantes murmure Franci
Procubuerunt solo.

Add. § præc. 35. n. 6.

(3) He calls them crinigeras catervas. x. 22. n. 8.

(4) *TACITUS* says of the *Suevi*, cap. 38. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem, nodoque substringere. Sic *Suevi* a ceteris *Germanis*, sic *Suevorum* ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus seu cognatione aliqua *Suevorum*, seu (quod sæpe accidit) imitatione, rarum, & intra juventæ spatium; apud *Suevos* usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac sæpe in ipso vertice religant. Principes & ornatorem habent. Ea cura formæ, sed innoxia, neque enim ut ament, amenturque, in altitudinem quandam & terrorem adituri bella compti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur. We find a Passage in *Seneca*, ep. 124, where he describes the different Customs of Nations in this Particular. Quid capillum ingenti diligentia comis? cum illum vel effuderis modo *Parthorum*, vel *GERMANORUM* NODO VINXERIS, vel ut *Scythæ* solent, sparseris: in quolibet equo densior jastabitur juba, horrebit in leonem cervice formosior. Other Passages of the common Customs of the *Germans*, see in the ix. Annot. 8. 2.

of

of the first Distinction of the Nation (5), or the *Franks* changed afterwards very much in this Article : For the Histories of the *Merovingian* Line observe, that these Ornaments of the Hair were peculiar to the Royal Family only, or at least to some of the Chiefs of the Nation; but that the common People wore their Hair cut very short (6). The ancient *Franks* seem not to have regarded their Dress so much as their Arms: For the latter remain'd always in as great Esteem with them, as with their Ancestors (7). They valued them as their best Ornaments, even in Time of Peace, and at all publick Festivals. However the *Germans* did not all conform to the same Dress, as we find by what is said, on this Head, of the *Goths* (8), *Saxons* (9), and *Longobards* (10): But in succeeding Times, after *Germany* had its own Kings, they seem'd to be best pleas'd with the Habit of the *Franks* (11).

Their Diversions, Poetry and Musick, &c.

§ XLIV. THEIR Diversions were chiefly Hunting, and the Exercises which could be serviceable to them in War; which Exercises or Turnaments, were likewise in Use among the *Goths* (1). This Bent of theirs contributed to the total Neglect of the *Ludi Circenses*, which were yet in Vogue in King *Chilperic's* Reign. They were, however, Lovers

(5) *Add. L. Sal. Tit. 28.* Si puerum crinitum sine consilio aut voluntate parentum totonderit. *Where puer crinitus signifies the same as ingenuus.* LEG. BURG Tit. 6. 4. it is said: Quicumque ingenuo, aut servo fugienti CAPILLUM FECERIT, quinque solidos perdat: si sciens CAPILLUM RECERIT, fugitivi pretium cogatur exsolvere. *So we find Instances, that the Locks of other Persons of Distinction have been cut off. Of the Maire de Palais, Ebroin, see xv. 6. n. 4.*

(6) AGATH. I. 1. Subditi orbiculatim tondentur, neque prolixiorem comam alere facile permittitur.

(7) See the Words of Tacitus, Vol. i. 2. 37. n. 15.

(8) Of the Habit of the *Goths*, see the ix. Annot. 8. 2.

(9) Of the *Saxons*, we find it said, in SID. AP. 10. 28. — Crinibus ad cutem recisis
Decrescit caput, additurque vultus.

(10) The Habit of the *Longobards* is described by PAULUS, Lib. 4. cap. 23. In qua pictura manifeste ostenditur, quomodo Longobardi eo tempore comam capitis tondebant, vel qualis illis

vestitus qualisve habitus erat. Siquidem cervicem usque ad occipitium radentes nudabant, capillos a facie usque ad os dimissos habentes, quos in utramque partem in frontis discrimine dividebant. Vestimenta vero eis erant laxa, & maxime lineae, qualia Anglo-Saxones habere solent, ornata infitis latioribus, vario colore contextis. Calcei vero eis erant usque ad summum pollicem pene aperti, & alternatim laqueis corrigiarum retenti. Postea vero coeperunt hostes uti, super quas equitantes tubrugos birreos mittebant. Sed hoc de Romanorum consuetudine traxerunt.

(11) Thence Vitichind says, Lib. 2. when he describes the Coronation of Otto, M. at Aix la Chapelle. He was dress'd, tunica stricta, more Francorum.

§ XLIV. (1) They are particularly extoll'd for their Activity. Sidonius says, p. 304.
Excussisse citas vastum per inane bipennes
Et plagæ præscisse locum, clypeosque rotare
Ludus, & intortas præcedere saltibus hastas
Inque hostem venisse prius.

EGINHARD says of the Diversions of Charlemaign. Assidue exercebatur equitando ac venando, quod illi gentiliū erat, quia vix ulla in terris natio invenitur, quæ in hac arte Francos possit æquare.

of

of Poetry and Musick. Rhime was the principal Requisite of their Verses, and not, as with the *Romans* and the *Greeks*, a Tone proceeding from Measure and a Limitation of Words. However the *German* Poetry did never depend alone on the Sound of the last Syllable; we find a Sort of Measure observ'd in their most ancient Songs. Musick is, as it were, the Sister of Poetry; but I believe the Songs of the *Burgundians*, which *Sidonius Apollinaris* mentions, and those which the *Anglo-Saxons* tuned to their Citterns (2), founded as harsh, as the *Scythian* Lines, as that Author only names them (3), seem'd strange to the *Romans*. However *J. Vossius* does Injustice to the *German* Language, when he, to this Day, pretends even to exclude it from almost all Pretences to Musick and Poetry (4). The *Germans* had, besides, a Kind of String-Musick, peculiar to themselves; the Invention of which some ancient Authors attribute to the *Scyths* (5), others to the *Celtæ* (6). *Sidonius Apollinaris* mentions the same among the *Burgundians*; and *Venantius Fortunatus* compares the *German* Harp to the *Roman* Lyre (7). In *Pipin's* Reign, the *Franks* got acquainted with the Organ, the Emperor *Constantine* having sent that Prince one among other Presents (8). But we must not compare this to the Musick of the *Greeks*: They had a better natural Capacity for Musick, and made it one Part of their Philosophy (9): And the Stories, that *Apollo* built the Walls of *Troy*, and *Amphion* those of *Thebes*, with the Sound of their Lyres, are only fit to take Place in the *Grecian* Histories. However, the Musick of the *Germans* need not be ashamed of its Original, if it be true what *Isaac Vossius* says, that the Invention of most of the musical Instruments, which are now in Use, is owing more

(2) *BEDA* relates, 4. 24. of the *Anglo-Saxons*, that they play'd on the Cittern at Feasts, and sung to it. Unde nonnunquam in convivio, cum esset lætitiæ causa, ut omnes per ordinem cantare deberent, ille, ubi adpropinquare sibi cytharam cernebat, surgebat a media cœna.

(3) *SID. APOLL.* in *Panegy. Majoriani*, n. 218.

— Fors ripæ colle propinquo

Barbaricus resonabat hymen, SCYTHISQUE
CHOREIS

Nubebat flavo similis nova nupta marito.

See Vol. I. 9. 21. n. 3.

(4) *IS. VOSSIIUS* de *Poëmaturum cantu*, pag. 56.

(5) *POLLUX*, *Lib. 4. c. 9. n. 60.* Sed quinquechordium organum a *Scythis* repertum est, loris vero bovillis compactum erat: & plectra carprum erant labia.

(6) *DIOD. SIC. Bibl. Hist. Lib. 5. pag. 308.*

Sunt etiam apud hos (*Gallo*s) carminum Melicorum poetæ, quos Bardas nominant. Hi ad instrumenta lyris non dissimilia, aliorum laudes, aliorum vituperationes decantant.

(7) See below, n. 10. *LEX VERINORUM*, Tit. 5. 20: Qui harpatorem, qui cum circulo harpare potest, in manu percusserit, componat illum quarta parte majori compositione, quam alteri ejusdem conditionis homini.

(8) *ANN. LAURESH.* ad An. 757: Add. *MABILLON.* in *Ann. Benedict.* *ECKH. T. 1. p. 564.*

(9) *PLUT.* de *mus.*

to foreign Nations, than to the *Greeks* or *Romans* (10). I leave this Enquiry indeed to others *: But for Drums and Kettle-Drums, in particular, I have made a Remark of them in another Place (11).

(10) Voss. *l. c. p.* 107. Si originem instrumentorum, quæ hodie in usu sunt, inquiremus, pleraque ea a barbaris ad nos pervenisse invenimus. De organo, quod foliis animatur, satis diximus. Harpam vulgarem, & ipsam quoque barbarorum esse inventum, satis testatur ille Fortunati versiculus :

Romanusque lyra plaudat Tibi, barbarus harpa.
Nec dubito quin illud ipsum sit instrumentum, quo Bardî, Gallorum olim sacerdotes, uterentur, velut quod lyræ non abfimile fuisse scribat Diodorus Siculus. Testudinem, Barbiton five Ti-orbam, Panduram, Citharam, cæteraque instrumenta vulgaria, licet vocabula habeant antiqua,

barbara tamen esse potius, quam Græca vel Romana, vel illud satis declarat, quod pleraque cervicem distinctam habeant tactibus, ut vocant, nervis nempe transversis, quibus ceu gradibus ab uno tono ad alium fiat ascensus, quale nihil in antiquis comparet instrumentis. Commoda & expedita admodum barbaris visa est hæc ratio. Brevi enim illud adsequebantur, ut tonos a tonis quam exactissime distinguerent.

* *Of this see the* Reflexions sur la musique des anciens, p. 51. seq.

(11) *See the* Annot. pag. ult.

The End of the Second Volume.

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* These Annotations are not placed exactly in the same Order, as they are referr'd to in the History; But, with the Help of this Summary of the Contents, they may easily be turn'd to.

ANNOT.

Z z

XV. Of

- XVI. *State of the Publick Spectacles, in the Time of Theoderic, especially of the Ludi Circenses, and the Factiones Circi.*
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I. ANNOTATION.

Of the BURGUNDIANS, and the Establishment of their Kingdom in GAUL.

1. **T**HE *Burgundi* or *Burgundiones*, a German Nation, are supposed by *Pliny*, to be of *Vandal* Extraction, as well as the *Varini* and *Guttones* (I. 2. 4.) This their Original is confirm'd by the Testimony of those Writers, who afterwards had a nearer Knowledge of them, their Language and Laws. I have already mention'd, in its proper Place (VII. 8. n. 2.) the Relation of *Orosius*, that *Drusus* and *Tiberius* entrusted them with the *Burg-Festen* (or Fortresses) on the Confines of the *Roman* Dominions, in *Germany*, and that they borrowed their Name from thence. They were afterwards frequently engaged in Wars with the *Romans*, as well as with other *German* Nations.

2. I HAVE already taken Notice (V. 33.) of the signal Overthrow which they suffered from *Fastida*, King of the *Gepidæ*.

3. *ZOSIMUS* mentions a memorable Battle, which *Probus* fought with the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*. (V. 54. 1.)

4. In the Reigns of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, they, together with the *Alemanni*, invaded *Gaul*; and the *Chaibones* and *Heruli* attempted to do the same from the North. (See the Words of *Mammertinus*, (VI. 1.)

5. SOON after, they had several Skirmishes with the *Goths* and *Alemanni*. (VI. 6.)

6. *VALENTINIAN*, I, made a League with the Princes of the *Burgundians*, to take the Field against the *Allemanni*, whom he intended to fall upon, on the other Side: And they advanced as far as the *Rhine*. *Amm. Marcell.* (VII. 8. 2.)

7. WHEN, in the Reign of *Honorius*, several *German* Nations broke into the *Roman* Provinces, an Army of *Burgundians*, under the Command of their King, *Guntbicus*, likewise pass'd the *Rhine*. (VIII. 26.)

8. SOON afterwards, *Jovinus* assum'd the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*, and *Guntharius*, together with some other *German Nations*, espoused his Cause. *Olympiodor.* (VIII. 34. 3.)

9. *JOVINUS* was murdered, *A.* 413. But the Emperor came to an Accommodation with the *Burgundians*; that he might pursue the Wars with the *Wist-Goths*, with more Vigour: He evacuated a Tract of Land for their Use, probably in *Germania prima*; (*Prosp.* and *Casiodor.* VIII. 38. 1.) which is to be look'd upon as the Rise of the *Burgundian Kingdom in Gaul.*

10. THEY embraced the *Catholick Religion* early; and, according to the Relation of *Orosius*, as soon as they entered *Gaul*; but, as *Socrates* says, sooner. (*IB.* n. 2. 3.) But we find afterwards, that some of their Kings, particularly *Gundobald*, were Adherents to *Arianism.*

11. BUT it was not the whole Body of the *Burgundian Nation*, that went to *Gaul.* Those who remain'd behind probably intermix'd with the *Goths*, and incurr'd their Fate; as we find there were *Burgundians* in *Attila's Army.* (IX. 25. 3.) *Paulus Diaconus*, in his Description of the Emigration of the *Longobards*, L. 13. mentions, among other Things, that they pass'd thro' the *Burgundiab.* The Name of this Country is, however, lost, as is that of the *Burgundians* who remain'd behind in *Germany.*

12. I SHALL mention the Revolutions of the *Burgundian Kingdom*, according to the *Series* of their Kings; on which Occasion several other Matters will be added. And as, in many Circumstances, we are not arriv'd to a sufficient Certainty; it may be of Service to take Notice of what may be but conjectured.

II. ANNOTATION.

A Series of the Ancient Kings of BURGUNDY.

I.

GIBICA
|
GODOMARUS
|
GISLARUS.

OF these three Kings, we find an Account, in one of King Gundobald's Laws, leg. 3. *de libert. serv: Si quos apud Regiæ memoriæ auctores nostros, id est, GIBICAM, GODOMARUM, GISLAHARIUM, GUNDAHARIUM, patrem quoque nostrum & patruos, liberos fuisse constiterit, in eadem libertate permaneant: quicunque sub iisdem fuerint obnoxii servituti, in nostro dominio perseverent.*

II.

GUNDICARIUS.

1. OF this King, we have the first authentick Account; because he establish'd the Kingdom of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*. He broke into *Belgica*, *A.* 435, or 436, and several other Nations were his Adherents. *Ætius* vanquish'd him, in a bloody Battle; but came to a new Agreement with him: *Idat. Prosp. Sidon.* (IX. 11. n. 1. 2.) And then it probably was that *Savoy* was evacuated to him. In the *Chronicon PROSPERI*, publish'd by *PITHOEUS*, we find, ad an. *Theod. XX.* (421.) *Sabaudia Burgundionum reliquiis datur, cum indigenis dividenda.* But there is undoubtedly a Mistake in the Year.

2. *GUNTHICARIUS* suffer'd a great Overthrow from the *Huns*, which was probably, *A.* 450, when *Attila* invaded *Gaul*. (IX. 27. n. 2.) And perhaps what is mention'd, *Tit. 17*, in the *Burgundian Laws*,

Laws, of the *Pugna Mauriacensi*, is to be understood of this. *Prosper's Chron.* carries the Matter too far, when it says: *Illum Hunni cum populo suo ac stirpe deleverunt.* (IX. 11. n. 1.)

III.

GUNDEUCHUS† and CHILPERIC.

† alias Gundiacus, s. Gundiucus.

1. *GREGORY* says, *Gundeucus*, was of the Family of *Atharic*, the famous King of the *Wisi-Goths*, L. II. c. 28. *Fuit autem & Gundechus, Rex Burgundiorum, ex genere Atharici regis persecutoris, de quo supra memoravimus.* He makes mention of *Atharic*, Lib. II. c. 4. Of this Affinity, see below, n. 3.

2. WHEN *Avitus* assum'd the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*, as well the *Burgundians* as the *Wisi-Goths* espoused his Party; and when *Theoderic*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, march'd, to the Assistance of *Avitus*, against the *Suevi*, to *Spain*, both the Kings of the *Burgundians* accompanied him. *JORNAND.* c. 48. (ad an. 456.) *His auditis agre tulit Theodericus, compacatusque in cæteris gentibus arma movit in Suevos, Burgundionum quoque GUNDIACUM & HILPERICUM Reges auxiliares habens, sibi que devotos.* (X. 12.) On this Occasion, they over-run the *Provincia Viennensis, Lugdunensis, and Maxima Sequanorum*: And hence we find, in *Sidonius*, the Name of *Germania Lugdunensis*. Of these, *Majorianus* was oblig'd to leave them in Possession, being resolv'd to employ all his Force against the *Vandals* in *Africa*. (X. 15. n. 4.)

3. *GUNDEUCUS* was *Magister Militum* (X. 22. n. 5.) and married the Sister of *Ricimer*, the *Patricius*, who had so much Influence in *Rome*, and throughout all *Italy*: Which Circumstance we learn from the *Historica Miscella*. Lib. XV. *Mortuo Ricimero, Olybrius Imperator, Gundibarium, (l. Gundibatam) ejus nepotem, Patricium effecit.* This is *Gundibald*, the Son of *Gundeucus*. *Ricimer* himself was born of a Daughter of *Wallia*, King of the *Wisi-Goths* (X. 19. n. 2.) If therefore *Wallia* was related to the abovemention'd *Atharic*, we have an Illustration of *Gregory's* Words: *Gundeucum fuisse de genere Atharici.*

4. *SIDONIUS* (X. 22. 4) makes mention of *Chilperic*, who seems to have taken his Residence at *Lyons*, and, at the same Time, extols his Consort: *Sane, quod principaliter medetur afflictis, temperat Lucumonem nostrum Tanaquil sua:* and farther: *neque quicquam, Deo propitiante, nocitura, si modo quandiu præsens potestas LUGDUNENSEM GERMANIAM regit, nostrum suumque Germanicum præsens Agrippina moderetur.* Some therefore call this Queen, *Agrippina*: Tho' *Sidonius* only

only gives her this Name, by Way of Comparifon, as he before calls her *Tanaquil*: It is, however, but a Conjecture, that thefe Paſſages are to be underſtood of this ſame *Chilperic*.

IV.

GUNDOBALD, GODEGISILUS, CHILPERIC,
GODEMAR.

1. FOUR Sons of *Gundeucus*. *Gregory* names them in the ſame Order I have here placed them. *Chilperic* and *Godemar* were the firſt who made Way for the other two; but the Circumſtances with which *Gregory* relates this, are not ſo authentick as not to leave us ſome Room for Doubt. (IX. 9.) The ſame *Gregory* mentions a King *Chilperic*, who kept his Court at *Geneva*: de vit. Part. I. in vit. S. Romani & Lupicini: *Lupicinus autem jam ſenex acceſſit ad CHILPERICUM Regem, qui tunc Burgundiae præerat. Audierat enim, hunc habitare apud urbem JANUVAM*; which is taken for this *Chilperic*, who, beſides, is the moſt noted, on Account of his Daughter, *Clotildis*, who was *Clovis's* Queen, from whom all the Kings of the *Franks* deſcended. The Ambition of *Godegiſelus* paved the Way to his Ruin; (XI. 10.) ſo that the whole Kingdom was united under *Gundobald*.

2. *A. 472*, the Emperor *Olybrius* nominated *Gundobald*, *Patricius* and *Magiſter Militum* (X. 22.) and he contributed very much to the Advancement of *Glycerius*, to the Imperial Throne, *A. 473*. (X. 23. 2.) His Reign I have treated of in its proper Place. (XI. 10 and 11.)

3. Two Circumſtances are proper to be here examin'd into, his Death, and his Queen. *MARIUS in Chron. PETRO COS. (A. 516.) Hoc Cos. Gundebaldus obiit, & levatus eſt filius ejus Sigismundus. PAGIUS ad An. 519. n. 19. indeed imagines Gundobald died A. 517; becauſe, in the Burgundian Laws, the 52d. Tit. de mulieribus deſponſatis, is dated IV. Kal. Aprilis, Agapito Cos. But I ſhall obſerve below, that the Collection of the Burgundian Laws, which we have, was made in the Reign of *Sigismund*, and that, therefore, we have no occaſion to depart from *Marius's* Computation.*

4. *GREGORY* extols his Queen, without naming her, *de Gloria Martyrum, Lib. II. c. 7.* where he takes Notice, that ſome Burgundian Soldiers made a Preſent to King *Gundobald*, of a Silver Veſſel, which they had ſtolen out of the Church of *St. Julian*, at *Brioude*, in *Auvergne*: But the Queen prevail'd upon him to ſend it back to, the Place it was taken from. *Quatuor ex his per fugam laſſi patenam, & urceum qui anax dicitur, in patriam deſerunt, & drviſam in tantis, ut erant, par-*
tibus

tibus patinam, urceum, REGI GUNDOBALDO ob gratiam exhibent conquirendam. Reliquum vero argentum Reginae sagacitas reperit, cui, additis multis muneribus, loco illi sancto restituit, fideliter insinuans Regi non oportere eum, ut gratiam martyris sancti propter argenti pravitatem amitteret. ANDR. DU CHESNE. T. I. p. 514. has the following Epitaph, of a Queen whose Name was Caratene, and who was found interr'd in the Church of St. Michael's, in Lyons, which she had founded:

Sceptrorum columen, terræ decus, & jubar orbis
 Hoc artius tumulo vult CARETENE tegi.
 Quam famulam, Tu Christe, Tuam, rerumque potentem,
 De mundi regnis ad Tua Regna vocas.
 Thesaurum ditem felici fine seculam,
 Fotis pauperibus, quem dedit illa Deo.
 Jamdudum castum castigans ASPERA corpus
 DELITUIT VESTIS MURICE SUB RUTILO.
 Occuluit læto jejunia sobria vultu.
 Secreteque dedit Regia membra cruci.
 Principis excelsi CURAS PARTITA MARITI,
 Adjuncto rexit culmina consilio.
 Præclaram sobolem, dulcesque gavisæ nepotes
 Ad veram doctos sollicitare fidem.
 Dotibus his pollens sublimi mente SUBIRE
 NON SPREVIT SACRUM POST DIADEMA JUGUM.
 Cedat odoriferis quondam dominata Sabæis.
 Expetiit mirum quæ Salomonis opus.
 CONDIDIT HÆC TEMPLUM PRÆSENS, quod personat orbe,
 Angelicisque dedit limina celsa choris.
 Laxaturæ reos, Regi, quas sæpe ferebat,
 Has offerre preces nunc tibi, Christe, potest.
 Quam cum POST DECIMUM RAPUIT MORS INVIDA
 LUSTRUM,
 Accepit melior tum sine fine dies.
 Jamquo bis OCTONA Septembrem luce movebat
 Nomen MESSALÆ CONSULIS † annus agens.

† 506.

Some learned Men, as *Valesius*, and *F. Pagius*, ad An. 509. n. 20. supposes her to have been Gundobald's Queen: But it is a mere Conjecture. *Du Chesne* himself believes her to have been Gundeucus's Queen.

V. SIGIS-

V.

SIGISMUND. *

I HAVE already given his History, in its proper Place (XI. 13. & seq.) I shall here only give farther Proofs of some Circumstances.

Of his Conversion, and of the Royal Title he bore in his Father's Life-time.

1. THAT he abjur'd *Arianism* in his Father's Life-time, is plain by several Letters, from *Avitus*: Especially by the 67th, in which he invites *Sigismund* to celebrate the Festival of *Easter* with him at *Vienne*; and by the 27th, which is written in *Sigismund's* Name, to Pope *Symmachus*. Add. ep. 29. &c.

2. HE bore the Title of King, even in his Father's Life-time, as we may conclude from *Avitus*, ep. 27. and others, and by ep. 29. 30. & 70. we may reasonably conjecture, that his Father assign'd him *Geneva*, for his Residence, with which *Fredegarius* agrees, in *Epit.* 34.

How the Burgundian Kings, and particularly Sigismund behaved with Regard to the Roman Empire.

3. *AVITUS* calls him, in the Superscription of several Letters, particularly, ep. 42. & 84. *Comes*; and, in another Letter, *Patricius*. ep. 7. ad Papam Constantinopolitanum, *Dum domnus meus, filius vester, PATRICIUS SIGISMUNDUS, gloriosissimum Principem officio legationis expetiit, nobis quoque deferendi ad vos famulatus aditum dupliciter sancta opportunitate prospexit.* This Letter was written in the 4th Year of *Sigismund's* Reign.

4. BY the Letters, which *Avitus* wrote, in *Sigismund's* Name, to the Emperour *Anastasius*, one would conclude, that the *Burgundian* Kings were wholly under the Command of the *Roman* Emperors. Ep. 83. we find these Words: *Quamquam istud famula vestra prosapia mea ex devotione persolverit, me tamen gratiae debitorem non magis parentalia debita, quam beneficia mihi impensa fecerunt. Vester quidem est populus meus, sed me plus servire vobis quam illi praesse delectat. Traxit istud a proavis generis mei apud vos decessoresque vestros semper animo Romana devotio, ut illa nobis magis claritas putaretur, quam vestra per*

* For *Sigismund's* History, see also Pr. *Sigismund de S. Maurice* Histoire de S. *Sigismund* Martyr. Syon 1664. 4.

militiæ titulos porrigeret celsitudo: cunctisque auctoribus meis semper magis ambitum est, quod a Principibus sumerent, quam quod a Patribus attulissent. Cumque gentem nostram videamur regere, NON ALITER NOS, QUAM MILITES VESTROS CREDIMUS ORDINARI. Impartit nos gaudiorum munere vestra prosperitas: quicquid illic pro salute omnium curatis, & nostrum est. Per nos administratis remotarum spatia regionum, patria nostra vester orbis est. And ep. 84. Post obitum devotissimi, fidelissimique vobis Patris mei, Proceris vestri, cui ad felicissimos integra prosperitate successus, id quoque contigit divino favore votivum, ut lactam florentemque rempublicam, vobis orbem regentibus, sciret, vosque dominos nationum placido receptus fine dereliqueret: ad hæc intimanda, vobisque commendanda, quin etiam militiæ meæ rudimenta, quæ genitore quidem meo superstite nutristis, sed magis magisque post eum cumulo sacræ dignationis augebitis, sicut debebam, vel optare par fuerat, unum de consiliariis meis, qui, quantum ad ignorantiam Gallicanam, ceteros præire litteris æstimatur, venerandi comitatus vestri auribus offerebam, specialius securitate concepta, quod Rector Italiæ de pace vestra publice plauderet, & rumore disperso redditam sibi Orientis gratiam coloraret, In another Place (ep. 69.) Avitus writes, in Sigismund's Name, to the same Emperor. Nam licet mundum latere nequeat vestra prosperitas, & orbem suum radiis perspicuæ claritatis illustret: dulce tamen est, si hi, quos militiæ fascibus, & peculiaris gratiæ pietate sustollitis, quos in extremis terrarum partibus aulae pollentis contubernio, & venerandi Romani nominis participatione ditatis, specialiter gaudia vestræ perennitatis agnoscant, quæ generaliter cunctis fama concelebrat. Ornat quippe imperii vestri amplitudinem longinquitas subjeutorum, & diffusionem reipublicæ vestræ asserit, quod remotius possidemur. But in Reality, these are only Compliments, which cost Avitus, who himself was not a little proud of the Title of Senator Romanus †, little or nothing. The Correspondence between the Emperor, and the King of Burgundy was so difficult, that Sigismund, in that very 84th Letter, complains, he had not been able to forward a Letter to the Emperor, because of Theoderic, King of Ostro-Goths. And how little Power the Emperor had over the Kings of Burgundy, we may see (ep. 42.) by the Intercession Anastasius makes Use of, to obtain of Gundobald the Freedom of a certain young Person.

* He says ep. 31. ad Faustum & Symmachum Senatores urbis: Quibus cognitis, quasi Senator ipse Romanus, quasi Christianus Episcopus confessor.

Of the Foundation of the Monastery of St. Maurice, and of the Theban Legion; and likewise of his Lance and Ring, &c.

As for the Monastery of St. Maurice, the Foundation of which is generally ascrib'd to Sigismund, Marius Aventicensis supposes it to have been A. 515. Florentino and Anthemio Cos. But F. Mabillon, *Ann. Ord. Bened. T. I. p. 568.* pretends the Foundation to have been earlier, and that Sigismund only repaired and adorn'd it. The History of St. Maurice, and the Theban-Legion itself, is likewise mention'd (XI. 31.) Eucherius's Life of St. Maurice is publish'd by Chifflet; and by F. Ruynart, in *Act. Martyr. Sinceris*, p. 273. The History itself, at so great a Distance of Time, and for Want of ancient Accounts, is very obscure. Cave doubts of the Truth of it, and Jo. Dubordieu publish'd a Treaty at Amsterdam, A. 1705, on purpose to prove it a Fable. Baldesano, in his *Historia di S. Mauritio*, shews more of the Orator than the Historian. The Devotion of former Times, which was not so very Critical, held the Relicks of St. Maurice in very high Esteem. In Germany, his Lance is preserved among the *Regalia* of the Empire. The latter Kings of Burgundy bore it as a Token of the Royal Dignity, and Rudolph, the last, deliver'd it to the Emperor Conradus Salicus, when he gave up the Kingdom to him, in his Life-time. * The Dukes of Savoy have his Ring; of which see Baldesano, l. c. p. 201.

VI.

GODEMARUS.

SUCCEEDED his Brother, A. 524. (XI. 33. 34.) and was vanquish'd by the Franks. A. 534. (XII. 2.)

* HUGO FLAVINIACENSIS in Chron. Virdun. cap. 29. Rodulfus Rex, absque liberis existens, Conrado Imperatori Burgundiæ regnum dereliquit. dans ei lanceam S. Mauricii, quod erat insigne regni Burgundiæ.

Genealogical Table of the Kings of BURGUNDY.

GIBICA			
GUNDAMARIUS			
GISLARIUS, <i>See, n. I.</i>			
GUNDICARIUS, <i>See n. II.</i>			
GUNDIACUS and CHILPERICUS, <i>See n. III.</i>			

GUNDOBALDUS, GODEGISILUS, CHILPERICUS, GODEMARUS,			
Ux. Caritene. n. IV. 4. <i>See n. IV.</i>			

SIGISMUNDUS, GODEMARUS, <i>A Daugh-</i> SEDELEUBA, CLOTILDIS,			
<i>Qu. I.) Ostrogo-</i> <i>the last King</i> <i>ter. (XI.</i> <i>retired into a</i> <i>Clovis's</i>			
<i>tha, Daughter of</i> <i>of Burgundy.</i> <i>II. n.</i> <i>Convent.</i> <i>Queen.</i>			
<i>Theoderic, King</i> <i>13.)</i>			
<i>of Italy. 2.) N.N.</i>			

I	I.	2.	2:
SIGERICUS,	SVAVIGOTHA,	GISCLADUS and GUNDEBALDUS,	
occ. An.	<i>the Qu. of Theo-</i>	<i>were murder'd at the same Time</i>	
522.	<i>deric, King of</i>	<i>with their Father and Mother.</i>	
	<i>Austrasia.</i>		

III ANNO-

III. ANNOTATION.

The Constitution of the Kingdom of the BURGUNDIANS: Of their Laws, Manners, &c.

I.

State of the Kingdom of Burgundy in Gaul.

WE know little more of the *Burgundians*, while they remain'd in *Germania*, than what is observ'd above: But after they got a Footing in *Gaul*, the Kingdom of *Burgundy* became very famous; especially under *Gundebald*; and their Kings are no longer to be compared with their former Dukes, from whom they were very apt to withdraw their Allegiance. In the Beginning, the Emperour may, in some Measure, have retain'd a Supremacy, in the Provinces granted them, at least with Regard to the *Roman* Inhabitants. The very Titles of *Patricius* and *Magister Militum*, which their Kings accepted of, seem to imply a Subordination: But this ceas'd upon the Downfall of the Empire in the *West*: Tho' we find some Marks of it afterwards. They continued to date according to the Years of the *Consuls* (1): Some Persons of the highest Rank in the *Burgundian* Provinces yet bore the Name of *Senators*: *Sigismund's* Letters to the Emperor *Anastasius* abound with Respect: But these are meer Compliments. The three last Kings *Gundobald*, *Sigismund* and *Godomar* rul'd over the *Burgundians*, as well as over the *Romans*, in the Conquer'd Lands, not as *Magistratus Romanorum*, but as King: And, at Length, their Publick Acts were dated according to the Years of their Kings Reigns (2). The Bishops shew'd them much greater Respect than was due to a *Patricius* or *Magister Mi-*

(1) *Pagius observet*, ad An. 509. n. 21. *that the Burgundians begun their Year with the Month of March.*

(2) v. *Proœm. LL. Burgundic.*

litum; as we may conclude from the Words of *Avitus*, in a Letter to King *Sigismund*, (ep. 40.) *De festivitate, ad quam profectus fueram, summa quidem festinatione reversus sum, sed quia jam duce Christo processeratis, latificandus, ut de Deo credimus, reditu vestro, immodice tamen attonitus reddor abscessu: quod scilicet in ipso successuræ prosperitatis regressu, advolui genibus Domini mei, permulcere osculis manus, & in sancto illo pectore sedem fidei nostræ adorare non merui.* When after this, we meet with the Title of *Patricius*, in *Burgundy*, it is not as a Dignity of the Empire; but by Grant from the King. The Administration lay chiefly on the Counts, as is particularly to be seen in the Subscription of their Laws: In which we likewise find more Traces of their Constitution: But I must first say something of those Laws.

II.

Of the Burgundian Laws.

1. WE have a Collection of the *Burgundian Laws*, publish'd by *Heroldus* and *Lindenbrogius*: but it is uncertain when they were enacted. *F. Pagius* is of Opinion it was *A. 501*. We find, however, some Constitutions in it newer, as the *52d*, *Agapito Cos.* which is dated, *517*. In the Preamble we find; *Anno secundo regni Domini nostri gloriosissimi, Gundebaldi, Regis.* I should rather agree with those Copies, in which *Sigismund* is in the Room of *Gundebald*; for the abovemention'd *52d* Constitution agrees with the *2d* Year of his Reign, which he enter'd upon, *A. 516*, after his Father's Death. In this Collection, are many Constitutions of *Gundebald*, and, among them, two. *viz. Tit. 42 and 45. Abieno Cos.* dated *501 or 502*. It is therefore most probable, that *Gundebald* first brought the *Burgundian Laws* into a Body, which, from him, was call'd *Lex Gundobalda* in *French*, *Loi Gombette*, and that *Sigismund*, at his Accession to the Throne, revis'd and publish'd them with Additions.

2. These Laws have one Thing in common with those of other *German Nations*, that they were enacted with the Advice of the whole Nation. They were indeed chiefly made for the *Burgundians*, who were distinguish'd from the ancient Inhabitants, or *Romans*, by the Name of *Barbari*; and in most Points carry with them evident Marks of the ancient Manners of the *Germans*: However, there are some Passages which regard the *Romans*, and, in Part, are even taken from the *Roman Laws*; for Instance, in *Tit. 51*, what is said of Testaments. *Addit. I. Tit. I. 7.* the *Codex Theodosianus* is expressly referr'd to: *De servitute luminis, vel aëris similiter constitutum, ut inter privatorum fabricas decem pedes, inter*

inter publicas quindecim dimittantur, SECUNDUM LEGEM THEODOSII. When a *Roman* and a *Burgundian* happen'd to be at Variance, a Judge was appointed of each Nation. In other Cases, not provided for in these Laws, the *Romans* were, in some Measure, indulg'd, in the Use of their ancient Statutes.

3. About this same Time, one *Pappianus*, whom *Jac. Cujacius*, in the Dedication of his Edition, calls *Jureconsultus non incautus*, made certain *Responsa*, which are accounted a Part of the *Jus Burgundic*. He has followed the same Order in the Titles, as are observed in the Collection, and seems to have written for the *Romans*.

III.

Partition of the Country. Sortes Burgundicæ. What Hospes and Jus hospitalitatis signify in the Burgundian Laws?

THE *Burgundians* had agreed to a Partition with the ancient Inhabitants of the *Roman Provinces*, in such Manner, that the former were allowed two Thirds of the Land, and one Third of the Slaves. These were call'd *Sortes Burgundicæ*, Tit. LIV. *Licet eodem tempore, quo populus noster mancipiorum tertiam, & duas terrarum partes accepit, ejusmodi a nobis emissa fuerit præceptio, &c.* The Land seems afterwards to have been reduced to an equal Portion. Additamento II. Tit. XI. *De Romanis vero hoc ordinavimus, ut non amplius a Burgundionibus, qui infra venerunt, requiratur, quam ad præsens necessitas fuerit, medietas terræ: Alia vero medietas cum integritate mancipiorum a Romanis teneatur.* These *Sortes Burgundicæ* were divided among the People, under the Obligation of serving in the Wars, in the same Manner as the *Terræ Salicæ*, with the *Franks*. In the Beginning it might seem as if the *Burgundians* were only quarter'd with the *Romans*. Whence they are both often nam'd *Hospites*, in the Laws. * And Tit. LV. it is said: *Quoties de agrorum finibus, qui HOSPITALITATIS JURE † a barbaris possidentur, inter duos Romanos fuerit mota contentio, &c.* In Time they got Possession of the whole. However a *Burgundian* was not easily suffered to alienate his *Sors*; but was oblig'd to leave it, with the Appurtenances

* In this Sense, a Soldier was call'd among the Romans, *Hospes*. L. 2. C. de Metat:

† The Cities in the Roman Provinces, and the Legions, which were quarter'd in them, had preserv'd, from ancient Times, a *Jus hospitii*: TACIT. H. 1. 54. *Miserat civitas Lingonum, vetere instituto, dona Legionibus, dextras, hospitii insigne: In the following Book, c. 8. he says, dextras concordie insignia.*

to his Sons. Tit. I. Lib. I. *Decrevimus, ut patri etiam, antequam dividat, de communi facultate, & de labore suo cuilibet donare liceat, ABSQUE TERRA SORTIS TITULO ACQUISITA.* On the other Hand the Daughters inherited all their Mother's Ornaments and Cloaths, exclusive of their Brothers. Tit. LI. 3. *Ornamenta & vestimenta matrimonialia ad filias, absque ulla fratris, fratrumque consortio pertinebunt,* an ancient German Custom, which we likewise find in the *Lex Angliorum & Werinorum*, Tit. VI. 6. 7. *Mater moriens filio terram, mancipia, pecuniam dimittat, filiae vero spolia colli, id est, murenas, muscas, monilia, in aures, vestes, armillas, vel quidquid ornamenti proprii videbatur habuisse. Si nec filium, nec filiam habuerit, sororem vero habuerit, sorori pecuniam & mancipia, proximo vero paterni generis terram relinquat.* This Custom is yet preserved in Saxony, where all that has belong'd to the Mother, for Use and Ornament, call'd *Geräde* (Moveables) falls to the Daughters.

IV.

Difference of Ranks among the Burgundians. What the Leudes were? Whether they had Feodal Tenures?

As to the different Ranks of People, in the Nation, we find first *Freemen*, who are distinguish'd by the Names of *Ingenui*, *Nobiles*, and *Optimates*: Next *Freedmen*, and lastly *Slaves*. But we likewise meet with another Order of Men call'd *Leudes*, who are different from the *Ingenui* and *Optimates*. Additament. 1. Tit. XIV. *Quicumque Burgundio, Optimatis, aut mediocris, sine ordinatione patris cum alicujus filia se copulaverit, jubemus, ut tripla solutione Optimatis ille, qui fuerit, patri ipsi, cujus filiam copulavit & ei ante scire non fecit, nec consilium petiit, CL. solidos cogatur exsolvere: & multa nomine solidos XXXVI. LEUDIS vero, si hoc praesumerit facere, similiter in tripla solutione, hoc est, solidos XLV. solvat: & multa nomine solidos XII.* *Leudes* seem (as the Name it self shews) to be a Species of those People, who, in following Times, were call'd *Ministeriales*. The Kings had, in particular, such *Leudes*, to whom he granted certain Estates, on Condition of Services to be performed, of which we find some Footsteps: Tit. I. 3. *Illud etiam huic legi adjungi placuit, ut, si quis de populo nostro a parentibus nostris munificentiae causa aliquid percepisse dignoscitur, id quod ei conlatum est, etiam ex nostra largitate, UT FILIIS SUI RELINQUAT, praesenti constitutione praestamus:* And farther, n. 4. *Id etiam statuentes, ut si quid etiam de nostro munere, aut Deo praestante aliter perceperint,*

perint, donationum nostrarum textus ostendant. Superest, UT POSTERITAS EORUM EA DEVOTIONE ET FIDE DESERVAT, ut augere sibi, & servare circa se parentum nostrorum munera cognoscant. In Imitation of their Kings, the Counts, and other great Men, had their *Leudes*. But these Estates were, at this Time, Hereditary.

V.

A Custom at their Marriages.

EVERY *Burgundian*, when he married, was oblig'd, according to the Custom of the ancient *Germans*, to pay the Bride's Friends a certain Sum of Mony. Tit. XXXIV. 2. *Si quis uxorem suam sine causa dimiserit, inferat ei alterum tantum, quantum pro pretio ipsius dederat.* Add. Tit. XII. 1. 3. The Mony so paid by the Bridegroom was call'd *Wittemon*, from which, in Time, came the Word *Witthumb* (dotalitium) Vid. Tit. 66, 69, 86.

VI.

Of Duels among the Burgundians.

ONE memorable Article in the *Burgundian* Laws is, that tho' Manslaughter was punishable by Death *; yet, in certain Cases, Duelling was allowed; so that the Plaintiff had the Option, either to put his Counterpart to his Oath, or to fight him. Tit. VIII. L. 2. *Quod si ei sacramentum de manu is, cui jurandum est, tollere voluerit, antequam ecclesiam ingrediatur, illi, qui sacramentum audire jussi sunt, (quos a iudicibus ternos semper ad sacramentum audiendum precipimus delegari) contestentur, se nolle sacramenta percipere: & non permittatur is, qui iuraturus erat, post hanc vocem sacramentum præstare: sed sint per nos illi, qui deliquerunt, Dei iudicio committendi:* Which is express'd more at large, Tit. XLV. *Multos in populo nostro & pervicatione causantium, & cupiditatis instinctu ita cognoscimus depravari, ut de rebus incertis sacramenta plerumque offerre non dubitent, & de cognitis jugiter perjurare: Cujus sceleris consuetudinem præsentī lege submoventes decernimus, ut, quotiens inter homines nostros causa surrexerit, & is, qui pulsatus fuerit, non*

* Tit. II. *Si quis hominem ingenuum ex populo nostro, cujuslibet nationis, aut servum Regis natione duntaxat barbarum, occidere, damnabili ausu aut temeritate, præsumserit, non aliter admissum crimen, quam sanguinis sui effusione componat.*

deberi a se quod requiritur, aut non factum, quod objicitur, sacramentorum obligatione negaverit, hac ratione finem litigio eorum oportebit imponi, ut si pars ejus, cui oblatum fuerit jusjurandum, noluerit sacramenta suscipere sed adversarium suum dixerit veritatis fiducia armis posse convinci, & pars diversa non cesserit, pugnandi licentia non negetur. Nay, the very Witnesses, if requir'd, were oblig'd to appoint one among them to fight; and, if he were worsted, the Rest were all liable to Fines. *Tit. XLV. Quod si testis partis ejus, quæ obtulerit sacramentum, in eo certamine fuerit superatus, omnes testes, qui se promiserant juraturos, trecentos solidos mulctæ nomine cogantur exsolvere, &c.* And *Tit. LXXXII. Jubeamus, ut de testibus, qui pro quacunque parte se tulerint, si ad conflictum causæ descenderint, & divino judicio falsus ibidem relator pugnans occubuerit, trecentos solidos mulctæ nomine omnes testes partis ipsius, ex qua parte testis superatus est, cogantur exsolvere.* We find likewise Footsteps of the same Custom in the Laws of the Saxons, *Alemanni*, and other German Nations. *Avitus*, Bishop of *Vienne*, representing to the King, the Absurdity of putting the Decision of Right to the Test of the strongest or most skilful Duellist; the King answer'd: By this Means, the Decision was left to God's Judgment: And even Kings themselves, and whole Nations, had no other Means to decide their Differences. See *Agobardus adv. Leges Gundob*, p. 120. *Quid iste venerandus & sanctus vir sæpe dicto Gondebaldo de supradictis certaminibus responderit, audiat, si placet, benignitas vestra. Cum de his inter utrumque sermo esset, & beatus Avitus talia reprehenderet, respondit ei Gondebaldus. Quid est, quod inter regna & gentes, & etiam inter personas sæpe singulas dirimendæ præliis causæ divino judicio committuntur, & ei maxime parti, cui justitia competit, victoria succedit? Ad quod beatus Avitus intulit dicens: Si divinum, inquam, judicium gentes & regna expeterent, illud prius formidarent, quod dicitur scribente Psalmista: DISSIPATA GENTES QUÆ BELLA VOLUNT, & illud diligerent, quod perinde dicitur. MIHI VINDICTA, EGO RETRIBUAM, dicit Dominus. An forte sine telis & gladiis causarum motus æquitas superna non judicat, cum sæpe, ut cernimus, pars aut juste tenens, aut justa deposcens, laboret in præliis, & prævaleat iniquæ partis vel superior fortitudo, vel furtiva subreptio.* This remain'd a Custom with the *Burgundians*, when subject to the Kings of the *Franks*; of which we have an Instance under *Guntram*, in *Gregory*, Lib. X. c. 10. *Agobard*, Bishop of *Lyons*, entreated the Emperor *Ludovicus Pius*, to abolish this Custom, as we see in his Treatise, *adversus legem Gundobadam*; but it was not done. This Abuse of Duelling encreas'd rather more and more among the *Franks*; and what was ordain'd

ordain'd in their Laws, as a judiciary Proceeding, was also practis'd extrajudicially, on almost every Occasion.

VII.

State of the Burgundians, under the Franks.

THE *Burgundians* preserv'd their Constitution, even under the *Franks**, only they were oblig'd to perform certain Services, and pay a Tribute to the Kings. (XII. 2.) They kept their Laws, and had a *Major-Domus* of their own. Those Kings who had *Burgundy* for their Portion, were stiled *Reges Burgundiæ*, as, in particular, the Example of *Guntram* shews. There were likewise Bodies of Troops form'd out of the *Burgundians*. To conclude, I will mention only one Distinction more, which the *Franconian* Law made between a *Frank* and a *Burgundian*. It is said, Leg. Ripuar. Tit. 36. de diversis interfectionibus; *Si quis Ripuarius advenam Francum interfecerit, ducentis solidis culpabilis judicetur. Si quis Ripuarius advenam Burgundionem interfecerit, centum sexaginta solidos culpabilis judicetur.* As the *Burgundians* thus preserv'd their own Constitution, it was the easier for them, when the *Carolingian* Line, of the *Franconian* Kings, began to decline, again to chuse their own Kings.

* The History of the Burgundians is carried on by Schopflin, in Diss. de Burgundia Cis & Transjurana, to the Extinction of the Carolingian Line.

IV. ANNOTATION.

*Of the Confines of the BURGUNDIAN Kingdom,
taken from the Subscriptions of the Bishops, at the
Council of YENNE.*

Ad XI. 31. not. 2.

HOW far the Kingdom of *Burgundy* extended in *Sigismund's* Reign, we may, among other Testimonies, conclude from the Subscriptions of the Bishops, who assisted at the Synod at *Yenne*. Of this, I shall give *F. Pagi's* Account, *ad A. 509, n. 21.* by which we may, at the same Time, see the *Roman* Division of the Provinces, and illustrate the modern Geography by the Ancient. *Quam late patuerit regnum Burgundiae, colligitur ex ejusdem concilii subscriptionibus, ubi memorantur Sedes Episcopales XXVII. Scilicet, Tarantasiensis, & Octodurensis **, in ALPIBUS GRAIIS: *Ebredunensis*, in ALPIBUS MARITIMIS, *Viennensis, Gratianopolitana, Valentina, & Genavensis*, in PROVINCIA VIENNENSI PRIMA: *Cabellionensis, Avenionensis, Vafensis, Carpenteratensis, Arausicana, Diensis, Tricastina, & Vivarensis* in PROVINCIA VIENNENSI SECUNDA: *Sistariensis, Aptensis, & Vapincensis*, in PROVINCIA NARBONENSI SECUNDA: *Lugdunensis, Matisconensis, Lingonensis, Cabilonensis*, in PROVINCIA LUGDUNENSI PRIMA. *Nivernensis*, in PROVINCIA SENONENSI, seu LUGDUNENSI QUARTA: *Vesontionensis, Aventicensis †, Vindonensis ||, & Bellicensis*, in PROVINCIA MAXIMA SEQUANORUM, seu LUGDUNENSI QUINTA. Mount *Jurat* gave Occasion to this Distinction of *Burgundia Cisjurana*, and *Transjurana*.

* *Octodurum, or Vicus Veragrorum, lies in the lower District of Valois, on the Left of the Rhone; and is now call'd Martinach, in French, Martigny. The Bishop's See is remov'd to Sitten.*

† *Aventicensis. Aventicum was a famous City of Helvetia: But the Place where it stood is now scarce to be determin'd. The most probable Conjecture is, that the present Wifflisburg, in the District of Bern, was built of the demolish'd Walls of the City of Aventicum. The Bishop's See is remov'd to Lausanne.*

|| *Vindonissa; Windisch, is now a Village on the Ruz, not far from its Conflux with the Aar, in the District of Bern. The Bishop's See was afterwards transfer'd to Constance.*

V. ANNO-

V. ANNOTATION.

Of the Kingdom of the THURINGIANS.

Ad XI. 47.

I HAVE made Mention of the Destruction of the Kingdom and Royal Family of *Thuringia* above : But I deferr'd the Proofs and Illustration of those Matters to this Place, that I might, at the same Time, trace all the other Footsteps, that are to be come at, of the Antiquity of the *Thuringians*.

I.

An Account of the Thuringians, from the Gothick History.

1. THE *Theruingi*, *Thoringi*, *Thuringi* are first mention'd in the *Gothick History* : Tho' I find no Account of them ancients, than that given by *Mammertinus*, in a Panegyrick on Emperor *Maximian*, of a War, which the *Thoringi* and *Taisali* (who were likewise a *Gothick* People) then waged against the *Gepidæ* and *Vandals*. (VI. 6. n. 3.)

2. IN the fourth Century they became more known, as a People, who properly belong'd to the *Wisi-Goths*. The mighty *Athanaric* was call'd a King of the *Theruingi*, and the People, over whom he reign'd, were sometimes nam'd *Gothi*, and sometimes *Theruingi*. His History give us, at the same Time, the most authentick Notices of the true Original of the *Thuringians*. In particular, the *Goths*, who then pass'd the *Danube*, into the *Roman* Territories, (VII. 17, 18, 19) and afterwards took up Arms, under the Conduct of their Prince, *Fritigern*, against *Valens*, were call'd *Theruingi*. We find, among the *Roman* Forces, *Teruingi* and *Taisali*,
* who

* who were probably a Part of those who were then admitted into the Roman Dominions, partly by *Gratian*, and partly by *Theodosius*. The *Thuringian* Horses were likewise in Esteem with the *Romans*, for their Strength. (V. 30. 9.)

3. HOWEVER, many of the *Wisi-Goths*, and, among them, the *Thuringians*, remain'd behind, who, after the ancient Kingdom of the *Wisi-Goths* was destroy'd, tried their Fortunes, by themselves. Probably they had a Share in the Attempts made by *Rhadagaisus* and *Attila*. This at least we find, that there were *Thuringians*, in *Attila's* Army, when he invaded *Gaul*. (IX. 25.) They afterwards, in the Time of *St. Severin*, made several Inroads into *Noricum*. (IX. 30. n. 8.) And if, with this, we give Credit to what several learned Men take for granted, that, by the Name of *Turcilingi*, the *Thuringians* were likewise meant, they had a great Share in the Revolution in *Italy*, under *Odoacer*, whom *Jornandes* calls *Rex Turcilingorum*. (X. 33. 6. and XI. 3.) From all this, we may reasonably conjecture, that, in the fifth Century, after the *Swabians*, *Burgundians* and *Vandals* had abandon'd the Countries, which we find they inhabited in the Times of *Clovis* and his Sons, they then took Possession of them.

4. THE *Thoringi*, *Heruli* and *Varni* were Confederates, and were, at the same Time, in Alliance with the *Wisi-Goths*, when they settled in *Gaul*, especially with King *Euricus*, who died, *An.* 484. (XI. 12. n. 11.)

II.

The Thuringians extend their Dominions in Germania : Of King Bafinus : Their Wars with the Franks. The Marriage of Hermanfrid and Amalberga.

1. THE Kingdom of *Thuringia* border'd, towards the *West*, on the *Franks*; and on the *Danube*, with the Dominions of *Theoderic*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*: For which Reason, we find some Account of them, in *Cassiodorus*, *Procopius*, *Gregorius*, *Turonensis*, and *Venantius Fortunatus*. *Vitekind*, a Monk of the Monastery of *Corbey*, who wrote towards the Conclusion of the tenth Century, gives us other Accounts, but they are not warranted. Some are notoriously false, and therefore render the Rest more suspected.

* In the *Notit. Dignitatum* p. 1463. (in *Thef. Ant. Rom.* T. VII.) the *Teruingi* are mention'd inter auxilia Palatina, as likewise, p. 1411. sub magistro militum præsentali, the *COMITES TAIFALI*, and sub magistro equitum præsentali, p. 1847. *TAIFALI JUNIORES*.

2. GREGORIUS *Turonensis* mentions, Lib. II, a certain *Basinus* (or *Bisinus*) King of the *Thuringians*, who must have reign'd about the Time of *Martian*. To him, *Childeric*, when he was expell'd by the *Franks*, took Refuge. *Abiens ergo in Thoringiam, apud Regem Bisinum, uxoremque ejus Basinam latuit.* When he, afterwards, got Possession of his own Country again, Queen *Basina* left her Consort, and follow'd him, and by her he had *Clovis*. Gregory's whole Relation of *Childeric* is, indeed, very suspicious; however *Basinus* is likewise mention'd, as King of the *Thuringians*, by *Venantius Fortunatus*, in *Vita S. Radegundis*.

3. WHEN the *Thuringians* extended themselves in *Germania*, it set them at Variance with the *Franks*. This gave a Handle to *Theoderic*, King of *Austrasia*, to excite his Subjects to revenge themselves on the *Thuringians* for the Wrongs their Forefathers had suffer'd by them. GREGORIUS III. 7. *Convocatis igitur Francis, dixit ad eos : Indignamini, quæso, tam meam injuriam, quam interitum parentum vestrorum, ac recolite, THORINGOS QUONDAM SUPER PARENTES NOSTROS VIOLENTER ADVENISSE, ac multa illis intulisse mala.* Before his Time, *Clovis* made War on the *Thuringians*, *An. 492. (XI. 7. n. 1.) **

4. THE *Thuringians*, *Heruli* and *Varni* were united, in *Clovis's* Reign, and made a Party, of which as well the *Franks*, as the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*, had Reason to be jealous. *Theodorick*, King of *Italy*, therefore kept up a good Intelligence with them, the better to secure himself against the *Franks*; as we may see by his Letter already cited above (XI. 21.)

5. AFTER the Death of *Basinus*, his three Sons, *Balderic*, *Hermanfrid*, and *Bertharius* divided the Government among them. GREGORIUS, Lib. III. cap. 4. *Porro tunc apud Thoringos tres fratres, regnum gentis illius retinebant : id est, BADERICUS †, HERMINEFREDUS, atque BERTHARIUS. Denique Herminefredus Bertharium fratrem suum vi opprimens interfecit.*

† al.
Baldericus;

6. OF these three, *Hermanfrid* was the most noted. He married *Amalaberga*, the Niece of *Theoderick*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*: And *Procopius* expressly mentions this Marriage as a Tye of Friendship between the *Thuringians* and the *Ostro-Goths*. *Postquam cecidit Odoacer, Thuringi Visigothique Germanorum vim augescentem metuentes (nam & multitudo ingens crescebat, & obvii quique vi illorum sternebantur) Gotthorum sibi*

* The learned Mons. DUBOS in his *Histoire de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoisse dans les Gaules*, T. I. p. 349. and T. II. p. 350. pretends this is to be understood of the *Tongri*. He thinks the *Tongri*, and the *Thoringi* were originally one Nation, and of the same Name. But even the *Frankonian* Writers distinguish them as two. The *Tongri*, who dwelt in *Germania Secunda*, even in the Times of *Pliny* and *Tacitus*, belong'd, probably, at this Time, to the Kingdom of the *Ripuarii*: Whereas the *Thoringi* extended themselves from the East:

§ Theuderichi amicitiam parare magni duxerunt. Nec ille aspernatus societatem addidit insuper societatis vinculum. Alaricho enim minori, Visigottorum ea tempestate Principi, filiam suam virginem despondit Theudichusam: Hermenofrido vero, Thuringorum principi, Amalebergam, sororis suæ Amalasfridæ filiam. The Letter, which the King of the Ostro-Goths wrote him, on Occasion of this Marriage, deserves a Place here.

HERMANFRIDO, REGI THORINGORUM
THEODERICUS REX.

Desiderantes vos nostris aggregare parentibus, neptem caro pignori, propitia divinitate, sociamus. Ut qui de REGIA STIRPE DESCENDITIS, nunc etiam longius claritate IMPERIALIS SANGUINIS * fulgeatis. Mittimus ad vos ornatum aulicæ domus, augmenta generis, solatia fidelis consilii, dulcedinem suavissimam conjugalem: quæ § dominatum jure vobiscum impleat, § nationem vestram meliore institutione componat. Habeat FELIX THORINGIA, quod nutrit Italia, literis doctam, moribus eruditam, decoram non solum genere, quantum § foeminea dignitate; ut non minus patria vestra istius splendeat moribus, quam SUIS TRIUMPHIS. Quapropter salutantes vos gratia competenti, indicamus nos, venientibus legatis vestris, impretabilis quidem rei, sed more gentium, suscepisse pretia destinata †, equos argenteo colore vestitos, quales decuit esse nuptiales. Quorum pectora vel crura sphaeris carneis decenter ornantur; costæ in quandam latitudinem porriguntur: albus in brevitate constringitur: caput cervinam reddit effigiem, imitantes velocitatem, cujus videntur habere similitudinem. Hi sunt sub pinguedine nimia mansueti, magna mole celerrimi, aspectibus jucundi, usibus gratiores, incedunt enim molliter, sessores suos insanis festinationibus non fatigant: quiescitur potius in ipsis, quam laboretur: § compositi delectabili moderatione, agilitate norunt continua perdurare. Verum hunc, quamvis nobilissimum gregem, beluasque morigeras, vel alia, quæ direxistis

* It is Matter of Enquiry, why Theoderic boasts his Family to be of the Imperial Blood? Perhaps because the Emperor Zeno had adopted him himself. Venantius Fortunatus uses almost the same Expression, when Sigebert, King of Austrasia, married Brunehild, the Daughter of Athanagild, King of the Visi-Goths. (XIV. II. n. 1.)

Regia Cæsareo proficit Aula jugo.

† This refers to the Custom of the Ancient Germans, for the Bridegroom to make Presents, not only to the Bride herself, but to her Parents and nearest Relations. Tacitus observes, even in his Time, that a Horse well accoutred was an agreeable Present on such an Occasion; and it must have been the more so from a Thuringian, as their Horses were in great Esteem. And it is, moreover, known, that the German Kings and Princes observed the same Customs, as were in Vogue with the People; as we may see by the Manner of the Espousals of Clotildis to Clovis. See Fredegarius in Epit. Cap. 18.

eximia, victa cognoscitis, quando omnia jure superat, quæ decus regiae potestatis exornat. Destinavimus & nos quidem, quæ principalis ordo poscebat: Sed nil magis persolvimus, quam quod vos tantæ fœminæ decori copulavimus. Adsint vestro divina conjugio, ut sicut nos causa junxit affectionis, ita & posteros nostros obliget gratia parentalis. Chronologists generally place this Marriage in the Year 500.

III.

Hermanfrid's Wars with his Brothers. He calls in the Assistance of Theoderic, King of Austrasia.

1. THIS very King was noted on another Account. His Thirst for Rule cost his Brothers their Lives, and pay'd the Way for his own, and his Kingdom's Downfal. As this History is so obscure, we cannot do better, than to give *Gregory's* Relation first, and then to observe those Passages of ancient Authors, which either confirm his Account, or render it suspicious. *Gregory* first † relates, that *Hermanfrid* caus'd his own Brother, *Bertharius*, † See above, to be murder'd. But *S. Radegundis*, the Daughter of *Bertharius*, expresses so much Regard for the Memory of her Uncle, and Love for his Family, as one would hardly believe she could have for the Murderer of her Father. II. 5.

2. HE afterwards gives an Account, *Lib. III. cap. 4*, how *Hermanfrid* fell upon his third Brother, *Balderic*, and call'd in *Theoderic*, King of *Austrasia*, to his Help. *Talibus & similibus ille permotus contra fratrem insurgit, ac per occultos nuntios Theodericum Regem ad eum persequendum invitat, dicens: si hunc interficis, regionem hanc pari sorte dividemus. Ille autem gavisus hæc audiens, cum exercitu ad eum dirigit. Conjunctisque simul fidem sibi invicem dantes, egressi sunt ad bellum. Confligentesque cum Baderico exercitum ejus atterunt, ipsumque obtruncant gladio, & obtenta victoria Theudericus ad propria est reversus. Protinus Herminefredus oblitus fidei suæ, quod Regi Theoderico indulgere pollicitus est, implere despexit, orta que est inter eos grandis inimicitia.*

IV.

Theoderic, afterwards, takes the Field against Hermanfrid. A Battle on the Unstrut.

1. *HERMANFRID*, afterwards, fell himself at Variance with the King of *Austrasia*, who complain'd, that the King of *Thuringia* had
ANNOTAT. C c c not

not perform'd what he promis'd him in the last Treaty. The Circumstances of the Times added the greater Hopes to his Wishes, because, after the Death of the King of Italy, the *Thuringians* had no farther Assistance to expect from the *Ostro-Goths*. Gregory relates the King of *Austrasia's* Expedition, Lib. III. cap. 7. *Theodoricus autem Chlotarium, fratrem suum, & Theodebertum, filium, in solatium adsumens, cum exercitu abiit. Thoringi vero venientibus Francis dolos præparant. In campo enim, in quo certamen agi debebat, fossas effodiunt, quarum ora operta denso cespite, planum adsimulant campum. In has ergo foveas, cum pugnare cœpissent, multi Francorum equites corruerunt; & fuit eis valde impedimentum. Sed post cognitum hunc dolum, observare cœperunt. Denique cum se Thoringi cædi vehementer viderent, fugato præ timore Herminefredo, Rege ipsorum, terga vertunt, & ad ONESTRUDEM FLUVIUM usque perveniunt. Ibique tanta cædes ex Thoringis facta est, ut abveus fluminis congerie cadaverum repleretur: & Franci, tanquam per pontem aliquem, super ea in littus ulterius transirent. Patrata ergo victoria regionem illam capeffunt, & in suam redigunt potestatem. Chlotarius vero rediens, Rade-gundem, filiam Bertharii Regis, secum captivam abduxit, &c.*

2. THE Circumstance, that *Clotarius* march'd to the Assistance of his Brother, may, perhaps, be confirm'd by some Lines of *Venantius Fortunatus*, where he says of *Sigebert*, the Son of *Clotarius*;

— — — *Hic nomen Avorum*
Extendit bellante manu, CUI DE PATRE VIRTUS,
QUAM NABIS ecce probat, THURINGIA VICTA fatetur
Perficiens unum, GEMINA DE GENTE, triumphum.

The *Naab* falls into the *Danube*, not far from *Ratisbon*, and the Country, thro' which it flows, was then accounted a Part of the Dominions of the *Thuringians*, as we may see by the Geographer of *Ravenna* (IX. 30. n. 7.) But it remains undetermin'd, of what People the Words, *triumphus gemina de gente*, are to be understood; Whether the *Swabians*, or, which is most probable, the *Bavarians*, took the Part of the *Thuringians*? What *Gregory* says, at the same Time, of *Theodebert*, will be explain'd by what follows.

3. CHRONOLOGISTS place this Expedition of *Theoderic's* against *Hermanfrid*, in the Year 527, in Conformity with *Procopius*, who writes, that the *Franks* did not venture to attack the *Thuringians*, 'till after the Death of the *Gothick* King *Theoderic*. (Conf. Pag. ad A. 527. n. 6.) *Hermanfrid*

manfrid himself was, some Time afterwards, murdered, and then *Thuringia* was first possess'd by the *Franks*.

4. FRANCONIAN Writers do not name the Place, where *Theoderic* vanquish'd *Hermanfrid*. For us, it may suffice, that, according to *Gregory's* Relation, it was not far from the *Unstrut*. *Videchind* says indeed, that the Battle was fought; *in loco, qui dicitur Runibergum*, and *Sagittarius*, in *Antiquit. Regni Thuringici*, p. 252, is of Opinion we must read *Tenneberg*. But I have already observed, that *Videchind's* Relation is render'd suspected by the notoriously fallacious Circumstances he has intermix'd it with. Nor do I think it worth the while to detain the Reader, with what he says farther, that the King of *Austrasia* call'd in the *Saxons* to his Help, and that they took the Castle of *Scheidungen*; nor with what more modern Writers pretend, that the *Franks* then divided *Thuringia* with the *Saxons*: Since, according to *Fredegarius*, and other *Franconian* Writers, the *Franks* did not fully conquer *Thuringia*, 'till after the Death of *Hermanfrid*, and not immediately after the Battle on the *Unstrut*.

V.

The Death of Hermanfrid. The Devastation of the Kingdom of Thuringia.

I. THE Circumstances of King *Hermanfrid's* Death, and of the Conquest of the *Thuringians*, which ensued, are likewise related differently. *Gregory*, the *Gesta Francorum*, and *Aimoinus* agree, that he was treacherously murder'd, by Command of *Theoderic*, at *Zülpich*. GREGORIUS, Lib. III. cap. 8. *Idem* (sc. *Theodericus*) *vero regressus ad propria, Herminfredum ad se data fide securum, venire præcepit, quem & honorificis ditavit muneribus. Factum est autem, dum quadam die per murum civitatis Tulbiacensis confabularentur, a, nescio quo, impulsus, de altitudine muri ad terram corruit, ibique spiritum exhalavit. Sed quis eum inde dejecerit, ignoramus: multi tamen adserunt, Theoderici in hoc dolum manifestissime patuisse.* GESTA FRANCORUM, cap. 22. *Post hæc iterum Theodericus, data fide Ermenfrido Regi, Tulbiaco civitate ad se venire fecit. Cumque super murum ipsius civitatis conloquerentur, compulsus de muro urbis ipsius corruit ad terram & mortuus est, suosque infantes Theodericus interficere rogavit.* *Aimoinus* has almost the same Words, Lib. 2. cap. 9. What is said of *Hermanfrid's* Children, will be contradicted by what follows concerning them.

2. THE Treachery perpetrated, by the *Franks*, on the King of the *Thuringians*, is hinted at, in *Procopius*, (II. 28.) where the Ambassadors of *Belisarius* say to *Vitiges*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, as follows: *Quæ vero illorum in Barbaros sit fides, testes Thuringos & Burgundiones vobis haud nesciis advocamus, nisi ipsi documentum essetis recentius? libet interrogare Francos, quem Deum juraturi fidem vobis sancient: nam quem ante hac jurarunt, quam sint reveriti, vos scire oportet*, (XII. 19.)

3. ON the other Hand, in *Fredegarii Epitom. cap. 33*, it is pretended, he was murder'd by *Theodebert*, *Theoderic's* Son: *Ipse vero (Hermenfridus) a Theudeberto, filio Theoderici, interfectus est: Regnum Thoringorum Francorum ditioni subactum est*. This very King boasts, in a Letter to the Emperor *Justinian*, which we find in *Du Chesne*, that he had conquer'd the *Thuringians*, and made away with their Kings. *Domino illustri & præcellentissimo, domino & patri Justiniano Imperatori, Theudebertus Rex. Theodorus vir expectabilis cum Solonem veniens pariter litteras, quas Imperii vestri clementia destinavit, integra animi caritate & devotione suscepimus, quia cum de nobis curam geritis sic latius per diversas gentes atque provincias Dei amatam amicitiam propagamus. Id vero quod dignamini esse solliciti, in quibus provinciis habitemus, aut quæ gentes nostræ sint, Deo adjutore, ditioni subjectæ, Dei nostri misericordia FELICITER SUBACTIS THURINGIS, & eorum provinciis acquisitis, EXINCTIS IPSORUM TUNC TEMPORIS REGIBUS, Norsavorum gentis nobis placata majestas colla subdidit, Deoque propitio Wisigotthis, qui incolebant Franciæ septentrionalem plagam, Pannoniam cum Saxonibus Euciis, qui se nobis voluntate propria tradiderunt, per Danubium & limitem Pannoniæ, usque in Oceani litoribus, custodiente Deo, dominatio nostra porrigitur*. But this Letter is not much to the Purpose, since *Valesius*, T. I. p. 433, shews, with not improbable Reasons, why the Superscription is not to be esteem'd genuine.

4. THE real Time of *Hermanfrid's* Death is likewise dubious, and when *Thuringia* was fully brought under the *Franconian* Yoke, is just as uncertain. If we will follow the Order of Time, *Gregorius Turonensis* lays down, cap. 9, and 10, in his Relation, it was in the same Year that *Amalaric*, King of the *Wist-Goths*, was kill'd. *Procopius* leads us to another Footstep of it, when he says, that Queen *Amalaberga*, after *Hermanfrid's* Fall, went for Refuge to her Brother *Theodebat*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*, de Bello Goth. Lib. I. cap. 13. *Post Theoderici obitum, Franci, nemine jam obsistente, Thoringos bello adorti, ipsorum Regem Hermenefridum interficiunt, ac totam gentem in ditionem subjugant suam. Hermenefridi uxor cum liberis elapsa, ad fratrem suum Theodatam, TUNC TEMPORIS GOTHORUM REGEM se recipit*. But *Theodebat* came to the Crown, A. 534.

5. ST. *Radegundis*, a Daughter of the *Thuringian* King, *Bertharius*, always preserv'd a great Affection for the Memory of her native Country, and for *Hermanfrid's* Family, as we find in *Venantius Fortunatus's* Poems: Among these, we find an Elegy *de Excidio Thuringiæ*, in the Queen's Name, to *Hermanfrid's* Son, *Amalafrid*. I shall add only the following Lines, which treat of the Desolation of the King's Court, as a Specimen :

Conditio belli tristis, fors invida rerum.
Quam subito lapsu regna superba cadunt !
Aula palatino quæ floruit antea cultu,
Hanc modo pro cameris mæsta favilla tegit.
Quæ steterant longo felicia culmina tractu,
Viستا sub ingenti clade cremata jacent.
Ardua, quæ rutilo nituere ornata metallo,
Pallidus oppressit fulgida tecta cinis.
Missa sub hostili domino captiva potestas,
Decidit in humili gloria celsa loco.
Stans ætate pari famulorum turba nitentum
Funereo sordet pulvere funesta die.
Clara ministrorum stipata corona potentum,
Nulla sepulchra tenens mortis honore caret:
Flammivomum vincens rutilans in curribus aurum
Strata solo recubat læticolor amatis.
Heu male texerunt inhumata cadavera campum
Totaque sic uno gens jacet in tumulto.

VI. ANNOTATION.

A Genealogical Table of the latter Kings of THURINGIA.

Ad XI. 48.

BASINUS, King of the *Thuringians*,
reign'd at the Time of the *Franconian* King, *Childeric I.*

BALDERIC	HERMANFRID	BERTHARIUS	
	Ux. Amalaberga, Theodoric, King of the <i>Ostro-Goths</i> , Sister's Daughter. n. II.	RADEGUNDIS marr. to <i>Clotarius I.</i> , King of the <i>Franks</i> , went into a Convent, at <i>Poitiers</i> , in the King's Life-time † 587. n. IV.	A Son N --- was kill'd by Order of <i>Clotarius</i> . n. III. I.
AMALAFRID General in the Service of Emperor <i>Justinian</i> . n. II. I.	RODELINDA marr. to <i>Audoin</i> , King of the <i>Longobards</i> . n. II. 2.		
ARTARCHIS.			

I HAVE already made Mention of *Basinus*, (*Annot. n. II. 2.*) That the three following Kings were his Sons, is plain, from *Venantii Fortunati Vit. S. Radegundis*, where we find these Words: *Beatissima igitur Radegundis, natione barbara, de regione Thuringa, AVO REGE BASINO, patruo Herminefrido, patre Rege Berthario.*

II.

Of King Hermanfrid's Family.

1. His melancholy End we have seen in the foregoing Annotation. Queen *Amalaberga* fled, with her Children, into *Italy*, to her Brother *Theodebat*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*. When his Successor, *Vitiges*, submitted to *Justinian*, the Emperor, and was carried to *Constantinople*, King *Hermanfrid's* Children accompanied him thither. (XIII. 8. *) His Son *Amalafrid* exerted himself in the Imperial Service. He commanded the *Roman Troops*, about the Year 547, against the *Gepidæ*, and, with his Brother-in-Law, *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*, obtain'd a signal Victory. (*ibid.*) *Venantius Fortunatus*, in his Elegy, *de Excidio Thuringiæ*, introduces *Radegundis*, asking *Amalafrid*;

*Bellica Persidis seu te Byzantion optat,
Ductor Alexandræ seu regis urbis opes?
An Hierosolymæ resides vicinus ab arce,
Qua est genitus Christus virgine matre Deus?*

He left one Son, *Artarchis*, to whom *Venantius Fortunatus*, p. 344, has address'd a particular Elegy, in the Name of Queen *Radegundis*.

2. *HERMANFRID* likewise left several Daughters, of whose Condition *Radegundis* enquires of *Amalafrid*, ap. *VENANT. FORTUNATUM*, l. c.

*Deque tuis similis mihi cura sororibus hæc est,
Quas consanguineo cordis amore colo.*

One of them, *Justinian* married to *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*. *Paulus Diaconus* calls her *Rodelinda*, Lib. I. 27. *Audoimus, de quo præmiseramus, Longobardorum Rex, Rodelindam in matrimonio habuit, &c.* The same Author, likewise, mentions, Lib. I. cap. 21. *Ranicunda*, a *Thuringian* Princess, who was Queen to *Waco*, King of the *Longobards*. *Habuit autem Waco uxores tres. Hoc est, primam Ranicundam, filiam Regis Thuringorum, &c.* But it is uncertain, which of the Kings of the *Thuringians* was her Father.

III. Of

III.

Of the Family of King Bertharius,

1. GREGORIUS, III. 4. says of Bertharius: *Is moriens Radegundem filiam orphanam dereliquit. Reliquit autem & alios filios, de quibus in sequentibus scribemus.* But, in the following seventh Chapter, he mentions but one Son, who was only noted for his unfortunate End. *Patrata ergo victoria regionem illam capeffunt, in suam redigunt potestatem. Chlotacharius vero rediens, Radegundem, filiam Bertharii, Regis, secum captivam abduxit, sibi que eam in matrimonium sociavit. Cujus fratrem postea injuste per homines iniquos occidit. Illa quoque ad Deum conversa, mutata veste, monasterium sibi infra Pictaviensem Urbem construxit, quæ orationibus, jejuniis, vigiliis atque eleemosynis prædita in tantum emicuit, ut magna in populis haberetur.*

2. QUEEN Radegundis bemoans his Death, to her Kinsman Amalafrid, in the above-mention'd Carmen, de Excidio Thuringiæ :

*Quid fugio memorare, parens, quid differo luctus ?
De nece Germani cur dolor alte taces ?
Qualiter insidiis insons cecidisset iniquis
Oppositaque fide raptus ab Orbe fuit ?*

ONE might almost conclude, that the Suspicion, which was conceived against the Thuringian Prince, had given the Queen herself much Uneasiness, and had occasion'd her leaving the Court. She goes on :]

*Ille tuos cupiens properat dum cernere vultus,
Nec suus impletur, dum meus obstat amor,
Dum dare dura mihi refugit, sibi vulnera fixit,
Lædere qui timuit, causa doloris adest.
Percutitur juvenis tenera lanugine barbæ,
Absens nec vidi funera dira soror.*

And farther :

*Quid feci, ut non comes irem lecta feretro,
Non licet extinctum vel meus ornet amor.
Impia, crede, Tuæ rea sum, Germane, salutis
Mors cui sola fui, nulla sepulcra dedi.*

Quæ

*Quæ semel excessi patriam bis capta remansi,
Atque iterum hostes, fratre jacente, tuli.*

IV.

Of St. Radegundis.

1. GREGORIUS *Turonensis* often mentions S. *Radegundis*, with Honour, in particular *de Glor. Confess.* cap. 106, where he describes her Funeral, of which he was an Eye-Witness. In her Time, *Venantius Fortunatus* came to *Poitiers*, (of which Place he was afterwards Bishop) and we find, in his Poems, much said in her Praise.

2. WE have two Lives of her: One wrote by the same *Venantius Fortunatus*, the other by *Baudonivia*, a Nun of the Convent she founded. V. MABILLON. *Act. SS. Ord. S. Benedicti.* Sec. I. p. 319.

3. NEITHER of them contains much Matter for History. So much we may, indeed, gather, that her Marriage with *Clotarius* was not the most happy. I shall here only mention the Passage, in which *Venantius*, cap. 12, takes Notice of her absenting herself from Court: *Et quoniam frequenter aliqua occasione, Divinitate prosperante, casus cedit ad salutem, ut hæc religiosius viveret; frater interficitur innocenter. Directa igitur a Rege veniens ad beatum MEDARDUM Noviomago, supplicat instanter, ut ipsam, mutata veste, Domino consecraret. Sed memor dicentis Apostoli: si qua ligata sit conjugii, non querat dissolvi, differebat, Reginam ne veste tegeret Monacham. Ad hoc beatum virum perturbant procures, & per Basilicam graviter ab altari retraherent, ne velaret Regi conjunctam, ne videretur Sacerdoti, ut præsumeret Principi subducere Reginam, non publicanam, sed publicam. Quo sanctissima cognito, intrans in sacrarium, Monachica veste induitur, procedit ad altare, beatissimum Medardum his verbis alloquitur, dicens: Si me consecrare distuleris, & plus hominem, quam Deum timueris, de manu tua a Pastore ovis anima requiratur. Quo ille, contestationis concussus tonitru, manu superposita, consecravit Diaconam.*

4. SHE died in the Year 587, the 13th of August. GREGOR. Lib. X. cap. 1.

VII. ANNOTATION.

Of the VANDALS in general.

I.

German Extraction of the Vandals.

TACITUS mentions the *Vandals* among the most ancient Denominations of the *German Nations*: de M. G. c. 2. *Quidam autem licentia vetustatis, plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes, Marfos, Gambrivios, Suevos, VANDALIOS adfirmant: eaque vera & antiqua nomina.* Pliny places them among the five principal Nations, under which he comprehends all the *Germans*; and reckons the *Goths*, *Varni*, and *Burgundians* to this Lineage. (X. 6. n. 7.) This is confirm'd by *Procopius*, who was very well acquainted with this Nation, when he says, (X. 6. n. 7.) that the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Gepidæ* were of the same Kind and Stature, and had the same Customs and Language, and consequently were originally one Nation, 'till their several Chiefs separated them.

II.

Their first Habitation, between the Elb, and the East-Sea.

THE most ancient Account we find of their Habitation is, that they dwelt on the *East-Sea* and the *Elb*. *Jornandes*, who here, likewise, refers to *Dexippus*, says, they dwelt on the Sea-Coasts, before they came to *Dacia*. (VI. 28.) But *Dio* places the Source of the *Elb* in *montibus Vandalicis*; † which River, we know, arises in *Silesia*, near the Confines

† DIO, Lib. LV. init. de Drusc: *Omnia populanao ad Albim usque perrexit: qui, ex VANDALICIS MONTIBUS profluens, in Oceanum Septentrionalem magnus admodum factus effluit.*

of *Bohemia*. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the *Marcomanni* are placed on the *Danube*, and the *Vandals* juſt behind them.

III.

Migration of the Vandals. Their Wars with the Romans, Goths, &c.

1. THE *Vandals*, as well as the *Goths*, came from the *North* towards the *Danube*, to invade the *Roman Provinces*, as other *German Nations* attempted to do the ſame on the *Rhine*. At the Time of the *Marcoman War*, the *Aſtingi* (IX. 2.) offer'd the Emperor *M. Antoninus* their Service, and were themſelves deſirous of an Habitation in *Dacia*. *Jul. Capitolinus* expreſſy mentions the *Vandals* among the Nations, whom *M. Antoninus* conquer'd: *Pannonias ergo Marcomannis, Sarmatis, VANDALIS, ſimul etiam Quadis extinctis, ſervitio liberavit.*

2. WHAT Concerns the Emperor *Aurelianus* had with them is ſhewn, more at large, in *Dexippi & Petri, Patricii & Magiſtri, Excerptis* (V. 49.) At the Peace, which enſued, the *Vandals* oblig'd themſelves to ſend him 2000 Cavalry, as Auxiliaries. We, indeed, actually find, in the *Notitia Imperii*, *Vandalian Cavalry*, among the *Roman Troops* †, but it is uncertain, whether they were theſe, or thoſe of the Times of *Conſtantine, the Great*. When *Aurelian* abandon'd *Dacia*, (V. 52) and the *Roman Inhabitants* evacuated it, the *Vandals*, as well as the *Goths*, overſpread that Country, almoſt without Oppoſition.

3. *PROBUS* waged War with the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*; *Zoſimus*: (V. 54.) And, according to the Account *Vopifcus* gives us, he had much to do with the *Vandals*. (Ib. 55. n. 3.)

4. IN *Maximinian's* Reign, we find, the *Thuringians* and *Taiſali* attacking, and making War with the *Vandals* and *Gepidæ*. *Mammert. II. 17. (VI. 6.)*

5. THE moſt remarkable is the Overthrow they ſuffer'd in the fourth Century, about the Beginning of *Conſtantine, the Great's* Reign. Their King, *Viſumar* ††, was defeated by *Geberic*, King of the *Goths*, and him-

† In the *Notitia Imperii*, we find, p. 1690. *Ala Vandalorum, ſub Comite limitis Ægypti.*

†† *Nicolaus Mareſchalcus* pretends this *Viſumar* was the Founder of the City of *Wiſmar*: But I queſtion, whether he has found any Authority for it, farther than the bare Reſemblance of Names.

self kill'd in the Battle. (VI. 28. n. 11.) *Jornandes* says, this Battle was fought on the River *Maros*, and that the *Goths*, thereupon, made themselves Masters of the *Vandalian* Territories. This Circumstance gives us some Light; where both Nations then inhabited: For the River *Maros* arises in the *Carpathian* Mountains, and flows thro' the present *Transylvania*, and one Part of *Hungary*, 'till it falls into the *Theiss*, near *Sigeth*.

6. THE *Vandals*, who escap'd, took their Refuge to the Emperor *Constantine*, who assign'd them an Habitation in *Pannonia*. (*Ibid.*) From these *Vandals*, *Stilico* seems to have been descended †. *Jornandes* says they had inhabited those Parts, 'till, in the Beginning of the fifth Century, they invaded *Gaul*.

7. FROM the Time of this Invasion, the History of the *Vandals* is built upon a more certain Foundation. They had attempted the same in the Time of the Emperor *Gratian*. (VII. 27. n. 6.) But *Godegiselus's* Enterprize was attended with greater Consequences, of which I shall give an Account, in the next Annotation. Historians are not unanimous, what *Vandals* these were. *Jornandes* will have it, they were the same, whom *Constantine* allow'd a Habitation in *Pannonia*. *Procopius* brings them from the Sea-Coast. (*De Bell. Vand. I. 3.*) *Vandali, Maotidis paludis accolæ, fame pressi, ad Germanos, quos hodie Francos nominant, & fluvium Rhenum se receperunt.* The Learned are, however, mostly of *Jornandes's* Opinion.

IV.

Different Nations of the Vandals.

UNDER the general Name of *Vandals* were comprehended several particular Nations; in particular we find the *Vandali Silingi*, and likewise the *Astingi*. The latter, from which Branch the Kings of the *Vandals* were likewise descended, were reckoned the most warlike, as *Jornandes* observes, cap. 22. *Asdingorum e stirpe, quæ inter eos eminet, genusque indicat bellicosissimum, Dexippo Historico referente.* The *Alani* were originally a Nation quite different from the *Vandals*, and first submitted to the Dominion of King *Guntharic* in *Spain*.

† *OROSIUS* says of him, *Lib. VII. 38. Interea Comes Stilico, Vandalorum, imbellis, avaræ, perfidæ, & dolosæ gentis genere editus.* (See Vol. I. VIII. 19. n. 2.)

V.

Of the Vandals, who remain'd behind in Germany: Difference between the Vandals and Wenden (or Venedi.)

1. NOR did the *Vandals* all go on this Expedition; but, as is most probable, chiefly the *Silingi* and *Astingi*; and, on the contrary, the other *Vandalian* Nations remain'd in *Germany*. *Procopius* (de Bell. Vand. I. 2.) mentions an Ambassy, which the latter sent to King *Geiseric*, to *Africa*. *Initio, cum pressi fame Vandali e patriis sedibus demigrarent, relictī sunt nonnulli, quibus obstitit blandiens inertia, ne sequi vellent Godigiscum. Procedente tempore, illi residui largam habere annonam visi sunt, & Gizericus cum suis Africam occupavit. Cujus rei nuntius letitiam illis attulit, qui comites Godigisclo se non addiderant: ad hoc enim res bene comparatas videbant, ut sua ipsis regio satis præberet, quo vitam deinceps tolerarent. Sed veriti, ne olim vel illi ipsi, qui Africam obtinuerant, vel eorum nepotes, quoquo modo pulsi ex Africa, ad natale solum redirent (neque enim illam Romanis neglectui fore semper putabant) legatos miserunt: qui ad Gizerici conspectum admissi, dixere, se res adeo letas gratulari popularibus suis: ab ipsis servari non posse amplius regionem, qua posthabita Africam colerent, propterea rogare, ut quando patriam non curarent, iis, qui remanserant, possessionem donarent jam inutilem sibi, ut regionis certum adepti dominium, si quis eo veniret infensus, pro illa mori non dubitarent. Æqua hæc Gizerico cæterisque Vandalis postulatio visa est, jamque annuebant legatis, cum senex quidam nobilitate & prudentia clarissimus intercessit: nihil in rebus humanis stabile esse affirmans, sed quæcunque quidem adessent, omnia fore semper incerta: quæ vero nondum existerent, eorum nihil non posse fieri. His auditis assentiens Gizericus, legatos re infecta remisit. Tum quidem ipsum ac suasorem, tanquam impossibilium providos, Vandali omnes deriserunt; sed eorum nepotibus, ubi, quæ commemoravimus, acciderunt, rerum humanarum naturam edocti, dictum illud sapientis fuisse viri, confessi sunt.*

2. HE relates farther, that, in the mean Time, the *Vandals*, who remain'd in *Germany*, were likewise totally dispers'd. *Cæterum extincta est hodie memoria, ac nomen Vandalarum illorum interiit, qui in patria restiterunt. Scilicet cum pauci essent, vel a conterminis barbaris exterminatos crediderim, vel sponte ipsis permistos nomen amisisse. Nec tamen fufis a Belisario Vandalis revifere patriam consilium fuit. Haud enim repente in Europam ex Africa migrare, maxime cum navigia deessent, licebat.*

3. THE

VII. *Annotation.*

3. THE *Sclavi* and *Venedi* took Possession of the Territories they abandon'd: Which has occasion'd the *Vandals* being generally confounded with the *Venedi*; the latter of which, in the middle Times, are almost generally call'd *Vandali*, in *Latin*. Thus the Name of *Vandali* appears in the Titles of some Kings and Princes, which properly should be understood of these *Venedi*. Tho' perhaps there were actually some *Vandals* intermix'd with these *Venedi*.

VI.

When the Vandals embraced Christianity.

THEY seem to have embraced the *Christian* Religion, in *Pannonia*. *Procopius* says, they were at first *Arians*: But, according to *Idatius*, *Geiseric* first adhered to this Sect. (IX. 5. n. 1.)

VIII.

VIII. ANNOTATION.

A SERIES of the Kings of the VANDALS, from GODEGISELUS to GELIMER.

AFTER the *Vandals* broke into *Gaul* and *Spain*, and at Length into *Africa*, their History becomes of greater Importance. I have just mention'd these Occurrences, as far as the Connexion of History requir'd, and will now give a more circumstantial Account, in a Series of the Kings of the *Vandals*.

I.

GODEGISILUS. *

° al.
Godegisilus.

I. HE invaded *Gaul* towards the End of the Year 406, or the Beginning of the following Year ; about which Time the *Burgundians* and *Alani* did the same. This is, as it were, the Beginning of the Great Revolution, which happen'd in the fifth Century, by the breaking in of foreign Nations into the *Roman* Provinces. We are not certainly inform'd what induc'd the *Vandals* to this Expedition. Some blame *Stilico*, that he himself excited these People, with an Intent to thrust *Honorius* from the Throne, and to put his Son, *Eucherius*, in Possession of the Empire. * On the other Hand, *Procopius* says, Necessity drove them to this Resolution. A Quest after Booty was so favorite a Passion with the *Ancient Northern Nations* ; that we need not go far to enquire the Motives to this War. We are likewise ignorant, which Way they took to *Gaul*, except what *Procopius* says, that they first fell upon the *Franks*. In what followed, they were probably govern'd by the Circumstances of the Times. *Godegisilus* himself perhaps never thought the Nation, he

* MARCELLINUS, (See VIII. 19. not. 5. seq.) When *Stilico* fell, his Son, *Eucherius*, was just upon the Point of being married to *Placidia*, the Daughter of *Theodosius*, the Great, as I have already observ'd (Vol. VIII. 19.) And his Aim in this was, to oblige *Honorius* to admit this his Brother-in-Law a Partner in the Empire. (Vid. ib. n. 5. seq.)

now led out of their own Country, would establish a Kingdom in *Africa*. They suffer'd a great Overthrow from the *Franks* ** ; in which, it is supposed, King *Godegisilus* himself lost his Life. † (VIII. 15. 14.) But they recover'd themselves, and *Respendial*, King of the *Alani*, came to their Assistance. The *Alani* had themselves two Chiefs, *Goar* and *Respendial*. The first came to an Accommodation with the *Romans*, and remain'd, with his Colony, in *Gaul* ; But *Respendial* accompanied the *Vandals* into *Spain*.

2. *GODEGISILUS* left two Sons, *Guntharic*, and *Geiseric*, but the latter was not born in Wedlock. †† Of these Sons, *Procopius* says ; l. c. 3. p. 184. *Mortuo Godigisclo, dominatum susceperunt ejus filii, Guntharis, ex justa ipsi uxore natus, & Geisericus, nothus : verum ille adhuc puer & natura parum industrius ; hic in armis optime exercitus, ac mortaliū omnium solertissimus.* Other Writers mention only *Guntharic*, as the Successor of *Godegisilus* ; and this seems more probable.

II. *

GUNT HARIC. *

Died 428.

* al. Gundericus, Guntharis.

I. A NEW Insurrection in the *Roman* Empire decoy'd the *Suevi*, *Vandals* and *Alani* to *Spain*. *Constantine*, who assum'd the Imperial Dignity, in Opposition to *Honorius*, was already acknowledg'd by him his Partner

** As to the Year, *Historians* differ, as *F. Ruynart*, in *Hist. Persec. Vandalic.* p. 403. has observ'd. Id *Arcadio VI.* & *Probo COSS* sub anni scilicet 406. finem, & sequentis initium contigisse tradunt, nonnulli veteres *Historiarum* scriptores, *PROSPER*, *CASSIODORUS*, &c. quam tamen eadem biennio post, *BASSO* & *PHILIPPO COSS.* duobus scilicet annis, anteaquam *Roma* ab *Alarico*, *Gothorum* Rege, caperetur, alii cum *PAULO QROSIO* & *MARCELLINO* *Comite* evenisse volunt. *OROSIUS* and *MARCELLINUS* lived the nearest to these Times, and therefore we may, with the most Certainty, take the Year 408.

† That *Godegisilus* was kill'd in *Gaul*, is the general Opinion : Tho' some, with *Procopius*, will have it, he came in Person to *Spain*.

†† Beyond all Dispute, *Geiseric* was no legitimate Son. *Procopius* styles him *Nothus*, and *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *Famula satum*. Nay, one might almost conclude from *Sidonius*, that he was hardly allow'd to be a natural Son of *Godegisilus*.

Incertum crepat ille patrem, cum serva fit illi
Certa parens : nunc ut Regis fit filius, effert
Matris adulterium. *X.* 19. n. 2.

in

in the Empire, when *Gerontius* deserted him in *Spain*, and set up *Maximus* for Emperor. By this Means, a Way was open'd for those Nations, who 'till then had swarm'd about in *Gaul*, to go into *Spain*. The *Vandals*, *Alani*, and *Suevi*, divided that Country, as it were, amongst them. *An. 411. (VIII. 33. § 41. 1.)*

2. *HONORIUS* came to an Agreement with them, as well as he could: But when he made Peace with *Wallia*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, the *Romans* made it an Article, that he should free *Spain* of these Guests. *Wallia* march'd himself against them; and obtain'd considerable Advantages over the *Vandali*, *Silingi* and *Alani*. The latter lost their King, *Atax*, on this Occasion; and did not venture to elect another King of their own; but united with the *Vandals*. In this War, happen'd the Battle, *in campis Tartejsiacis*, mention'd by *Sidonius Apollinaris*. (*X. 19. n. 21.*)

3. As soon as the *Wisi-Goths* return'd, the *Vandals* recover'd themselves. King *Guntharic* not only drove *Hermanaric*, King of the *Suevi*, to great Streights; but, in the Year 422, defeated the *Roman* Army, which *Castinus*, *Magister Militiæ*, commanded against him.

4. THEY, thereupon, extended themselves farther, plunder'd the *Balearian* Islands, and, about the Year 425, conquer'd *Hispalis* and *Carthagena*, (*IX. 3.*) and got firm Footing in the *Provincia Bætica*, whence one Part of that Country was, from them, call'd *Vandalitia*, now *Andalusia*.

5. THE Expedition of the *Vandals* into *Africa*, of which the Plan was laid under this King, makes a new Period in their History. *Boniface*, Lieutenant in *Africa*, was unjustly render'd odious to the Empress *Placidia*. Being, upon this Occasion, order'd to Court; he neither car'd to trust to the Mercy of it, nor was he able to maintain himself in his Province, by Force; he therefore privately invited the *Vandals* thither. (*IX. 4. 1.*) Before this Expedition was ripe, King *Guntharic* was murder'd, in *Spain*, in what Manner is not certainly known: (*IX. 15. 1.*) But his Brother and Successor *Genferic* brought the Design to Execution.

III.

GEISERIC, * or GENSERIC.

*King of the Vandals, 428. went to Africa 429.**Died 477.*

1. AFTER *Guntharic's* Death, *Geiseric* got Possession of the Kingdom alone, and afterwards caus'd his Brother's Queen and Issue to be put to Death. † *An. 429*, he led his *Vandals* and *Alani*, to whom several other *Germans* join'd ††, into *Africa*. (IX. 5.)

2. *BONIFACE* was indeed reconcil'd to the Court, but could not prevail upon the *Vandals* to return; and when it came to a Battle, he was himself defeated. The Emperor *Valentinian III* made Peace with them, in the Year 435, at *Hippon*, and suffer'd them to remain in *Africa*. (IX. 9.) According to *Procopius*, *Geiseric* then agreed to pay a Tribute; and gave his Son *Hunoric* an Hostage; but the Emperor soon sent him back again. (*Ibid.*)

3. BUT this Peace did not last long. *Geiseric* took, *An. 439*. *Carthage*, the Capital of *Africa*, (IX. 16.) and plunder'd *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*, in 440 and 441. (IX. 18.) Upon this, *Valentinian* made a new Peace with him, in 442, and gave up several entire Provinces of *Africa* to him. (IX. 19.) But *Genseric* did not entirely depend on this Treaty; but sought all Manner of Means to find the *Romans* Employment, the better to secure himself. With this View, he spirited up *Attila*, King of the *Hunns*, to invade *Gaul*. He likewise adhered to the *Arian* Sect, and thereupon persecuted those of the *Orthodox* Faith.

* He is call'd *Gaiseric*, *Gizeric*, *Geiseric*: But is generally written *Genseric*.

† *Vit. Vitenf. Lib. II. cap. 5.* Where he says of *Hunoric* Imitator existens *Geiserici* patris, qui sui fratris uxorem ligato pondere lapidum in *Amsagam*, fluvium *Cirtensem* famosum, jactando demersit, & post necem matris etiam filios interfecit. Of this River, *F. Ruinart* observes: *nunc patria lingua dicitur SUFFEGMAR, qui Africam propriam a Mauritania separat.*

†† I follow *Pagius's* Account: *F. RUINART, p. 423.* according to *Cbr. Prosperus*, places it in the Year 427.

4. *VALEN.*

4. *VALENTINIAN*, III, being murder'd, in the Year 455, *Maximus* forc'd himself into the Imperial Throne, and even oblig'd *Valentinian's* Widow, *Eudoxia*, to marry him. *Genferic* would now no longer be tied down to the Peace with the *Romans*, and it was then surmis'd, that the Empress *Eudoxia* herself excited him to some Enterprize * : But the *Romans* paid dear for it. *Genferic* laid hold of this Opportunity to plunder *Rome*, (X. 6.) and carried the Empress Dowager, *Eudoxia*, and her two Daughters, with him to *Africa*. The eldest, who by some is call'd *Eudoxia*, and by others *Honorica*, he married to his Son *Hunoric*; and the other, *Placidia*, was afterwards married to *Olybrius*, who by that Means, pay'd the Way for himself to the Throne.

5. DURING these Distractions in the Empire, *Avitus*, whom *Maximus* had made *Magister Militum in Galliis*, assum'd the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*, with the Assistance of the *Goths*. In the mean Time, *Genferic* infested the Coasts of *Italy*; which *Ricimer*, the famous *Patricius*, a *Swabian* by Birth, defended to the utmost of his Power. *Majorianus* made great Preparations against the *Vandals*; but *Genferic* render'd them all abortive, and *Majorianus* was oblig'd to make the best Peace he could, ** which however was again broken, at his Death.

6. *GEISERIC* used his Endeavours, to advance *Olybrius*, who, by his Confort, *Placidia*, was allied to the Royal *Vandalian* House, to the Imperial Throne. In the mean Time, he had another Pretence : He demand'd *Eudoxia's* Inheritance, which was her Due from the Emperor *Valentinian* : But *Leo*, after the Death of *Libius Severus*, advanc'd *Anthemius*, a *Greek*, to be Emperor in the *West*, and made an Agreement with him, that they should unite their Forces to pursue the War against the *Vandals*. The Passage, which I have cited, (X. 17. n. 7.) concerning this, from *Priscus*, is confirm'd by *PROCOPIUS* de Bell. Vand. 1. 6. *Anthemium*,

* This Part of the *Roman* and *Vandalian* History is yet very obscure, particularly with Regard to this Circumstance of the Empress *Eudoxia*. What *Procopius* and *Marcellinus* say of it, I have already observ'd (X. 3. not. 1 & 2.) I will here add the Testimony of *Idatius*; *Chron. p. 26.* *Genfericus SOLLICITATUS A RELICTA VALENTINIANI*, ut malum fama dispergit, priusquam *Avitus* Augustus fieret, *Romam* ingreditur, direptisque opibus *Romanorum* *Carthaginem* redit, relictam *Valentiniani*, & filias duas, & *Ætiii* filium, *Gaudentium* nomine, secum ducens.

** The learned Author of the *Histoire de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Française dans les Gaules*, T. II. p. 73. doubts whether *Majorianus* made Peace with *Genferic*; But the Passages of *Idatius* and *Priscus*, which I have cited, (X. 16. & 17.) put it out of all Doubt.

Senatorem, divitiis & splendore generis inclitum, ut arma adversus Vandalos conjuncte moveret, Leo præmiserat in Occidentem, cujus etiam Imperatorem ipsum creaverat, præterito Olybrio, cui Gizericus, utpote Placidie, Valentiniani filie marito, & propter affinitatem amico, imperium petiverat maximopere; qua is, repulsa irritatus, ditionem omnem Imperatoris vastavit. Leo equipp'd a mighty Fleet, An. 468, against Africa; but, as that avail'd him but little, he made Peace about the Year 470. (X. 20.)

7. *GEISERIC* died, *An. 477*, the 15th of *January*, (X. 35.) after having conquer'd all the *Romans* had in *Africa*, and, as it were, outlived the Empire in the *West*. To his great Capacity, it is likewise owing, that the Name of the *Vandals*, which before his Time was very little known at Sea, † became formidable, throughout the whole *Mediterranean*. He ordain'd, that the eldest of the Male-Heirs of his Family should always succeed to the Throne; which gave Occasion to great Distractions in the Royal House.

IV.

HUNORIC. *

From 447-487.

1. A SON of *Geiseric*. He first married a Daughter of the King of the *Wisi-Goths*, but sent her back to her Father. †† His second Consort, *Eudoxia*, Daughter of the Emperor *Valentinian III*, forsook him, in the Year 472, and repair'd to *Jerusalem*, where she ended her Life. (XI. 50.)

2. IN 480, he renew'd the Peace with the Emperor *Zeno*, *Malch.* (X. 36.) and, at his, and the Empress Dowager, *Placidia's*, Intercession, allow'd the Church of *Carthage*, to elect their own Bishop. (X. 36.)

* In *PROSPERI Chronico* it is said, of the *Vandals*, when they went over into *Africa*: *Exinde gentibus, QUÆ NAVIBUS UTI NESCIEBANT, dum a concertantibus in auxilium vocantur, mare pervium factum est.*

†† *JORNAND. de reb. Ger. cap. 36.* *Gizericus metuens ne Theodoricus, Visigothorum Rex, filie ulcisceretur injuriam, quæ Hunericho Gizerici filio juncta, prius quidem tanto conjugio lætatur: Sed postea, ut erat ille & in sua pignora truculentus, ob suspicionem tantummodo veneni ab ea parati, eam putatis naribus spolians decore naturali, patri suo ad Gallias remiserat.*

3. UNDER

3. UNDER him, the Martial Discipline begun to decay, among the *Vandals*. The *Moors*, who dwelt on Mount *Aurafius* * ten Days Journey from *Carthage*, revolted from him. (XI. 50.)

4. VICTOR *Vitensis* has given us a History of his Persecution of the *Orthodox Christians*: From thence I will only subjoin here his Ordinance for a Conference between the *Catholick* and *Arian* Bishops; because it, at the same Time, serves to illustrate some political Circumstances of the Kingdom of the *Vandals*.

REX HUNERIX VANDALORUM ET ALANORUM,

Univerfis Episcopis Omousianis.

Non semel, sed sæpius constat, esse prohibitum, ut in SORTIBUS VANDALORUM sacerdotes vestri conventus minime celebrarent, ne sua seductione animas subverterent Christianas. Quam rem spernentes plurimi, nunc reperti sunt contra indictum Missas in SORTIBUS VANDALORUM egisse; asserentes, se integram regulam Christianæ veræ fidei tenere. Et quia in provinciis a Deo nobis concessis scandalum esse nolumus, ideo Dei providentia, cum consensu Sanctorum Episcoporum nostrorum hoc nos statuisse cognoscite, ut ad diem Kalendarum Februariarum proxime futurarum, ommissa omni excusatione formidinis, omnes Carthaginem veniatis, ut de ratione fidei cum nostris venerabilibus Episcopis possitis inire conflictum: & fidem Omousianorum, quam defenditis, de divinis scripturis proprie approbetis, quo possit agnosci, si integram fidem teneatis. Hujus autem edicti tenorem universis Episcopis † tuis per universam Africam † al. Coëpis. constitutis direximus. Data sub die decimo tertio Kalendas Junias, ANNO
SEPTIMO REGNI HUNERICI.

4. I HAVE seen two Copper-Medals of this King, of which no Mention is made elsewhere.

* This Mountain is now call'd *Auras*, or *Oress*. V. MORGAN'S *History of Algiers*, p. 103.

V.

GUNTAMUND.

King, *A.* 484. Died 496.

1. AFTER *Hunoric's* Death, the Succession did not fall to his Son, *Hilderic*; but, in Pursuance of *Geiseric's* Ordinance, to *Guntamund*, a Son of *Genzo*, who was the Eldest of the Royal House. (*XI.* 50.)

2. HE shew'd a more favourable Disposition to the *Orthodox Christians*, and suffer'd *Eugenius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, and the other Bishops, who were banish'd by his Predecessor, to return. *RUINART. in Hist. Persec. Vandal. c. 10. p. 546, NORIS. in Hist. Pelag. p. 321.*

3. ANTONIUS AUGUSTINUS, *Dial. sopra le Medaglie VI. p. 118.* mentions a Coin of his (*XI.* 50.) but as he has not given us a Draught of it, I shall, at least, subjoin his Description here. *Resta alcun' alta medaglia di Cartagine? A. Non vi resta altra, se non d' un Re (credo che si chiami Cuntamundo) che fu il terzo delli Re Vandali, che regnorono in Cartagine, prima che Belisario, Capitano di Giustiniano cacciasse l' ultimo loro Re. Da una parte vi e la sua testa con queste lettere DN. REX CUNTAMUND. E dall' altra parte, vi e una corona di lauro, & dentro due lettere D. N. comme che dicesse, LAUREA DOMINI NOSTRI.*

4. He died in 496. d. 24. Sept. *NORIS. Lib. cap. 2. RUIN. l. c. c. II.*

THRASAMUND.

King, 496. Died 523.

1. A BROTHER of the former. I have already given his History (*XI.* 50.) I shall here only illustrate some Circumstances. *Pithœus, in Epigramm. Veter p. 62.* has given us an Epigram, which was carv'd in Honour of this King, over one of his Baths. It is very confus'd: But the first Letters of each Line form his Name.

Tranquillo

T ranquillo Nymphæ decurrite fluminis ort U
H ic proba flagranti succedit vimine fleb O
R upibus excelsis, ubi nunc fastigia surgun T
A equanturque polo tectis præcelsa lavacr A
S edibus hic magnis exardent marmora signi S
A rdua sublimes prævincunt culmina therma E
M uneraque eximius tanti dat luminis aucto R
U ni continuæ prænoscent præmia fama E
N on hic flamma nocebo tandem discite carme N
D iscite vel quanta vivat sub gurgite lymph A
V ANDALICUM hic renovat clarum de semine nome N
S ub cuius titulo meritis stat gratia facti S.

2. *VICTOR Tununensis*, in Chron. ANASTASIO AUG. COS. (497) says, indeed, *Gunthamundo, Vandalorum Rege, Carthagine mortuo, Thrasamundus regnat annos XXVII. menses IV. Et hic Ariana insania plenus Catholicos insectatur, Catholicorum ecclesias claudit, & in Sardiniam exilio ex omni Africa CXX. Episcopos mittit.* But it is allow'd, that GUNTAMUND died in the Year 496. See NORIS. in *Hist. Pelag.* II. 22.

3. *PROCOPIUS* give us this Character of him, *de Bell. Vandal.* Lib. I. *Frater Thrasamundus successor ei, (Guntamundo) fuit forma, ingenio, animique magnitudine excellens: Christianos vero ad patrium sibi dogma transferre cupiens, non vi in corpora incessit, ut priores, sed honores magistratusque ostentans, pecuniæ quoque largus, inobsequentes qui essent, nosse dissimulans: quin &, si quos consilio, aut fortuna gravibus criminibus obnoxios teneret, his sectam mutantibus impunitatem dabat.* He concludes his Relation with these Words: *Quantumobrem Regum omnium Vandalorum præstantissimus audiit ac potentissimus Thrasamundus, Anastasio quoque Augusto carus in paucis fuit.* NICEPHORUS, Lib. XVII. cap. 2. calls him *vir forma eximia, & animo magno.* He was, at the same Time, a Lover of Study †, as we may even see by the Reproach made him by Theoderic, King of the *Wisi-Goths*: *VARIAR.* Lib. VI. ep. 43. *Ubi est, quod tanta lectione saginatus, alios solebas docere de moribus?* What Hopes even the Orthodox Christians, in Africa, form'd of him, we may see by the Words, with which *Fulgentius* concludes his Treatise, *de Mys-*

† We find, in the Letters of *Ennodius*, Bishop of Pavia, Lib. II. ep. 20. a Letter to this King. His Propension for the Sciences made, probably, such Correspondences agreeable to him.

terio Mediatoris Christi, which he dedicated to this King, p. 422. *Ora-
mus autem Deum, ut aures clementiae Tuae verbo veritatis placidas reddat,
& pio cordi Tuo lumen sapientiae spiritualis infundat, ut filium Dei, Deum
Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum sic honorifices, sicut honorificas Patrem.
Meretur enim hoc a Te, ut, eum, QUI TE FECIT PATRE TUO MELIOREM,
Patri suo secundum divinam naturam fatearis aequalem.* But they were
disappointed in their Hopes. *Emanuel a Scheelstraate* gives us a more
circumstantial Account of the Persecution he raised, A. 504, and, p. 293,
he names the Bishops, who were then oblig'd to forsake their Churches.

4. HE kept Peace with the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*, and married *Amalafrida*, the Sister of King *Theodoric*. (XI. 6. n. 4.) Of this Marriage, *Procopius* says; Lib. I. cap. 8. p. 197. *Conjuge, nec marem unquam, nec
foeminam enixa, viduatus, ut regnum optime stabiliret, missa ad Theodo-
ricum Gothorum Regem, legatione, sibi uxorem poscit, sororem ejus, Ama-
lafridam, a recenti viri funere viduam. Sororem ille misit cum comitatu
Gothorum mille nobilium, qui stipatorum munus obirent: hos secuta sunt
ministeria e viris bellicosus collecta ad quina circiter millia. Unum item e
Siciliae promontoriis (Lilybaeum vocant) sorori Theodoricus donavit.*

5. HIS Death is observed by *VICTOR TUNUNENSIS*, in the Year 523, *MAXIMO COS. Thrasamundus, Vandalorum Rex, Carthagine moritur,
cujus uxor Amalafrida fugiens ad barbaros, congressione facta, Capsae
juxta Eremum capitur, & in custodia privata moritur.* This Computation
is confirm'd by *PAGIUS*, ad A. 522. n. 2. and *NORIS*, l. c. c. 2.

† Below
Num. 7. 2.

6. As to the Fate of his Widow *Amalafrid*, *Procopius* tells us †, that
she was made a Prisoner even in her Brother's Life-Time; but that he
would not venture to take her Part. From *Cassiod. Var. Lib. IX. ep. I.*
we find, she was not murder'd 'till *Athalaric's* Time. There we find a
Letter from this King to *Hilderic*, King of the *Vandals*, in which he
accuses him of the Queen's Murder, and threatens to revenge her Death.

HILDERICO, Regi Vandalorum,
ATHANARICUS Rex.

*Durissima nimis sorte constringimur, ut, quos ante dulces parentes dixi-
mus, nunc eis causas amarissimas imputemus, quas nemo potest relinquere,
qui pietatis noscitur monumenta cogitare. Quis enim nesciat, divae recorda-
tionis Amalafridam, generis nostri decus egregium, violentum apud vos repe-
risse lucis occasum? & quam habuistis pridem dominam, passi non estis
vivere*

vivere nec privatam. Hæc si contra fas parentelæ gravis esse videbatur, remitti ad nos debuit honorabilis, quam magnis supplicationibus expetiistis. Parricidii genus est, ut, quam vobis fecerat affinem conjunctio Regis, nefandis artibus in ejus vos interitum misceretur. Quid tantum mali a suo conjugæ relicta promeruit? Si successio æbebatur alteri, numquid fœmina in eo ambitu potuit inveniri? Mater quinimo haberi debuit, quæ vobis regna profudit. Nam & hoc nobilitati vestræ fuisset adjectum, si inter HAS DIVORUM † stirpem retinuissetis Amali sanguinis purpuream dignitatem. Hoc † leg. Haddingorum. Gothi nostri ad suum potius opprobrium intelligunt fuisse tentatum. Nam qui Domine alienæ gentis intulit necem, omnino ejus parentum visus est despexisse virtutem: quando nemo, quod rescandum credit, putat esse tentandum. Et morali ideo ratione communiti, PER ILLUM & ILLUM, legatos nostros, verbis prius a vobis expetimus æquitatem, expectantes, qualis excusatio tantis casibus afferatur. Nam & si quodlibet negotium in tali persona fuisset enatum, nobis debuit intimari, (ut & nostro judicio periret, quæ se pessimis actibus miscuisset) restat, ut naturalis ejus fingatur occasus. Impossibilia non dicimus: nova non querimus: ILLUM atque ILLUM tradite, per quos facta res debeat elucere. Sic in eis totius causæ absoluta probatio, sine bello, sine cæde, aut nos efficiat placatos, aut vos reddat obnoxios. Quodsi creditis esse temnendum, nec vos ad rationibilia responsa componitis, conditione initæ pacis absolvimus, qui læsi fœderis vinculo non tenemur. Vindicet nunc superna Majestas scelus qualibet arte commissum, quæ ad se clamare fatetur fraterni sanguinis cædem impiam.

VII.

HILDERIC

A. 523. to 530.

1. SEE his History (XL 51. & seq.) Probably this is the same King Hilderic, mention'd in the following Epigram, in Pithæus's Collection, p. 55.

HILDERICI Regis fulget mirabile factum,
Arte, opere, ingenio, divitiis, pretio.
Hinc radios sol ipse capit, quos huic dare possit,
Altera marmoribus creditur esse dies.
Hic sine nube solum, nix juncta & sparsa putatur,
Dum steteris, credas mergere posse pedes.

ANNOTAT.

F f f

2. PRO-

2. *PROCOPIUS Lib. I. cap. 9.* gives the following Account of this King: *In regnum successit Ildericus, Honorici filius, ac Gizerici nepos, vir subtilis, affabilis, totus ad mansuetudinem natus, qui nullo unquam modo Christianos vexavit: at idem valde imbellis, res militares ne auribus quidem admittebat. Quamobrem fratris ipsius filius Hoamer, vir bello præclarus, Vandalorum expeditionibus præerat, sic, ut eorum Achilles nominaretur. Regnante Ilderico Mauri Bizaceni, qui parebant Antallæ, prælio fudere Vandalos, hisque societatem & amicitiam renunciarunt Theodoricus & Gotthi, ideo facti hostes, quod Amalafrida in custodiis asservaretur, cæsiq; ad internecionem Gotthi fuissent, impacto illis crimine conjugationis in Vandalos & Ildericum. Minime tamen ultum ivit Theodoricus, suas opes intelligens non sufficere ingenti classi, qua bellum in Africam portaret. Erat Hildericus arctissimæ amicitiae vinculo junctus Justiniano, nondum quidem adepto imperium, id tamen ad arbitrium moderanti: quoniam Justinus Imperator, ejus avunculus, senio confectus erat, ac reip. tractandæ haud peritus omnino. Mutuis etiam pecuniæ donis Justinianus & Ildericus liberalissime certabant.*

3. HIS favourable Disposition to the Orthodox Christians, is already extoll'd in the above Passage. Nicephorus even says, he was no Arian. *L. 17. c. 11. Hoc autem (Thrasamundo) defuncto Hildericus, Honorici, ex Genserico prognati, filius regnavit: vir mitis, & non, ut hic Thrasamundus, Arianus, & Christianorum virorum persecutor.* But this is improbable, since other Authors, and particularly the Author of the Life of *S. Fulgentius*, are silent on this Head; and the Council held under him at *Carthage*, *A. 425*, shews no Sign of it.

VIII.

GILIMER *

King, *A. 530.* is conquer'd, and carried in Triumph to *Constantinople*.

1. I HAVE given a particular Account of him (*XI. 51. 54. & seq.*) *Procopius* says of him, *Lib. I. c. 9. Quidem erat e Gizerici stirpe Gelimer, Gelaridis filius, Genzonis nepos, pronepos Gizerici, jam grandis natus, uno præcedente ætate Ilderico; ideoque ad regnum ut existimabatur, prope diem perventurus. Is quidem ætatis suæ bellicosissimus habebatur; at idem*

* *Al. Gelimer, or Gelifimer. GREGORY calls him Childimer.*

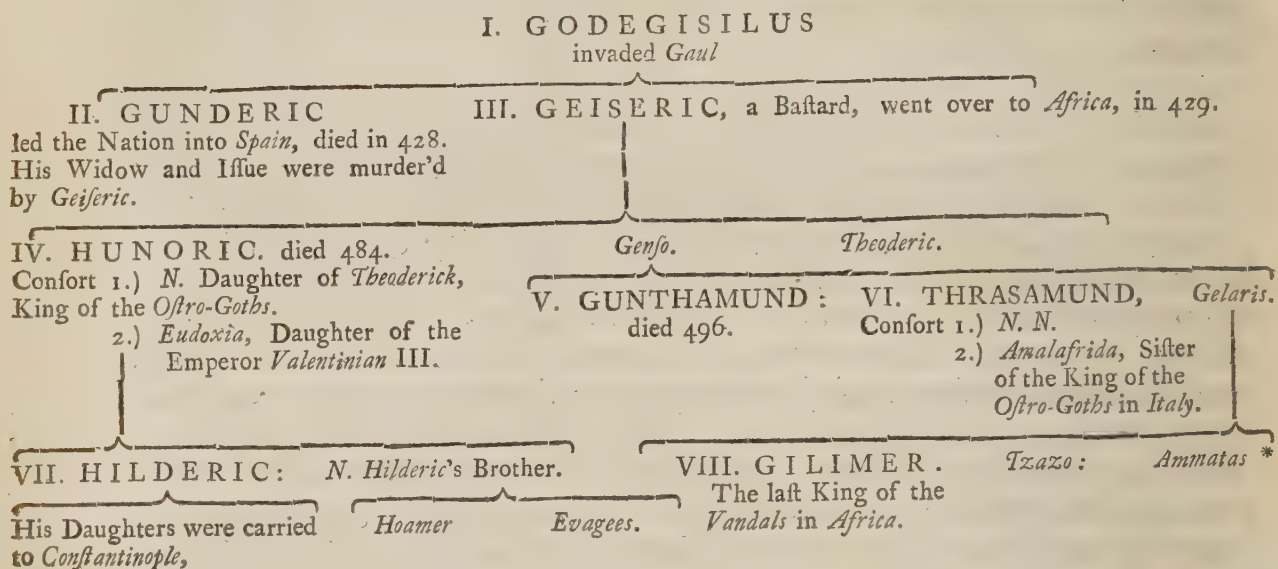
vasfro imprimis ac maligno vir ingenio, movere nova, & in alienas opes involare callebat. Cum autem nimium differri sibi regnum videret, se intra legem ac præscriptum tenere non poterat: verum sibi munia Regis arrogans, honorem ante diem usurpabat, & Ilderico facili indulgentique utens, impotentiae animi efferebatur. Tandem, Vandalorum fortissimis quibusque in suas partes pertractis, suavit, ut regnum Vandalicum sibi traderent, dejecto a gubernaculis Ilderico, tum ob ignaviam & illatam a Mauris cladem, tum quod JUSTINO AUG. Vandalorum opes eo proderet animo, ne ipse, ex alio gentis regiae ramo editus, regnum obtineret, eo spectare calumnians missam Byzantium legationem.

2. THE Triumph of Belisarius, as describ'd (XI. 51.) is grounded on Procopius's Relation, L. II. c. 9. *Postquam Byzantium Belisarius cum Gelimere Vandalisque advenit, honoribus affectus est, qui quondam Romanis Ducibus, maximas, clarissimasque victorias consecutis decernebantur, cum nemo jam ab annis DC. adeptus eos fuisset, præter Titum, Trajanum ac ceteros Imperatores, qui ducto in barbaram aliquam nationem exercitu, victores redierant. Etenim spolia & captivos spectandos exhibens, pompam, s. ut Romani appellabant, triumphum, per urbem mediam duxit, non veteri tamen more. Siquidem a suis ædibus in Circum usque pedibus processit, ibique a carceribus usque ad solium Imperatoris. Porro hos triumphus captivos habuit: Gelimerem ipsum, cum veste purpurea circumdata humeris; propinquos ipsius omnes e Vandalis, procerissimos quosque & oris dignitate præstantes. Circum ingressus Gelimer, ubi Augustum sublimi in solio sedentem, stantemque hinc inde populum vidit, & animum ad se referens, quo infortunii devenisset, attendit, nec lacrymas nec gemitus edidit: ac semper in ore habuit vocem illam ex Hebræorum monumentis: Vanitas vanitatum & omnia vanitas. Ut ventum est ad Cæsareum solium, exuta purpura, prono vultu procumbere, & Justinianum Augustum adorare compulsus est: quem honorem Belisarius quoque persolvit, cum Gelimere supplex. Imperator autem Justinianus, ac Theodora Augusta, Ilderici filias & omnem Valentiniani Augusti prosapiam multa pecunia donavit: Gelimeri fundos in Galatia assignarunt non contemnendos: ubi ipsi cum propinquitatē habitare licuit. At Patritiorum ordini ideo non fuit adscriptus, quia ab Arianismo decedere noluit.*

3. IMMEDIATELY afterwards he relates, how Belisarius, the next Year, at his Entry upon the Consular Dignity, distributed the Booty, taken from the Vandals, among the People: *Haud multo post Belisarius alterum & veteri quidem more triumphum egit. Nam illum Consulem captivi portarunt: idemque e Curuli ipsas belli Vandalici manubias populo* F f f 2 *sparsit.*

Siquidem, Belisario COS. vasa argentea, zonas aureas, aliarumque rerum pretiosarum, quas habuerunt Vandali, magnam copiam populus rapuit.

*A Genealogical Table of the Kings of the VANDALS,
who rul'd in AFRICA.*



* PROCOPIUS de Bell. Vandal. l. 18. says. Gibamundum, Gelimeris fratris filium. But who his Father was we cannot say.

IX. AN-

IX. ANNOTATION.

Of the GOTHs, in general.

I.

History of the Goths to the Time of their Dispersion.

AS the Name of the *Goths*, particularly in the fifth and sixth Centuries, became so famous, that it almost eclips'd that of the *Romans*, a more particular Account has, for this Reason, been greatly desir'd: But their History is, in itself, obscure, and has been render'd more so by the many, often very bold, Conjectures of the Learned. In the Course of this History, I have observ'd many Things of the Extraction of these People, their Habitations, Kings, Expeditions, and other Transactions. I do not, indeed, pretend to give a perfect connected History of the *Goths*. I shall, however, endeavour to set some Matters, on which the Connection must be grounded, in a true Light. I pass by the most ancient Period of their Extraction, in which the History of this Nation, as well as that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, is full of Fables *, and shall keep merely to the authentick Testimonies of those Writers, who liv'd in the Times they write of. The History of the *Goths* does not run in one continued Stream; but, like a River, makes sundry Excursions, here and there, and then at Length, divides itself into many Branches. I shall first treat of the *Goths*, as to what concerns the whole Nation; and then of the *Wisi-* and *Ostro-Goths* in particular, and illustrate some peculiar Circumstances of their History.

* *JORNANDES* himself takes Notice of the Fables of the Goths.

II.

II.

Of the Name of the Goths. The different Nations comprehended under that Name.

1. WE find, in the very Beginning of our Enquiry, a great Difficulty arising even from the different Names of the *Goths*. They are properly call'd *Gothi*, *Gothones*, *Guthones*, *Gythones*, &c; but they are also nam'd *Scythæ**, and *Getae*†, and likewise, according to *Procopius*, *Melanchlani* and *Sauromatae*. We must, therefore, first distinguish the Nation of the *Goths* properly so call'd, and those who were conquer'd by them, or voluntarily submitted to their Dominion, and from thence were comprehended under the same Name. *Pliny* reckons the genuine *Goths* to be of the same Extraction with the *Vandals*; which *Procopius*, who was very well acquainted with these Nations, also confirms. (See the Passages in the seventh Annotation, n. 1.)

2. THESE *Goths* having, in Time, extended their Power, and many other *German* and *Sarmatian* Nations being partly conquer'd by them, and having in Part voluntarily submitted to them, the *Greek* and *Roman* Writers extended the Name of *Goths* to them also. So we find the *Greuthungi*, *Thoringi*, *Taifali***, *Peucini*††, *Bastarnæ*, *Carpi*, *Scirri*,

* Because they took Possession of the Countries which the *Scythians*, properly so call'd, had inhabited. Of these *Scythians*, properly so call'd, see *BAIER* in *Diff. de Origine & prisca sedibus Scytharum*, and de situ *Scythiæ*, qualis fuit sub ætatem *Herodoti*.

† *Getae* and *Gothi* are in themselves different. The *Getae* had their Habitation anciently in *Thrace*, and along the *Pontus Euxinus*. The *Goths* came from the North, towards the *Danube*. In succeeding Times, they were frequently confounded, one with the other.

** The *Taifali* are frequently mention'd in the first Volume. A Colony of them settled at *Poitou*, in *Gaul*, who are mention'd by *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS*, Lib. 4. cap. 18. Ipse quoque regressus ad castrum suum, mota super se *TAIFALORUM* seditione, quos sæpe gravaverat, lancea fauciat, crudeliter vitam finit. It is a Question, whether these *Taifali* accompanied the *Wisi-Goths* to *Gaul*, or whether they are those who lay in Garrison at *Poitiers* in the Time of the *Romans*?

†† *JORNANDES* says of the *Peucini* (V. 23. 4.) that they dwell in insula *Peuce*, quam ostia *Danubii* conficiunt. *TACITUS* says of them in general, Germ. 46. *Peucinatorum*, *Venedorumque*, & *Fennorum* nationes *Germanis* an *Sarmatis* adscribam dubito? quanquam *Peucini*, quos quidam *Bastarnas* vocant, sermone, cultu, fede, ac domiciliis, ut *Germani* agunt.

Hirri;

Hirri ||, &c. So likewise not only the *Vandals*, *Gepidæ*, and *Burgundians* are sometimes comprehended under the general Name of *Goths*, but likewise even the *Alani*, who were incontestably of a quite different Extraction. Hence likewise we meet with the Name of many *Gothick* Kings, who never rul'd over the *Goths*; but over other Nations, who were under their Supremacy; or single Parties of them, who have made Excursions to seek their Fortunes, have been taken Notice of under that Denomination, and it is therefore the more difficult, to give a Series of the Kings of the *Goths*, that may be depended on.

III.

The History of the Goths, 'till the Ostro- and Wisi-Goths separated.

1. I SHALL only endeavour here to verify the principal Occurrences, according to the Light we have from ancient Writers. Even the Testimonies of *Jornandes* receive a greater Weight, when supported by other Historians. *Tacitus* gives the first Footstep, in the Person of *Catualda*, a *Gothick* Prince, who drove *Maroboduus*, King of the *Marcomanni*, out of his Dominions. (*IV.* 19.)

2. THE *Goths* had probably a great Share in the War, which *Domitian* wag'd against *Decebalus*, King of *Dacia*. (*V.* 6.) *Jornandes* even writes, that their King, *Dorpaneus*, came as far as the *Danube*. (*Ibid.*) When *Trajan* made *Dacia* a Province, many *Sarmatian* Nations were entangl'd in War, and probably the *Goths* with them. (*V.* 9. 6.) *Ptolemy* places the *Goths* in *Sarmatia*, near to the *Vistula* *.

3. IN *M. Antonins's* *Marcomann* War, we find the Names of some Nations, who were afterwards mention'd among the *Goths*: And probably they are the very same who gave *Commodus* Trouble to keep them out of *Dacia*. (*Ib.* 24. 1.) They afterwards often attempted to break in on that Side; and *Alexander Severus* gave them Money to keep in Peace. (*Ibid.* 32. 1.)

|| There is frequent Mention made of the *Scirri* and *Hirri*, in the first Volume. In *BAIERI* Diss. de muro Caucaseo, p. 459, one *Hacanus*, rex *Turcarum* & *HYRRORUM* is mention'd.

* *Geograph.* III. 5. *Penes Vistulam quidem fluvium, sub Venetis Gythones sunt.*

4. IN

4. IN *Philip's* Reign, the *Goths* fell into *Moesia*. (*V.* 33.) *Jornandes* calls their King *Ostrogotha*, and says, in his Praise, that he afterwards overcame *Fastida*, King of the *Gepidæ*. (*Ibid.* n. 4.)

5. UNDER *Decius*, *Philip's* Successor, happen'd a new Irruption. (*V.* 34.) They forc'd their Way over Mount *Hæmus*, in *Thrace*; defeated *Decius*, who commanded in Person; took thereupon *Philippopolis*, and push'd on as far as *Macedonia*. In another Battle † with them, the Emperor himself and his Son, were kill'd. (*V.* 34.) *Jornandes* ascribes all this to King *Cniva*, the Successor of *Ostrogotha*. (*Ibid.* n. 3.) *Gallus*, the Successor of *Decius*, made Peace with the *Goths*, by Virtue of which they were allow'd to retire over the *Danube*, with all the Booty and Prisoners they had made, and he promis'd the Payment of a certain Sum annually, on Condition they should not farther infest the *Roman* Provinces. (*V.* 35.)

† *A.* 251.

Excursions of the Goths, on the Pontus Euxinus, &c.

6. AFTER this Time, the *Goths* began to make Excursions on the *Pontus Euxinus*, and try their Fortune at Sea; on this Occasion they landed, here and there, on the Coasts of *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Thrace*, and overwhelm'd all these Countries with the same Terror. The same happen'd in the Reign of *Valerian*; (*V.* 37.) and again under *Gallienus*. (*V.* 43.)

7. SOON after, the *Goths*, *Gepidæ*, *Heruli*, and *Peucini*, assembled on the *Niester*; got together a Fleet, and enter'd the *Pontus Euxinus*. (*V.* 44.) A Party of them landed on the Coast of *Macedonia*, and ravag'd the Country as far as *Moesia*. These were the same whom Emperor *Claudius* defeated (*V.* 45.) in the Neighbourhod of *Naissus*, on Account of which Victory, he was surnam'd *Gothicus*. According to *Jornandes*, these were not the whole Nation of the *Goths*, only a Swarm of young People, under some audacious Leaders. We cannot have a livelier Idea of this Adventure of the ancient *Goths*, than by comparing it to the Enterprises of the *Normans* (*North-Men*) of After-times, in the *Eastern* and *Western* Seas.

The Goths get a firm Footing in Dacia.

8. WHEN *Aurelian* totally abandon'd *Dacia*, which was already very much laid waste, and the *Roman* Inhabitants evacuated it, (*V. 52.*) this made, as it were, a new Period in the *Gothick* History; for the *Sarmatian* and *Gothick* Nations then extended themselves unmolested, as far as the *Danube* *: And as that River now made the Confines of the *Roman* Empire, this gave Occasion to more frequent Wars between them and these their turbulent Neighbours. Among *Probus's* Coins, there is one with the Reverse; *Victoria Gothica*, and the Surname of *Gothicus*, given to *Diocletian*, shews he had likewise to do with these his Neighbours.

Transactions of the Goths in the fourth Century, in the Reign of Constantine the Great, and his Sons.

9. AS the History of the Empire, under *Constantine* the Great, takes, as it were, a new Form; so, by Degrees, it likewise gives a greater Light to the *Gothick* History. In the Year 523, he expell'd the *Goths* who had invaded *Moësia* and *Thrace*, out of those Countries; but, at the same Time, enter'd into a League with them, by Virtue of which many *Goths* enter'd into the Service of the *Romans*. (*Ib. not. 2.*)

10. IN the Year 528, he pass'd the *Danube*, and built a Bridge over that River, the Memory of which we find on many Coins. (*VI. 28.*)

11. IN the Year 532, he, and his eldest Son, *Constantine*, took the Field, to assist the *Sarmatians* against the *Goths*. (*VI. 28.*) *Araric*, King of the *Goths*, gave him his Son as an Hostage; probably for a Security of the League he then made with the *Romans*. (*Ibid. not. 5.*)

12. *ARARIC*, according to *Jornandes*, was succeeded by *Geberic*, likewise in the Reign of *Constantine*. The same Author, who likewise refers to *Dixippus*, relates, of him, that he defeated the *Vandals*, on the River *Maros*, (*VI. 28. 11.*) and took their Country from them.

13. *CONSTANTINE* the Great, boasts, indeed, that by Means of his Arms and Treaties, he again made *Dacia* a *Roman* Province. (*VI.*

* See, of this the Words of *Eutropius*, (*V. 9. 6.*)

IX. *Annotation.*

8. 9.) Notwithstanding which as well the *Goths* as the *Sarmatians*, and particularly the *Sarmatæ limigantes* remain'd there; and the boasted Supremacy, over this new Province, was not of long Duration, as is evident by the Campaigns *Constantius* made against the *Sarmatians*. (VI. 55. 56.)

14. MOREOVER, after the last Treaty made with *Constantine*, there was, for a considerable Time, Peace between the *Roman Empire* and the *Goths*. At that Time, *Hermanaric* reign'd over the *Ostro-Goths*; to whose Honour, *Jornandes* says, that he conquer'd the *Heruli*, *Æstii*, *Venedi* and *Roxolani*. (VI. 43.)

15. ON the other Hand, *Athalaric*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, was at War with the Emperour *Valens*, A. 367. A Peace was concluded between the Emperor and this King, on the Middle of the *Danube*, which was, as it were, the Confines of both their Dominions. (VII. 3.)

IV.

Separation of the Ostro- and Wisi-Goths.

IN the Reigns of these two Kings, it was that the *Ostro-* and *Wisi-Goths* separated *, in such Manner, that each Nation had their own King: So that, at the same Time, *Hermanaric* rul'd over the *Ostro-Goths*, and *Athalaric* over the *Wisi-Goths*, with equal Power. *Jornandes* says of *Hermanaric*, cap. 24. *Quam adversam ejus valetudinem captans Balamir, Rex Hunnorum, in Ostrogothas movit procinctum, a quorum societate jam Visigothæ discessere, quam dudum inter se juncti habebant.* In this Sense, *Isidorus* says, in *Chr. Goth. er.* 407. of *Athalarico*: *Anno V. imperii Valentis, primus Gothorum gentis administrationem suscepit Athalaricus.*

V.

The Confines of the Gothick Dominions, in the Times of Hermanaric and Athalaric.

THIS very Period shews us the Power of the *Goths*, when at the highest Pitch; and, at the same Time, the Decline of it. We find some Footsteps, that the *Wisi-Goths* had then their Habitation, towards the

* Ostrogothorum jam meminit POLLIO in Claud. 6. (V. 44. n. 4.)

West, in *Dacia* and *Sarmatia*, in those Countries which are now known partly by the Names of *Upper Hungary*, *Transylvania*, and *Walachia*, and partly belonging to the adjacent *Poles*. Of the *Ostro-Goths*, we may conclude, from the same Accounts, that they extended themselves from the Source of the *Boriſthenes* to the *Don*. With all this, we must reckon so many other *German* and *Sarmatian* Nations, which were subdued by the *Goths*; viz. the *Thoringi*, *Taisali*, *Gepidæ*, *Burgundians*, *Varni*, *Heruli*, *Æstii*, *Peucini*, *Roxolani*, *Scirri*, *Hirri*, and others, whose Names are scarce to be truly found: On this the Conjecture is grounded, that the total Power of the *Goths*, when at the highest, extended towards the *North*, to the *East-Sea*; towards the *West*, to the *Vistula*, and beyond it; towards the *East*, to the *Don*; and towards the *South*, to the *Danube*, and the *Pontus Euxinus*. (XI. 22. and XIII. 7.) In the mean Time, those Nations, who acknowledg'd the Sovereignty of the *Goths*, had not, therefore, given up their Liberty intirely. The *Gothick* Kings were satisfied, if the Nations they conquer'd acknowledg'd their Sovereignty, and serv'd them in their Wars; which the greatest Heroes of Antiquity thought the noblest Fruits of their Victories, especially as the Poverty of the Times could not allow of any considerable Tribute. The Monarchy of *Attila*, and the many different Nations of which it was compos'd, who all recover'd their Liberty after his Death, may serve us as an Example, how it must have been, in the same Case, with the *Goths*,

VI.

Dispersion of the Goths, in the Reign of Valens.

BUT the History of the *Goths* hardly begins to appear in a clear Light, before it falls in Pieces again, as it were, of itself. The *Hunns* make War upon the *Ostro-Goths*; and *Athanarick*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, is expell'd by an Insurrection in his own Dominions. After these Distractions, the *Gothick* History takes a quite different Form. Some of the *Goths* remain'd in their old Territories, others cross'd the *Danube*, into those of the *Romans*, and there separated likewise. Hence arose four different Sorts of *Goths*. 1. The *Wisi-Goths*, who went, under the Command of *Alaric*, to *Italy*, and founded a particular Kingdom in *Gaul* and *Spain*; 2. The *Goths* who continued their Habitation, and preserved their Loyalty to the *Roman* Empire; among whom, we meet with *Theoderic*, the Son of *Triarius*, *Sarus*, and many other Persons of Note, who fought against their own Country-men, in the Service of the *Romans*; 3. The *Ostro-Goths*, who, at Length, repair'd to *Italy*, under *Theoderick*; And 4. the

Goths who constantly remain'd in their Country; such were the *Gothi Tetraxitæ*, who kept their ancient Habitation on the *Don*, and the *Mœotick Lake*. (XIII. 7.) The other Nations, who were Subjects to the *Gothick Monarchy*, recover'd their Liberty, as we have already observ'd, in their proper Places, of the *Gepidæ*, *Thuringians*, and others.

VII.

The Propagation of the Christian Faith, among the Goths.

ad VII. 39. 40.

I. AMONG other Circumstances, which belong to the History of the Goths, in general, and will display themselves hereafter more, in the Histories of the *Ostro-Goths* and *Wist-Goths*, the Propagation of the Christian Religion deserves principally our Notice. (*Ser Vol. I. VII. 39 and 40.*) Among the Bishops of other Cities, who exerted themselves, on this Occasion, *Ascholius*, Bishop of *Theſſalonica*, is particularly extoll'd by *Basilus Magnus*, Archbishop of *Cæsarea*, in *Capadocia*, ep. 338 & 339.

2. So likewise a Greek Priest, nam'd *Audius*, made himself noted, on this Occasion. I shall give his History from *EPIPHANIUS adv. Hæreses, Lib. III. cap. 14. Caterum idem ille senex Audius in Scythiam ab Imperatore relegatus est, quod populos passim ab Ecclesiæ obsequio retraheret, cum eo nomine ab Episcopis esset ad Imperatorem delatus. Cumque in ea regione versaretur (quot autem annis ibidem vixerit, certo asseverare non possumus) in interiora Gothicæ penetrans, barbaros multos Christianæ religionis rudimentis instituit. Ex quo monasteria in Gothia nonnulla propagata sunt: in quibus religiosa vivendi ratio, & virginitas, arctissimaque disciplina floruit. Est enim hominum iste coetus vitæ ratione & instituto cum primis admirabili. Atque in illorum monasteriis nihil non præclarum & eximium est: si præfractam illam contumaciam excipias, qua & in Paschate celebrando a communi consuetudine discedunt, & illud de Dei imagine simplici quadam ratione interpretandum putant. And, cap. 15. Post illius vero mortem ad eundem illum coetum adhæsere complures Episcopi: sed imprimis Uranius in Mesopotamia. Quin etiam ex ipsa Gotthia sibi aliquot adjunxit & Episcopos constituit. Præter quos etiam Silvanus, & alii quidam extiterunt, e quibus nonnulli mortui sunt, & inter alios Uranius, qui se in illa turba præ aliis efferebat. Verum post Uranii ac Silvani, in Gotthia Episcopi, mortem, plerisque ab ea factione abstractis, ad paucos conventu.*

conventus illorum redactus est, atque in Chalcide, quæ ad Antiochiam sita est, & ad Euphratem resedit. Nam e Gotthia plerique pulsi sunt, una cum aliis communionis nostræ Christianis: cum ab Rege quodam gentile ingens esset, ac vehemens contrita persecutio, quam Romanorum præsertim odio commoverat, quod Romanos Imperatores Christianos esse videret: Unde Christianum nomen illinc exterminare voluit. Verum radix sapientiæ, aut pietatis non deficit. Et quanquam pulsi fugatique Christiani omnes videantur, nonnulli tamen adhuc supersunt.

Arianism takes Root among the Goths. Why they are called Ariani Hexacionitæ?

3. *ULPHILAS*, in vit. *S. Nicetæ*, is call'd the Successor of *Theophilus*. Under him *Arianism* crept in among the *Wisi-Goths*, especially at the Time when *Fritigern* and *Athanaric* were entangled in a War together. The first favour'd that Sect, to oblige the Emperor *Valens*, who had sent him Succours, and he adher'd himself to their Community. (VII. 39. n. 5. 6.) *Jornandes* says, cap. 25, that, by this Means, *Arianism* spread likewise to the *Ostro-Goths* and the *Gepidæ*: *De cætero tam Ostrogothis, quam Gepidis, parentibus suis, per affectionis gratiam evangelizantes, hujus perfidiæ culturam edocentes, omnem ubique linguæ hujus nationem ad culturam hujus sectæ invitavere.* As the *Arians* themselves were not united in Opinion; so the *Goths*, at first, adher'd to them whose Doctrine deviated the least from *Catholicism*. *Theodoretus* says of them: *Nunquam tamen filium creaturam dici sustinuerunt.* (VII. 40. 3.)

4. THEY afterwards adher'd to those who were call'd *Hexacionitæ*. *Theophanes* writes: *Imperator Justinianus abstulit omnes hæreticorum Ecclesias, easque Orthodoxis concessit, exceptis iis, quæ Arianorum Hexacionitarum essent.* (Conf. XIII. 36. n. 3.) In the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, ad An. XI. *Zenonis*, *Theoderick*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*, is call'd *Hexacionita*. Of the Signification of this Word, *Alemannus*, in *notis ad Procopii Anecdota*, p. 130. says: *Hi nempe nobilissimi Arianorum erant, in quorum Collegium adscribi Gothorum Reges Italici consueverant.* But it is best defin'd by the Tenets themselves of that Sect. Those who taught that the Father created the Son ἐξ ὕλης ὀντων, were, for that Reason, call'd *Exucontii* or *Exuconitæ*. For the Rest, the *Goths* and *Burgundians*; tho' they were *Arians*, held with the *Catholicks*, against the *Photinians*. In a Fragment of *Avitus*, *Lib. contra Arianos*, (Oper. p. 173) is said: *Scelestissimam eorum (Photinianorum) in hoc blasphemiam, perinde etiam vestræ, ut nostræ legis sententia detestatur.*

Martyres.

Martyres Gothi. S. Sabas, Nicetas, &c.

5. MANY suffer'd, among the *Goths*, for the Sake of the *Catholick* Religion; especially under *Athanasius*, King of the *West-Goths*. Many fled into the Imperial Dominions. Several Passages of *St. Ambrose*, *St. Austin*, and other Fathers, are quoted above, in which Mention is made of the *Gothick* Martyrs. Among these, *S. Sabas*, whom *Athanasius* caused, for the Sake of his Religion, to be drowned, about the Year 372, is particularly famous. His Acts are recorded by *Ruinart*, in *Actis Martyr. sinceris*, p. 674. and, in *Act. S. S. Antv. ad. d. 12. Apr.* Of *Nicetas*, *Suidas* makes Mention, in *voc. Athanasius*: *Athanasius, qui S. Nicetam excruciauit, & magnum Christi martyrem effecit*, *Nicephorus* mentions him more particularly, *Lib. XI. cap. 48.* In his Acts, in *Surius*, *ad. d. 15. Sept.* is very little Matter for History, except, that it is said: He suffer'd *sub Athanasio, eo tempore, quo Gratianus imperavit Romanis.* In the *Greek Menæi ad. d. 26. Mart.* we find the following Account of some other *Gothick* Martyrs: *Martyres in Gothia martyrio affecti. Ex quibus sunt duo Presbyteri: Bathusis & Vercas, cum duobus filiis & filiabus.* And farther. *Hi fuerunt sub Junguricho, Rege Gothorum, & Gratiano, Imperatore Romanorum, sed propter confessionem Christi sub Junguricho per ignem martyrii coronam acceperunt.* Perhaps, instead of *Junguricho*, should be read *Athanasio* †.

6. *ATHANASIC* persecuted the *Christians* in general, and therefore, there were as well *Catholick* as *Arian* Martyrs; and *Socrates* says expressly, (VII. 29. not. 5.) *Barbaros nonnullos ex Secta Ariana tum martyres factos.*

VIII.

Of the Gothick Tongue, Writing, Habit, Manners, &c.

1. IN the first Volume, I have here and there made some Mention of their Language, Habit, and Manner of Life. *Procopius* proves that the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Gepidæ*, had one and the same Language. (X. 6. n. 7.) And therefore we have the less Reason to wonder, that *Priscus* reckons it among those which were most spoken at *Attila's* Court (IX. 23. 8.) As the Learned agree it was the same which is contain'd in the *Cod. Argent.* our Enquiry need only be, what Dialect that approaches the

† Conf. tamen *Act. SS. Antverp. ad d. 26. Mart.*

nearest to. In *Mabillonii Analect. T. II. p. 358.* (ed. Paris. de A. 1722. f.) is an *Excerptum Smaradi, Abbatis S. Michaelis, in Dioecesi Virdunensi*, who liv'd in the Time of Charlemain, *Commentario in Donatum*, and in it a Passage concerning the Gothick Tongue, which I shall subjoin: *In Francorum Gothorumque genere, hæc patronymica species frequentatur multoties. A parte enim gentili, & a Theodisca veniunt lingua, de quibus in exemplo Gothorum pauca primum ponimus nomina, quorum hæc sunt exempla: ALTMIR, GLITMIR, RIGMIR, RAINMIR, WATMIR, WIGMUNT, RIGMUNT, RATMUNT, WILMUNT, & similia. Quorum hæc est in Latini interpretatio. ALTMIR, namque vetulus mihi interpretatur; GLITMIR, debitus mihi; RIGMIR, potens mihi; RAINMIR, nitidus mihi; WATMIR, vestimentum mihi; WIGMUNT, volens bucca; RIGMUNT, potens bucca, RATMUNT, consilium oris. Et infra: Francorum patronymica, secundum Theodiscam linguam hæc sunt nomina: HELPERICH, ALTRICH, ARTRICH, AINARTH, RICHART, STEINHART, RAINHART, ARCHARAT, FULRATH, TANCHRAT, FASTRATH, GOTRAHT, RAGHMAN. GOTHMAN, ARTHMAN, RICHMAN, WITMAN, SUARZMAN, LIUBMAN. Quorum hæc sunt interpretationes: HELPERICH, adjutorium potens; ALTRICH, senex potens; ARTRICH, durus potens; AINARTH, unus durus; RICHART, potens consilium; STEINHART, lapis durus; RAINHART, nitidum consilium; ARCHARAT, durum consilium; FULRATH, plenum consilium; TANCRAHT, grande consilium; FASTRATH, firmum consilium; GOTRAHT, bonum consilium; RATHMAN, consiliarius homo; GOTHMAN, bonus homo; ARTHMAN, durus homo; RICHMAN, potens homo; WITMAN, candidus homo; SUARZMAN, niger homo; LIUBMAN, amatus homo. It were to be wish'd, that a certain Glossarium Gothicum, of which Philippus Jacobus Maussacus makes Mention, had ever been printed. His Words are, in *Diff. de Harpocrat. p. 355. Vidi Ansileubi cujusdam, Gothorum Episcopi, glossarium, erutum ex veteri Codice Bibliothecæ Moysaciensis, quo multa Gothorum, aliorumque populorum barbara vocabula explicantur.* Of the Gothick Letters, I shall, on another Occasion, give a farther Account below.*

2. OF their Habit, I have already made some Mention, (VIII. 1. not. 4.) which is, in some Measure, illustrated by the Figures on the *Columna Theodosii*. (VIII. 30.) It is observed, as something particular, that they suffer'd their Hair to grow, as did most of the German Nations *. We find, concerning this, a Passage in *Jornandes, cap. II*, where he

* JUVENAL observes this as something peculiar to the Germans, XIII, 164.

Cæcula quis stupuit Germani lumina ? flavam
Cæsariem, & madido torquentem cornua cirro ?

writes

writes of the Gothick, Philosopher, *Diceneus*: *Elegit ex eis tunc nobilissimos prudentiores Viros, quos, Theologiam instruens, numina quædam & sacella venerari suavit, fecitque Sacerdotes, nomen illis pileatorum contradens, ut reor, quia opertis capitibus tiaris, quas pileos alio nomine nuncupamus, litabant; reliquam vero gentem CAPILLATOS dicere jussit, quod nomen Gothi pro magno suscipientes, adhuc hodie suis cantionibus reminiscuntur.* In *Cassiodori Var.* the Supercription to the 49th ep. of the 4th Book is: *Universis Provincialibus, & CAPILLATIS, defensoribus, & curialibus in Suavia consistentibus.* They wore their Hair in a peculiar Manner. *Synesius* calls (VIII. 1.) the Goths, *flavos illos & Eboico more comatos.* But the Inhabitants of the Island of *Eubœa*, were, in particular, known to the Poets, by letting their Hair grow backwards. *Homer* says of them, *Iliad II. 74.*

Criniti retro atque agiles comitantur Abantes.

And *STATIUS, Theb. VII. 369. - - in terga comantes*
Non ego Abantiadas.

Sidonius Apollinaris, (X. 13.) in his Description of the *Wisi-Gothick* King, *Theoderic II*, describes his Hair in the following Manner: *Capitis apex rotundus, in quo paululum a planitie frontis in verticem casaries refuga crispatur.* And farther: *Aurium legula, sicut mos gentis est, crinium superjacentium flagellis operiuntur.* What he calls *flagella crinium*, are the *grani Gothorum*, mention'd by *Isidorus. (Ibid. n. 2.)* These are, likewise, the *Majores crines*, which *Honorius* forbids, l. 4. *Cod. Theodos. de habitu, quo uti oportet intra urbem.*

3. THE *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*, likewise kept their Fashion; as we may conclude from an Epigram of *Ennodius. De Joviniano, qui cum haberet BARBAM GOTHICAM, lacerna vestitus processit.*

Barbaricam faciem Romanos sumere cultus
Miror, & in modico distinctas corpore gentes.

ALITER.

Romuleam tegetem nox oris nubila fuscant,
Oppressit vestes tenebroso tegmine vultus.

ALITER.

ALITER.

*Nobilibus tollis genium, male compte, lacernis,
Discordes miscens inimico fœdere proles.*

The Romans, on the contrary, shaved their Beards. So Procopius says of Justinian, *Hist. Arc. p. 109. mento rasus, ritu Romanorum.*

4. CLAUDIAN reproaches Rufinus, among other Things, with the *Vestis Getarum*. (VIII. i. 4.) Of the Gothick Clothing, the Pelts are the most known. Synesius calls them *Rhenones*; Prudentius, *Mastrugæ*. (VIII. ii. n. 8.) The Emperor Honorius forbid them at the same Time, *l. c.* together with the *Bracci* and *Tzangi*. The *Calcei Gothici* are mentioned in *Mauricii Strategico*, p. 303. and are describ'd in the following Manner: *Calcei debent esse Gothici, soleis substratis, absque naribus simpliciter consuti, cum ansulis duabus, non pluribus. Necessè vero est, ut paucis parvisque claviculis firmentur, ut possint præstare diuturniorem usum. Non enim usurpantur crepidæ, vel ocreæ, quia ad itinera non sunt idoneæ, & ad gestandum ponderosæ.*

5. As for their Accoutrements of War, the Passage of Ammianus Marcellinus, where he describes the *Arcus Scythicus*, may give us some Light. (*) I shall here add from Arrianus's *Tact.* a Description of the Field Ensigns, which they made use of instead of Colours. *Scythica autem signa sunt dracones convenienti longitudine pendentes ex contis. Fiunt autem ex pannis inter se consutis diversicoloribus, capite reliquoque corpore omni ad caudam usque simili serpentibus, in speciem maxime conformidabilem, quantum potest, instructo. Utuntur autem his sophysmatibus; quando quieti stant equi, nihil amplius, quam pannos videas diversicolores ad inferiora dependentes: quando vero currunt, inflati turgescunt in tantum, ut ipsas quoque feras specie referant; sed & sibilum edunt per frequentem agitationem; cumque ventus violentior eos inspirat. Atque isthæc quidem signa non modo sunt jucunda, vel terribilia, sed & ad decurrentium differentiam faciunt, ne ordines in se mutuo incurrant. Cæterum, qui ea gestant, spectatissimi ex cæteris, evolutionum & conversationum in alios circulos, vel alias aliasque in directum decursiones instituunt. Arrianus calls these *Ensigns*, *Scythica Signa*; but he comprehends the Goths under the Name of *Scyths*.*

* Lib. XXII. cap. 8. Cum arcus omnium gentium flexis curventur hastilibus, Scythici foli vel Parthici circumductis utrinque introrsus pandis & patulis cornibus, effigiem lunæ decrepcentis ostendunt, medietatem recta & rotunda regula dividente. With which Gronovius's Remarks are worth our reading.

X. ANNOTATION.

Of the WISI-GOTHS in particular.

Of ATHANARIC, FRITIGERN, RADAGAISUS.

I.

AFTER the *Wisi-Goths* were separated from the *Ostro-Goths*, their Kingdom soon fell into a new Confusion. *Athanasaric* himself was expell'd by some other *Gothick* Princes, and fled for Refuge to the Emperor *Theodosius*. His Adherents were admitted into the *Roman* Provinces; the Rest sought their Fortune another Way. To illustrate these Things in some Measure, I shall relate whatever is to be found worthy of Credit, concerning *Athanasaric*, *Fritigern*, and *Radagaisus*. *Alaric* begins a new Period, for which I have reserved the following Annotation.

II.

A T H A N A R I C. *

1. HIS History is related in the first Volume, (*VII.* 3. 17 & 29.) he is call'd King of the *Goths*, of the *Wisi-Goths*, or, in particular, of the *Theruingi*. His Father, *Rhodesius*, must have been, if not a King, a renown'd Prince, among the *Goths*. *Themistius* says; That *Constantine* the Great erected a Statue to his Honour at *Constantinople*. (*V.* 29. not. 5.) *Cujus* (sc. *Athanasarici*) *ad placandum parentem maximus ille Constantinus statuam olim erexerat, quæ post curiam adhuc collocata cernitur.* † *Athanasaric* himself makes Mention of his Father, in *Amm. Marcellinus*. (*VII.* 3. not. 7.)

* This Name is likewise written several Ways. In the *Acts* of *St. Sabas* he is call'd *Atharidus*, *Rhodesii Reguli filius* ap. *RUINART.* p. 676.

† The same Honour the Emperor *Zeno* shew'd the *Ostro-Gothick* Prince *Theodoric*. *JORNANDES* says, *Equestrem statuam ad famam tanti Viri, ante Regiam Palatii collocavit.*

2. IN *Roman* History, this King is first known by his War with the Emperor *Valens*, which ended, *A.* 369. (*VII.* 3.)

3. *SOCRATES* and *Sozemenus* mention (*VII.* 39.) a War *Fritigern*, a *Thuringian* Prince, wag'd with him. This Prince was a Favourer of the *Christians*, especially of the *Arians*; and *Athanasius* persecuted them the more rigorously. (See *VII.* 39. and the foregoing Annotation.)

C 4. WE find in his History some, tho' but faint, Traces, of the then confines of the *Wisi-Gothick* Kingdom. We read, for Instance, (*VII.* 16.) that he pass'd the *Niefter*, and drew a Line between the *Prut* and the *Danube*. (*Ibid.*) And likewise, that it was into the River *Missow* (in the present *Wallachia*) that he caus'd *St. Sabas* to be cast, on Account of his Religion. *

5. AT the grand Irruption of the *Hunns*, *Athanasius* was too proud to give the *Romans* good Words, and retir'd farther into the Mountains †. (*VII.* 17. 5.)

6 BUT he was afterwards dislodg'd by the three *Gothick* Princes, *Fritigern*, *Saphrax*, and *Alatheus*, (*VII.* 29. 1.) and hereupon fled for Refuge to *Constantinople*, where the Emperor, *Theodosius* the Great, gave him a favourable Reception. He died, soon afterwards, (*Ibid.*) and one might almost conclude, from a Passage of *St. Ambrose's* (*VII.* 29. n. 6.) that he embrac'd the *Christian* Religion before his Death, especially as *Marcellinus* says of his Interment: *Nostro modo sepultus est.*

7. ANNO 382. *Theodosius* made Peace with the *Wisi-Goths*, who were *Athanasius's* Adherents, (*Ibid.* n. 3.) and allow'd them an Habitation in the *Roman* Territories, *jure hospitii*, by which they were oblig'd to serve the Emperor in his Wars; whence they were likewise call'd *Fœderati*. But this, for a Prince, whose Will was their Law, was much too weak, as *Alaric's* Enterprize will soon convince us. Some *Gothick* People, especially the very same who adher'd to *Fritigern*, remain'd in their ancient Habitations.

* *Act. S. Sabæ*, cap. 5. *Traxerunt Sabam ad fluvium, qui vocatur MUSÆUS, ut ibi eum suffocarent.* P. Papebrocius has observed, that this River *Musæus* is the very same which is now call'd *Missow*.

† *AM. MARCEL.* says, p. 481. *Ad Caucaulandensem locum, altitudine silvarum inaccessum, & montium, cum suis omnibus declinavit, Sarmatis inde extrusis.*

III.

FRITIGERN.

1. *FRITIGERN*, indeed, seems not so properly to claim a Place in the Series of the *Gothick* Kings. *Jornandes* says of him, cap. 26. *Cœpere autem primates eorum, & duces, qui Regum vice illis præerant, id est, Fridigernus, Alatheus & Safrach, exercitus inopiam condolare, &c.* and cap. 27. he calls him, *Regulus Gothorum*. According to the Relation of *Amm. Marcellinus*, he is properly to be look'd upon as a *Thuringian* Prince. (VII. 19. n. 1.)

2. THAT he first wag'd War with *Athanaric*, and receiv'd Succours from *Valens*, on which Occasion he adher'd to the Community of the *Arians*, I have already observed. (VII. 39. 5. & 6.)

3. HE retir'd, with his Nation, upon the Approach of the *Huns*, into the *Roman* Territories, and commanded the *Goths*, in the Battle in which *Valens* lost his Life. (VII. 30.)

4. WHEN the *Goths*, after this Victory, overspread the Dominions of the *Roman* Empire, far and near, *Fritigern* fell into *Thessalia*, (VII. 27. n. 5.) but came to an Accommodation with *Gratian* and *Theodosius*, by Virtue of which he retir'd again over the *Danube*. (VII. 30.)

5. THERE he turn'd his Arms against *Athanaric* himself, as has been observ'd above. (VII. 29. n. 2.)

6. AFTER this, we find nothing farther recorded of him. If I may be allow'd, in this confused State of Things, to offer a Conjecture, it is not improbable, that *Fritigern* was a Prince of the *Thuringians*, who was conquer'd by *Athanaric*; but, after some Time, dislodged the Conqueror himself, and thereby freed his Nation from a Dependency on the *Goths*.

IV.

RADAGAISUS.

1. SEE his History, (VIII. 14.) *Orosius*, *Austin*, *Cassiodore*, *Prosper*, and *Isidorus*, call him *Rex Gothorum*, tho' it is not known whether

ther he himself were a native Goth, or to which Nation of the Goths he properly belong'd. *Isidorus* says of him, *Chr. Goth. ad An. Honor. & Arcad. X. Rex Gothorum, Rhadagaisus, genere Scythæ, cultui idololatricæ deditus.*

2. IT is no Wonder that Historians, who mention his Irruption into Italy, vary so greatly in their Accounts, since they liv'd at so great a Distance. Some were of Opinion, that he and *Alaric* ruled, at the same Time, over the Wisi-Goths. So says *Isidorus ad An. Honorii & Arcadii XV. Extincto Radagaiso, Alaricus, consors Regni, nomine quidem Christianus, sed professione hæreticus, dolens tantam multitudinem Gothorum a Romanis extinctam, in vindictam sanguinis horum adversus Romam prælium agit.* But this cannot well be; at least there was no Intercourse between them. *Alaric* belong'd to the Gothi-Fæderati, who had a Habitation allotted them in the Roman Provinces, and was in a good Understanding with *Stilico*, when *Radagaisus* invaded Italy. See the Words of *Zosimus*, (VIII. 16. n. 3.)

3. So far it is probable enough, that *Radagaisus* had of different Nations, who were reckon'd to be under the Gothick Sovereignty, out of *Germania* and *Sarmatia*, in his Service *. When it is said, in *Prosper's Chron. (Ibid. n. 10.)* that his Force was divided into three Armies, led by their own Princes, one might conjecture, that the *Vandals*, *Alani*, and *Burgundians*, who, in the Year 407, soon after the Overthrow of *Radagaisus*, forc'd their Way into *Gaul*, made a Part of them, and, after his Death, were for making their Fortune separately.

4. AMONG *Radagaisus's* Enterprizes in Italy, the Siege of *Florence* is particularly remarkable. (*Ibid. n. 6.*) We have a fine Elegy on that Subject by *Petrus Angelius Bargæus*; † of which I shall add a Part here, as it were, to refresh the Reader, in these obscure Times. It cannot be

* *ZOSIMUS* says, *Radagaisus prepar'd for his Expedition to Italy: Trans Iſtrianis, & Trans Rhenanis, Celticis, Germanicisque nationibus collectis, hominum quadringentis millibus. (VIII. 14. n. 3.) Among these are probably to be understood the Thervingi, Heruli, Burgundians, and other Nations, who before were under the Dominion of the Goths.*

† *PETRUS ANGELIUS*, surnam'd *Bargæus*, from the Place of his Birth, studied the Humaniora at Pisa. He afterwards lived, some Time, at Rome, in the House of Cardinal Ferdinand Medices, and died at Pisa, in 1596. *LIL. GREGOR. GYRALDUS* de Poetis recentior. Dial. II. & *THUANUS* Lib. 117. Hist. speak of him with great Honour. His Elegia de *Radagasi & Getarum cæde ad urbem Florentiam*, together with the first Book de *Aucupio*, was printed at Florence, 1566. 4.

disagreeable to see how an ingenious Pen may supply the Want of authentic Accounts by Poetry.

5. EXCERPTUM EX PET. ANGELII BARGÆI elegia de Radagasi & Getarum cæde ad urbem Florentiam, ad COSMUM MEDICEM, Florent. & Senensium Ducem.

Ulturus Cimbros tunc cum Radagasus avosque
 Duxerat e Scythia millia multa virum,
 Jamque adeo fœdis Italas affecerat urbes
 Cladibus, atque ipsi mœnia multa solo
 Æquarat, Divumque everterat aurea templa
 Inque dies cædes accumulare novas
 Ibat: nec pueris senibusque trementibus ævo,
 Nec muribus parcens, virginibusque piis,
 Quam tu tum faciem rerum, Dux magne, fuisse,
 Italiam gemitus quosve dedisse putas?
 Italiam, reginam hominum sedemque Deorum,
 Assuetamque orbis totius esse caput?
 Ille velut cœlo demissum fulmen ab alto,
 Quod cinctum nimbis turbinibusque ruit,
 Et veteres imis radicibus eruit ornos,
 Involuitque atris ignibus omne nemus:
 Qua qua ibat fusurus opes viresque Quiritum,
 Consuerat ferro late aperire viam.
 Omnia lugebant subita prostrata ruina:
 Inque animis hominum nil nisi terror erat.
 Ipsaque, quæ summis in montibus oppida sese
 Munierant armis præsidioque loci,
 Adventanti hosti subito reclusa patebant,
 Ne luerent parvæ supplicium inde moræ.
 Tu, sola, haud amplis etiam tum mœnibus aucta,
 Annis & haud medio dissociata vado,
 Barbariem portis excludere es ausa furentem,
 Primaque TEUTONICAS spernere Flota minas.
 Illa vias aditusque omnes insederat; illa
 Implerat, quantum vallis utrinque patet.
 Nec collis, despectat agros unde alta virentes
 Fœsula, non multo milite tectus erat.
 Omnia complerant acies juga montium, & omnia
 Ære renidebant, esset ubi orta dies.

Timpanaque

*Timpanaque, horribilesque tubæ, strepitusque frementum
Excibant fortes ad fera bella duces.
Inter quos primos gestans Radagasus honores,
Cimbrorum ex alto sanguine natus, ait :
Ergone tot menses urbem oppugnabimus unam?
Nec dabitur manibus diripienda meis?
Et cui non ausa est lectas opponere vires
Intranti Italiam Roma superba suas,
Se longas fecisse moras Florentia dicet?
Et nobis tantum dedecus ista feret?
Ite igitur socii, certatim invadite muros,
Vosque illuc per vim desiluisse juvet.
Virida non amat ex æquo concurrere virtus,
Nec tales animos VISTULA & ISTER alunt.
Sic dicens pariter se suscitāt acer in armis,
Cunctamque ad muros cogit adire manum.
Illa volat: circumque omnes cinxere corona,
Seque aliis alium calce terente premunt.
Missilia extemplo jaciuntur tela facesque,
Et glans in morem grandinis acta ruit.
Saxa pluunt, lapidesque graves, quæ iacta fatiscunt
Mœnia: quæ domuum tecta trabesque labant.
Compleitur jaculis cœlum, levibusque sagittis,
Et multo scalas milite turba gravat.
Quarum aliæ substant stabiles, & summa capeffunt.
Fractæ aliæ rursus dejiciuntur humi.
Dumque adeo cœunt una virtusque pudorque,
Et sævas properant quisque subire vices,
Hi, se ut defendant, illi, potiantur ut urbe,
Ingentes fossas corpora caesa replent.
Atque ipsi in muris vix jam consistere cives,
Vix jam presidio turribus esse queunt.
Accurrunt matresque simul teneræque puellæ,
Atque ope pugnantes, qua pote quæque, juvant.
Hæc liquidas festina pices, hæc tela facesque,
Hæc multo calidas igne ministrat aquas.
Est & quæ vino vires revocatque fovetque,
Et tempestivos suggerit usque cibos.
Ipse tamen semper magis ac magis integer hostis
Ingruit, & jamjam mœnia victor habet, &c.*

XI. ANNOTATION.

Of the Kingdom of the WISI-GOTHS, in GAUL and SPAIN.

A Series of their Kings from Alaric to Amalaric.

AS long as the *Goths* swarm'd about in *Sarmatia*, and were only known by the Overthrows they suffered from the *Romans*, and the *Romans* from them, we were obliged to put up with the Imperfections of their History: But after the *Wisi-Goths* in *Gaul* and *Spain*, and the *Ostro-Goths* in *Italy*, had founded separate Kingdoms, a Knowledge of them, as it became more necessary, so also it was fix'd on a surer Basis. I shall now lay before the Reader the History of the new Kingdom of the *Wisi-Goths*, in a Series of their Kings.

I.

ALARIC

died 410.

1. I HAVE already given his History. (VIII. 4. § seq.) As *Claudian* says of him, that he was born in *Barbara Peuce*, (VIII. 4.) we might reckon him of the Nation of the *Peucini*; unless the Poet be supposed to use that Name for the Country of the *Goths* in general. He was of the Family of the *Balta*, and amongst those who cross'd the *Danube*; for he commanded in Person, in the Battle against *Theodosius*, on the *Heber*. (VIII. 4. n. 1.) After the Conclusion of the Peace, *Theodosius* gave him a special Command over the *Goths*, and he did, A. 394, good Service in the Expedition against *Eugenius*. (VIII. 4. n. 6.)

2. AFTER

2. AFTER the Death of *Theodosius* *, in the Year 395, he invaded *Illyricum Orientale*. (*Ib.*) *Rufinus*, who had then the Administration in his Hands, at the Court of *Arcadius*, appeas'd him, *A.* 396, by conferring upon him the *Præfectura Illyrici Orientalis*. (VIII. 5.)

3. HE fell into *Italy*, *A.* 400, but, at Length, came to an Agreement with *Stilico*, (VIII. 10-12.) which gives us a great Light to all the Transactions which ensue.

4. WHEN the Court deviated from this Agreement, *Alaric*, from thence, took an Opportunity to visit *Italy* a second Time. This is properly the Beginning of the War, by which the *Wisi-Goths* obtained a new Kingdom. He oblig'd the Senat of *Rome*, to set up *Attalus*, *Præfectus Urbis*, for Emperor, in Opposition to *Honorius*; with a View of obtaining from him those Advantages, which were not to be had of *Honorius*. The most remarkable Circumstance of this War, was the taking and plundering of *Rome*, which the *Goths* scaled, the 24th of *August*, *A.* 410. (VIII. 27.)

5. HE then went to *Sicily*, with a Design of passing from thence to *Africa*, there to fix a constant Habitation; but he died by the Way, in the Neighbourhood of *Reggio*. (VIII. 29.)

II.

A T A U L P H.

King, 410; went to *Gaul* 412; kill'd at *Barcelona* 415.

1. AFTER *Alaric's* Death, the *Goths* chose *Ataulph* for their King. He was a Brother of *Alaric's* Queen, and had, in his Life-time, next to him, the greatest Share in the Government.

* *The Rise of Alaric is not yet sufficiently illustrated. Isidorus is not well inform'd when he writes in Chron. Gothor. Anno imperii Theodosii quarto, Gothi, patrocinium Romani, foederis recusantes, Alaricum Regem sibi constituunt, indignum judicantes Romanæ esse subditos potestati, eosque sequi, quorum pridem leges imperiumque respuerant, & de se societatem prælio triumphantes averterant. According to which he must have reigned 28 Years; and he says, expressly, he died anno vicesimo octavo regni; but the whole Course of his History shews us, that, as long as Theodosius lived, Alaric remained quiet. Jornandes says, in express Words, that the Goths did not advance him to the Throne, 'till after the Death of Theodosius. (VIII. 10. n. 2.)*

2. *ATAULPH* did not pursue the designed Expedition to *Africa*; but, in the Year 412, went to *Gaul*. From this Year, the Arrival of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, is dated. Some likewise reckon this Year, the Beginning of the Kingdom they established in *Gaul*: But that must be placed in 419.

3. *JOVINUS* had then just assum'd the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*. By *Ataulph's* Behaviour, it is plain, he espoused the Party of *Honorius*, against *Jovinus*. Amicable Proposals were at first made; but not brought to a Conclusion, (VIII. 35.) The *Goths* made themselves Masters of the Cities of *Narbonne*, *Toulouse* *, and some others.

4. HE had carried the Princess *Placidia*, the Daughter of *Theodosius*, with him out of *Italy*, and he married her at *Narbonne*, in *January* 414 †. (VIII. 36. n. 2.) If we consider the Family, and the extraordinary Genius of this Princess, we may easily conceive the great Views that were proposed from this Marriage.

5. BUT *Constantius*, who then commanded *Honorius's* Army in *Gaul*, maintain'd the War against him. He even made a Peace with the *Burgundians*, in [the Year 414, to have his Hands at Liberty, against the *Goths*. He defeated them at *Narbonne*, and drove them to such Streights, that *Ataulph* resolv'd to retire to *Spain*. They therefore evacuated *Narbonne*, and plunder'd *Bordeaux*, with some other Cities they could not keep, (VIII. 37.)

6. MANY of the *Goths* were not satisfied with this Resolution †. *Ataulph* himself was but just got into *Spain*, when he was murder'd, at

* Some learned Men have pretended to question whether *Ataulph* ever took *Toulouse*. See *La FAILLE* Annal. de la ville de *Toulouse*, p. 24. But the Truth of it is put out of all Doubt, (VIII. 35. n. 10.) in *RUTILIUS's* Itinerarium.

† Concerning the Marriage of *Ataulph* with *Placidia*, some Men of Learning pretend to give an Account of a certain Monument, which has been the Occasion of much Enquiry. It is pretended, that a Piece of Marble with an Inscription, and various Emblems has been found in the Neighbourhood of *St. Gilles*. The Reader has seen the Inscription, (Vol. I. VIII. 36.) But this so much extol'd Monument, upon narrower Enquiry, seems very suspicious. See the following Annotation.)

‡ So it is related (VIII. 37.) Some learned Men are of Opinion, the Treaty of Accommodation was concluded with *Ataulph* himself: Vid. *Histoir. Critique de la Monarch. Franc. T. I. p. 283.* But *Orosius* says he was murder'd: Cum paci petendæ atque offerendæ studiosissime insisteret. (VIII. 39. 2.) With which agree the Accounts we find in the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *Olympiodorus*, *Idatius*, *Paulinus*, &c.

Barce-

Barcelona. Before he expired, he advised his Brother to make Peace with the *Romans*, and to deliver up Queen *Placidia*.

III.

S I E G E R I C *.

* *Al. Siegeric.*
I. Segeric.

King, *A.* 415; was murder'd in a few Days.

AFTER his Death, the Faction which opposed him prevail'd, and made *Siegeric*, a Brother of the *Gothick* General, *Sarus*, who had been a profess'd Enemy of *Ataulph's*, King. He revenged himself on the Issue of the latter; but was himself murder'd a few Days afterwards. (VIII. 39.)

IV.

W A L L I A.

King, 415; died, 419.

1. *WALLIA* was made King in his Room *. He at first made Preparations for continuing the War against the *Romans* †, and equipp'd a Fleet against *Africa* ‖, which however was dispers'd in a Storm. (VIII. 39.) This Circumstance may perhaps, in some Measure, have contributed towards his concluding, *A.* 416, the Treaty, which *Ataulph* had begun, with *Constantius*, the *Patricius*. (VIII. 40.) It met with the less Difficulty, as the *Goths* could now restore the Queen Dowager *Placidia* to her Brother *Honorius*. She afterwards married this *Constantius*; obtain'd herself the Title of *Augusta*, and liv'd so long 'till she had a great Share of the Transactions of the Empire in her own Hand.

2. *WALLIA*, hereupon, actually repaired to *Spain*, to war against the *Suevi*, *Alani*, and *Vandals*. (VIII. 41.)

* Whether this be the same Brother, of whom Mention is made above, II. 6, is uncertain.

† *PROSP. in Chron.* Gothi cum se iterum, Ataulpho peremto, movissent, Constantii repelluntur occurfu.

‖ *Africa* had remained in an unsettled State, from the Time *Heraclian* assum'd the Imperial Dignity there.

3. HE return'd about the Year 419, and took actual Possession of the Province call'd *Acquitania Secunda*, together with some other Cities between the *Garonne* and the Sea, and chose *Toulouse* for the Capital of this new Kingdom **, which it likewise long remain'd. (VIII. 42).

4. *ACQUITANIA SECUNDA* contain'd the following Cities: *Bordeaux*, *Agen*, *Perigueux*, *Angoulesmes*, *Saintes*, and *Poitiers*; to which adding *Toulouse*, from these seven Cities or Districts, arose the Name of *Septimania*, first made Use of by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *Lib. III. ep. 1.* to *Avitus*: *Quippe si vestra crebro illud presentia invisat, vel Gothis credite, qui saepe numero etiam Septimaniam suam fastidiunt, vel refundunt, modo invidiosi hujus anguli etiam desolata proprietate potiantur.* We find afterwards, in *Gregorius Turonensis*, and other *Franconian* Authors, that the Name *Septimania* was applied to that Country, which remain'd in the Hands of the *Goths*, after the Battle of *Voglè*.

5. FROM the Time of the Conclusion of this Peace, viz. 419, is generally reckon'd the Beginning of the Kingdom, which the *Wisi-Goths* founded in *Gaul*, and soon afterwards extended in *Spain* *.

V.

THEODERIC I.

King, 419; kill'd in Battle 451.

1. *WALLIA* died in that same Year, 419, and *Theoderic* was elected King in his Room †. The Distractions which arose in the *Roman* Empire, after the Death of *Honorius*, before *Valentinian III* got Possession of the Throne, excited the Courage of the *Goths* to extend their Dominions. In 425, *Theoderic* besieg'd the City of *Arles*, which was the Seat of the *Prætor Galliarum*, and on Account of its Situation, was of

** Mr. LA FAILLE in *Annal. de la Ville de Toulouf.* p. 26. supposes this City was therefore called *Roma Garonnæ*. We find this Title in the *Officium Gothicum*, which MABILLON de Liturg. Gallicar. publish'd in the *Missa S. Saturnini*, where, p. 220, are these Words: *Siquidem ipse Pontifex tuus ab Orientis partibus in urbem Tolosatium destinatus, ROMA GARONNÆ, in vicem Petri tui, tam cathedram quam martyrium consummavit.*

* This Computation is confirm'd in the *Not. sur l'Histoire de Languedoc*, p. 653.

† PET. de MARCA, in the *Histoire de Bearn*, *Lib. II. cap. 14. n. 1.* pretends this *Theoderic* was the Son of *Wallia*; but without any Grounds.

great Importance as well to the *Romans* as the *Goths*. *Ætius*, indeed, relieved *Arles*, and beat the *Goths*; but soon renew'd the Peace; pursuant to which, *Theoderic* took the Field, *A.* 427, in the Service of the *Romans*, against the *Vandals* in *Spain*. (IX. 12.) The Imperialists always built their Hopes on destroying one *German* Nation, by Means of another.

2. IN the Year 436, a new War begun. The *Roman* General, *Litorius*, besieged *Toulouse*, in 439, but he was beaten, and himself taken Prisoner. At Length *Avitus*, *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum*, found Means to renew a Peace, which seems to have been pretty favourable for the *Goths*. (IX. 14.)

3. IN 450, *Attila* spread a Terror all over *Gaul*. *Geiseric*, King of the *Vandals*, who was jealous of the good Intelligence between the *Romans* and the *Goths*, had spirited him up to this Expedition (IX. 24, 25.) The *Romans* and *Goths* joined their Forces to withstand him. *Theoderic* took his two eldest Sons, *Thorismund* and *Theoderic*, to the Field with him. He himself was kill'd in the Battle, and *Jornandes*, in the Description of his pompous Funeral, (IX. 28, 4.) particularly mentions the Heroick *Epicædia* sung on that Occasion.

VI.

THORISMUND.

King, *A.* 451; murder'd 453.

1. UPON the Death of *Theoderic*, his eldest Son, *Thorismund*, was proclaim'd in the Field of Battle near *Chalons*.

2. HE soon after fell out with the *Romans*, and made a Shew of besieging *Arles*; but *Tonantius Ferreolus*, *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum*, who was in that City, found Means to bring him to a more peaceable Resolution. SIDON. APOLL. *Lib.* VII. *ep.* 12. *ibique* *Sirmond*.

3. HIS short Reign is only remarkable for having vanquish'd and dispers'd the Colony of *Alani*, who had establish'd themselves in *Gaul* *.

* See IX. 32. where I have followed *Jornandes*. His Relation is indeed to be suspected in the Circumstance of *Attila's* invading *Gaul*, a second Time; *Gregory*, however, *Lib.* 2. c. 7. mentions, in the mean Time, the Overthrow of the *Alani*: *Thorismundus*, de quo supra memini, *Alanos bello edomuit*, ipse deinceps, post multas lites & bella, a fratribus oppressus ac jugulatus interiit.

4. HE

4. HE was murder'd in the Year 453, by the Contrivance of his two Brothers, *Theoderic* and *Frideric*, who were dissatisfied at his Resolution of breaking with the *Romans*.

VII.

THEODERIC II.

King, 453 ; murder'd 466.

1. HIS Brother, *Theoderic* II, succeeded him on the Throne. In his Education, his Father had endeavour'd to combine the unpolish'd Discipline of the *Goths* with the *Roman* Sciences: But the Manner by which he came to the Crown, gave Evidence of too great a Propensity to the former; And if we consider the beautiful Character, *Sidonius Apollinaris* has given us of this Prince, (IX. 13.) it is to be lamented, that he pay'd his Way to the Throne by a Fratricide.

2. HE was, at first, very much devoted to the *Romans*: His Brother, *Frideric*, bore the same Affection to them, and served the Empire against the Inhabitants of the *Provincia Tarraconensis*, who had rebelled. IDAT. Chron. *Per Fridericum, Theodorici Regis fratrem, Bacaudæ Tarraconenses caduntur, ex auctoritate Romana.*

3. WHEN, after the Death of *Valentinian* III, *Maximus* made himself Master of the Empire, he made *Avitus*, *Magister Militum*, in *Gaul*; who having long kept up a good Intelligence with *Theoderic*, now renew'd the Peace with him. (X. 2.) *Maximus* having been murder'd, about the same Time, *Theoderic* excited *Avitus*, who happen'd to be still at *Toulouse*, to assume the Imperial Dignity. (X. 4.) This *Avitus* did at *Arles*, and now acceded himself to the Treaty, which he had, not long before, concluded in the Name of *Maximus*.

4. IMMEDIATELY after *Valentinian's* Death, not only the *Suevi*, in *Spain*, infring'd the Treaty they had made with the ancient Inhabitants of *Gallicia*, who had preserv'd the Name of *Romans*; but their King, *Rechiarius*, who had married a Sister of *Theoderic's*, likewise invaded the Province of *Terragona* and *Carthagena*. (X. 4. n. 7.) The King of the *Wisi-Goths*, endeavour'd, at first, to accommodate Matters, hoping his Alliance with *Avitus*, and his Affinity with *Rechiarius*, would

would establish an equal Confidence in them both towards him! (*Ibid.* n. 8.)

5. BUT *Rechiarus* not shewing any Regard to these his Endeavours, *Theoderic* took the Field against him, in the Year 456, and the two Kings of the *Burgundians*, *Gundeucus* and *Chilperic*, accompanied him with their Troops. He defeated him, near the River *Orbego*, twelve Roman Miles from the City of *Astorga* †, and vanquish'd almost the whole Nation: He took *Braga* the 28th of *October*, in the Year 456, and the next Year return'd to *Gaul*. (X. 12.) This gave the first Opportunity to the *Wisi-Goths* to extend their Dominion in *Spain*.

6. AFTER the Death of the Emperor *Majorianus*, new Divisions arose in the *Roman* Empire. *Severus*, whom *Ricimer* had advanced to the Imperial Dignity, was not every-where acknowledg'd in that Quality. *Egidius*, Count of *Soissons*, whom *Majorianus* had created *Magister Militiæ*, in particular, oppos'd him. *Theoderic* declar'd for *Severus*, and, on this Occasion, besieg'd *Arles*: And *Agrippinus*, Lieutenant of the *Provincia Narbonensis*, who bore a personal Enmity to *Egidius*, deliver'd *Narbonne* into his Hands, in the Year 462. This City, which, during the Space of 600 Years, had been, as it were, the *Roman* Barrier in *Gaul*, was afterwards of Service to the *Goths*, to extend their Power, as well towards the *Rhone*, as in *Spain* itself. *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who soon after took a Journey into *Spain*, has left us a Description of it, (*Carm.* 23.) by which we may see, that the City was then in a good Condition, and was deliver'd up to the *Goths*, as being Friends and Allies to the *Romans*. *Theoderic* himself, as such, is call'd

Romanæ columnen, salusque gentis.

According to all Appearances, *Frideric*, the King's Brother, commanded in *Narbonne*: And we find some Footsteps, in a Letter of Pope *Hilarius*, that he concern'd himself in the Quarrel, which arose on Account of the Election of *Hermas* to that Bishoprick *.

† In the Country about *Paramo*. Hist. de Langued. p. 199.

* Vid. ep. *Hilarii Papæ ad Leontium*, T. IV. Concil. (LABB.) p. 1041. Siquidem quod ex rumore cognovimus, & quantum diligenter a Diacono, Johanne, qui a magnifico viro, filio nostro, *Fride-rico*, literis suis nobis insinuatus est, requisivimus, quod iniquissima usurpatione, quidam *Hermes* episcopatum civitatis *Narbonensis*, execrabili temeritate, præsumserit.

7. ON the other Hand, *Egidius* had *Childeric*, King of the *Franks*, on his Side. *Frideric*, the King of the *Wisi-Goths* Brother, march'd with an Army, towards the *Loire*, against *Egidius*: The latter, being assisted by the *Franks*, encounter'd him near *Orleans*, between the two Rivers, *Loire* and *Loiret*, and obtain'd a Victory, in which *Frideric* was kill'd on the Spot. (X. 25.) We have sufficient Testimonies of this Battle, and of the Overthrow of *Frideric*, in *Idatius* and *Marius*. *Idatius*, *Chron. ad Ann.* 463. says: *Adversus Egidium, Comitem utriusque militiae, virum, ut fama commendat, Deo bonis operibus complacentem, in Armoricana provincia Fredericus, frater Theodorici Regis, insurgens, cum his, cum quibus fuerat, superatus, occiditur.* *MARIUS AVENTIC.* *Chron. ad A.* 463. *Basilo & Bibiano Coss. pugna facta est inter Egidium, & Gothos, inter Ligere, & Ligericino, juxta Aurelianis, ibique interfectus est Fredericus, Rex Gothorum.* That the *Franks* thus took the Part of *Egidius*, against the *Wisi-Goths*, we may conclude from a Passage in *GREGOR. TURON. Lib. II. cap. 18.* *Igitur Childericus Aurelianis pugnans egit: Adovacrius vero cum Saxonibus Andegavos venit. Mortuus est autem Egidius, & reliquit filium, Syagrium nomine. Quo defuncto, Adovacrius de Andegavo & aliis locis obsides accepit. Britanni de Biturica a Gotthis expulsi sunt, multis apud Dodensem vicum peremtis. Paulus vero Comes, cum Romanis ac Francis, Gothis bella intulit, & praeda egit. Veniente vero Adovacrio Andegavis, Childericus Rex sequenti die advenit, interemtoque Paulo Comite, civitatem obtinuit.* These Circumstances are placed in their true Light, in the *Histoire Critique de la Monarchie Francoise*, T. II. p. 107. seq. and in the *Hist. de Languedoc.* p. 210.

8. ABOUT this Time, viz. in the Year 463, *Remismund* re-united the Kingdom of the *Suevi*, (X. 24.) and applied to *Theoderic*, for a *Gothick* Queen. *IDAT. ad An. III. SEVERI. Legatos Remismundus mittit ad Theodoricum, qui similiter suos ad Remismundum remittit, cum armorum adjectione, vel munerum; directa & conjuge, quam haberet.*

9. IN the Year 466 *, he was murder'd by his Brother, *Euricus*, *IDAT. Chron. p. 28.* *Per Theudericum Galla legatus mittitur ad Remismundum, Regem Suevorum, qui reversus ad Gallias cum a fratre suo Eurico reperit interfectum.* *MAR. AVENT. Chron. p. 211.* *Eo anno interfectus est Theodoricus, Rex Gothorum, a fratre suo, Eutharico, Tholosæ.* Some think, that Queen *Ranachildis*, of whom *Sidonius Apollinaris* (*Lib.*

* In Compliance with *Marius Aventicensis*, I have (X. 25. not. 3.) placed *Theoderic's* Death in the Year 467. *Pagius* follows the same Computation: But the *Histoire de Languedoc.* T. I. p. 211. shews, that he was murder'd, in the Year 466, before the Month of August.

IV. ep. 8.) makes Mention, was his Confort : But she may be said, with more Probability, to have been the Wife of *Euricus*.

VIII.

EURICUS

King, 466 ; died, 484.

1. *EURICUS* succeeded his Brother. I have already given his History. (IX. 26, & seq.) When the Emperor *Leo*, after the Death of *Severus*, nominated *Anthemius*, Lord of the *West*, *Euricus* declar'd against him. *Geiseric*, King of the *Vandals*, in *Africa*, incited him to it, and likewise instigated the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Thrace*, to do the same, that he might cut out Work, on all Sides, for the Emperor, who had agreed with *Anthemius* to attack the *Vandals*.

2. THUS he broke with the *Romans*, about the Year 470, and conquer'd all that had belong'd to them in *Spain* (X. 25.) ; in which the *Ostro-Gothick* Prince, *Widimir*, seems to have been Assistant to him. (X. 30.)

3. IN *Gaul*, he took *Arles* and *Marseilles*, and probably design'd to extend his Dominions to the *Loire* and the *Rhone*. He likewise besieg'd *Auvergne*, the Capital of the District of that Name, which lay very convenient for the Accomplishment of his Design ; but he met with a stout Resistance from *Ecdicius Avitus*.

4. IN the mean Time, *Julius Nepos* became Emperor ; and, in the Year 474, or the Beginning of the following Year, he concluded a Peace with *Euricus*, by Means of *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Pavia*. By Virtue of this Treaty, he kept *Auvergne*, but was oblig'd to deliver up *Arles* and *Marseilles* to the Emperor. (X. 26.) After this the *Goths* had, beyond all Dispute, an independent Dominion in their Part of *Gaul*, as well over the *Roman* Inhabitants, as over those of their own Nation *.

5. SOON after this, the Empire began to approach towards its utter Decline. *Orestes* expell'd *Nepos*, and placed his Son, *Romulus*, on the Imperial Throne. (X. 32.) But he was dethron'd by *Odoacer* (X. 33.) ; and *Nepos* retir'd into *Dalmatia*, having yet Adherents in *Gaul*.

* See the Words of *Jornandes*, in the following Note.

6. *EURICUS* took *Arles* and *Marseilles* †. *Odoacer* came to an Agreement with him, and left him in the Possession of *Provence* *; (XI. 2.) so that *Gaul* now fell into the Circumstances we find it in at the Beginning of *Clovis's* Reign.

7. UNDER these Circumstances, it is no Wonder, if *Euricus* became so formidable in *Gaul*; and that not only the *Franks* and *Saxons*, but also the *Thuringians*, *Heruli*, *Warni*, and other German Nations, had so frequent Occupations at his Court. (X. 27. and XI. 12.)

8. HE died at *Arles*, (XI. 12.) in the Year 484; which Computation is confirm'd, in the new *Histoire de Languedoc*, not. 59. p. 661. tho' *Pagius* places his Death in the Year following, *ad A.* 485. n. 24.

9. *SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS*, Lib. IV. ep. 8. mentions Queen *Ragnabild*, who, in all Probability, was *Euricus's* Queen. His good Friend, *Evodius*, caus'd a large silver Basin to be made for the Queen, and begg'd some Verses of *Apollinaris*, in Order to have them engraven upon it. *Illicet ut ad epistolæ vestræ tenorem jam revertamur, post verba, quæ primum salve ferebant, poposcistis, ut epigramma transmitterem duodecim versibus terminatum, quod posset aptari conchæ capaci, quæ per ansarum latus utrumque in extremum gyri, à rota fundi, senis cavatur striaturis. Quarum puto destinas vel ventribus pandis singulos versus, vel curvis, meliore consilio, si id magis deceat, capitibus inscribere: istoque cultu expolitam reginæ Ragnabildi disponis offerre. Votis nimirum tuis pariter atque auctibus patrocinium invictum præparaturus, famulor injunctis quomodocunque, non ut volebam: sed tuæ culpæ primus ignosce, qui spacii plus præstitisti argentario, quam poëtæ, cum procul dubio non te lateret intra officinam literatorum carminis si quid incus metrica produxerit, non minus forti & asprata lima poliri. Sed ista vel similia quorsum? Ecce jam canta.*

† *JORNANDES*, cap. 47. *Euricus*, Rex *Vesegotharum*, *Romani* regni vacillationem cernens, *Arelatum* & *Massaliæ* PROPRIÆ SUBDIDIT DITIONI. And farther: *Totas Hispanias*, *Galliasque* sibi jam JURE PROPRIO tenens, simul quoque & *Burgundiones* subegit.

* About the Year 481, after *Julius Nepos* had been kill'd the foregoing Year. Conf. *TILLEM.* art. 8. sur *Fauſte de Riez*.

THE Epigram itself is as follows:

*Pistrigero quæ concha vebit Tritone Cithæren,
Hac sibi collata cedere non dubitet.
Poscimus inclina paulisper culmen herile:
Et munus parvum, magna patrona, cape,
Euvodiumque libens non aspernare clientem,
Quem faciens magnum tu quoque major eris.
Sic TIBI, cui Rex est genitor, socer, atque maritus,
GNATUS REX QUOQUE SIT CUM PATRE, postque patrem.
Felicis lympha, clausæ quæ luce metalli,
Ora tamen Dominae lucidiora fovent.
Nam cum dignatur Regina hic tingere vultus,
Candor in argentum mittitur e facie.*

Her Wish, to see her Son King, may be applied to *Alaric*: *Conf. Histoire de Languedoc, T. I. p. 230, and not. 59.*

IX.

A L A R I C II.

King, 484; is kill'd, 507.

1. SEE his History (XI. 12. *seq.*) He enter'd upon the Government, at *Toulouse*, after his Father's Death. When, some Years afterwards, the *Ostro-Goths* repair'd to *Italy*, he sent them Succours against *Odoacer*: (XI. 4. n. 8.) His Marriage, with the Daughter of their King, *Theoderic*, seems to be a farther Confirmation of this good Understanding.

2. HE allowed more Liberty to the *Catholicks* than his Father had done, as we may see by the Acts of the Council, held, A. 506, at *Agde*, in *Lower Languedoc*, (XI. 12.) The Congregations had the Liberty of chusing their own Bishops, and several Monasteries were founded among them.

3. HE gave a new Form to the Laws by which the *Roman* Inhabitants of his Country were wont to be govern'd; and, in the Year 506, he caus'd an Abstract of the *Codex Theodosianus* to be made, which is known by the Name of *Codex Alaricianus*. As for the *Goths* themselves, they kept their own Laws, which *Euricus* had already caus'd to be reduc'd into some Order.

K k k 2

4. As

4. As much Honour as he gained by this, as little did it tend to his Reputation, that he caused the Standard of Money to be lowered: So that the *Gothick Gold Guilders* are forbidden by the *Burgundian Laws*. *Avitus*, ep. 78, refers to this Debasement of Coin, in the following Words: *Nec quidem talis electri, quale nuper, ut egomet hausi, in sancto ac sincerissimo impolluta manus nitore sordebat, cui corruptam potius quam confectam, auri nondum fornace decocti crediderim inesse mixturam: vel illam certe, quam nuperrime Rex Getarum, secutura præsagam ruinæ, monetis publicis adulterium firmantem mandaverat.*

5. ABOUT the Year 498, or 499, a Difference arose between the *Franks* and the *Goths*, which had like to have broken out into an open War. *Theoderic*, King of the *Ostro-Goths* in *Italy*, took great Pains to reconcile *Clovis* and *Alaric*; to which the Letters mentioned (XI. 12.) and likewise the Interview between *Clovis* and *Alaric*, taken Notice of by *Gregorius Turonensis*, (II. 35) may, with the most Probability, be referr'd. *Vid. Notes sur l'Histoire de Languedoc*, p. 661.

6. IT came, however, to a War, in the Year 507. *Alaric* was defeated near *Vouglé* †, on the River *Vienne*, and lost his Life in the Battle *. (X. 13.) The famous Monk, *Roricus*, invented many Circumstances of this Battle; and a learned Historian, with Reason, wonders, how *F. Daniel* came to be led away by them ††.

7. I HAVE already given an Account of the *Codex Alaricianus*. (XI. 12) There is a Difference of Opinion, among the Learned, what Hand *Annianus* had in it? I will, however, subjoin the Annotation of *P. Jacobus Sirmondus*, entitled: "Codicis Theodosiani Breviatorem, vel Interpretem, Annianum non fuisse, sed editorem tantummodo: which is to be found in his Works, Tom. IV, p. 293. *Alarici Regis Codicem, hoc est, Codicis Theodosiani brevium, Anniani opera compositum, & interpretationibus explanatum fuisse primi omnium, ni fallor, JOANNES TILIUS, & JACOBUS CUIJACIUS, affirmarunt alter in præfatione ad lectorem, cum posteriores libros octo in lucem proferret, alter in epistola ad RANCONETUM, quam suis ad Julium Paulum notis præfixit. Ac mirum quidem videri non debet, tantorum virorum exemplo in errore minductos esse quam plurimos: hoc mirari jure liceat, cum Alarici commonitorium, ad Timotheum Comi-*

* Conf. VEN. FORTUNAT. de vita Hilarii.

†† Vid. Hist. de Languedoc, T. I. n. 62.

“tem, uterque illorum haberet in manibus, alter id ipsum etiam in lucem
 “daret, neutrum quam falso id de Anniano sentiret, ex Alarici verbis,
 “quod facillimum erat,prehendisse. Liquida enim & perspicua com-
 “monitorii, five auctorittas illius, est sententia, Codicis hujus, in quo leges
 “Romanas, de Theodosiano & aliis libris excerptas, contineri docet in-
 “scriptio, nec collectorem Annianum fuisse, nec interpretem, sed editorem
 “duntaxat. Præfatus namque in ea epistola Rex, per quos selectæ leges
 “fuerint, & enucleatæ, quorumque adfensu totus liber comprobatus, tum
 “de mittendis ad judices exemplaribus agens, præcipit, ut Anniani manu
 “subnotata destinentur. Itaque Anniani hoc in negotio partes aliæ non
 “fuerunt, quam ut libros juxta authenticum, qui in regis palatio servaba-
 “tur, descriptos ederet, fidei quæ& auctoritas causa subnotaret. Subnotabat
 “autem iis fere verbis, quæ in Cujacii editione leguntur. Sed alieno ibi
 “loco, post Alarici Commonitorium, in operis fronte, posita sunt, cum ad
 “ejus calcem poni solerent, quemadmodum in antiquis exemplaribus obser-
 “vavimus, tum in nostro primum, tum deinde in altero regiæ Bibliothecæ,
 “num. MXCVII. in quibus post selecta de Theodosiano & Novellis, & post
 “Caii & Pauli, Gregoriani & Hermogeniani, Papinianique excerpta, hoc est,
 “in totius librum bilico, Anniani demum sequitur, subscriptio hujusmodi:
 “ANNIANUS V.S. ex præceptione domini nostri gloriosissimi Regis, Alarici,
 “ordinante viro magnifico & illustri, Gojarico Comite, hunc Codicem legum
 “juris, secundum authenticum subscriptum, vel in thesauris editum, subscripsi
 “& edidi, sub die III Nonas Februarii, anno XXII. regnante domino nostro
 “Alarico. Hæc igitur Anniani adnotatio, ut apparet, libri ipsius subscrip-
 “tio fuit, non auctoritatis Alarici, ad quam nihil attinebat, quæque in anti-
 “quis Codicibus vel subscriptione caret, vel aliam breviorē habet his
 “verbis: *Data sub die IV Nonas Frebruar. anno XXII. regnante Alarico*
 “*Rege, Tolosæ.* Quod vero præter hanc altera etiam Anniani subscriptio
 “adjecta est in editione CUJACII, error est, non certa quapiam auctoritate
 “nexus sed quod ipsi animadvertimus, ex minus accurata Codicis, quo usus
 “est, inspectione natus. Quare merito castigandus.”

X.

G E S A L I C *.

* Giseflicus,
 Giseficus.

King, A. 507; died 511.

1. SEE his History, (XI. 12, 15, 16.) which is very much illustrated
 in the *Notes sur l'Histoire de Languedoc*, not. 63. and it likewise deserves
 it, because the History of the Gothick War occurs in it.

2. ALA-

3. *ALARIC* left two Sons, this *Gesalic*, who was the eldest, tho illegitimate; and *Amalaric*, whom he had by the Daughter of *Theoderic*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*. After the Battle of the *Vouglé*, the *Goths* settled at *Narbonne*, and chose *Gesalic* their King.

3. THE Beginning of his Reign, was fatal. *Gundobald* took *Narbonne* *, and *Gesalic* escap'd to *Barcelona*.

* 508.

4. *THEODERIC*, King of *Italy*, took, indeed, the Part of the *Wisi-Goths*, against the *Franks* and *Burgundians*; but he likewise himself declared against *Gesalic* *. *Iba*, the *Ostro-Gothick* General, drove him to such Streights, that he fled for Refuge to *Africa*, to *Thrasamund*, King of the *Vandals*.

5. THE King of the *Vandals* furnish'd him with Mony; upon which he resided some Time in *Acquitain*, and then again tried his Fortune in *Spain*; but he was defeated by the General, *Iba*, and withal taken Prisoner. He died in his Captivity, as it is generally thought, the very same Year.

XI.

THEODERIC.

King of the *Ostro-Goths*, govern'd likewise the *Wisi-Goths*, from 511, to 526.

1. As *Amalaric* was yet too young to hold the Reins of Government, *Theoderic* took them into his own Hands, under the Pretence indeed of Guardianship; tho' in his own Name: As we find the Years of his Reign annex'd to the Councils which were held, during that Reign, in the *Wisi-Gothick* Provinces: For which Reason, he is likewise placed in the *Series* of the Kings of the *Wisi-Goths*.

2. *THEODERIC* again instituted a *Præfectus Prætorii* in *Gaul*, and endeavour'd to make his Government as agreeable to the Pro-

* One would imagine, that *Theoderic*, at first, acknowledg'd *Gesalic* King, and sent him Succour, against the *Franks*. In his Letter to *Thrasamund*, in which he complains of his giving Reception to *Gesalic*, he says of him: qui nostris inimicis, dum a nobis foveretur, adjunctus est. Perhaps *Gesalic* held a private Intelligence with *Clovis*.

vinces as he could. The *Ostro-* and *Wisi-Goths* intermarried, and became, as it were, one Nation.

3. HE gave the Command in *Spain*, to his Favourite, one *Theudis*, who afterwards made himself Master of the Kingdom.

4. *F. DANIEL* indeed says, *Theoderic* made Peace with *Clovis*, A. 509. But, according to *Procopius* and *Jornandes*, it rather seems that the War lasted 'till the Death of *Theoderic*. *Jornandes* says expressly, cap. 58. *Et nunquam Gothus Francis cessit, dum viveret Theodericus*. The same we see in *Greg. Turonensis*, (III. 21.) but what Towns or Countries either of them defended, is not easily determined.

XII.

A M A L A R I C.

King, 526; murder'd 531.

1. SEE his History, (XI. 45.) After the Death of *Theoderic*, his two Grandsons agreed that *Amalaric* should rule over the *Wisi-Goths*, and *Athalaric* over the *Ostro-Goths* in *Italy*. In this Partition the *Ostro-Goths* kept *Provence*: And as, in the Time of *Theoderic*, the *Goths* of both Nations intermarried, without Distinction, it was particularly stipulated, that it should be free for every one, either to take his Wife and Children with him, or to remain with them, in the Place of their Habitation *.

2. HE married *Clotildis*, the Daughter of *Clovis*, with a View of establishing a better Neighbourhood with the Kings of the *Franks*: But this Marriage prov'd unhappy, which *Procopius* and *Gregorius Turonensis* attribute to the Difference of their Religions; and blame him, that he

* *PROCOPIUS*, Lib. I. de Bell. Gothic. gives us the following Account of this Treaty: Galliam cum, Gothis & consobrino suo ita divisit, ut Gothi cesserit, quicquid est cis Rhodanum fluvium, partes vero trans illum positæ in Gothorum ditone manserint. Convenit etiam inter ipsos, ut vestigal, quod constituerat Theodericus, non penderetur amplius Gothi. Quicquid opum ex urbe Carcasone idem abstulerat, bona fide Amalarico restituit. Quoniam vero hæ duæ gentes connubiis affinitates junxerant, unicuique viro, qui uxorem e gente altera accepisset, permissa est optio, utrum mallet uxorem sequi, an ad gentem, ex qua ipse esset, illam traducere. Uxores multi abduxerunt arbitrato suo: multi secuti sunt.

did

did not behave well to his Consort *. Her Brother, *Childebert*, King of *Paris*, took Occasion, from hence, to wage War with him. *Amalaric* himself, was murder'd; but Accounts do not agree whether at *Narbonne* or *Barcelona* †. *Theudis*, whom I mention'd above, made himself hereupon Master of the Kingdom, and begins a new Succession of the Kings of the *Wisi-Goths*.

3. IN this Uncertainty of History, the best I can do, will be to subjoin the Passages of ancient Historians, as I find them. *PROCOPIUS*, *L. I. de Bell. Gothico*, says of *Amalaric*: *Uxorem siquidem cum integræ erga Deum fidei suscepisset, & alias ipse Arianae hæreseos esset, haud quaquam sinebat legitimis hanc & veris ritibus uti, nec pro patria ac optima sua consuetudine Deum sibi propitiando ut coleret. Unde cum integerrima fœmina in viri mores concedere nollet, & contemptui haberi apud hunc coepta, atque adeo, ut ferendus de cætero non videretur, Theodeberto fratri, uti se habuissent omnia, nuntiavit. Qua de causa Germanicæ gentes, Visigothique inimicitias inter se contraxere, acrique ac diutino bello inter hos decertatum. Sed victis demum Amalaricus, cum magna suorum jactura occubuit. Theodebertus vero, suis cum rebus omnibus sorore adempta, Galliæ partem, quantamcunque sortiti Visigothi fuerant, recepit. Qui itaque Visigothorum ex gente bello devicta reliqui ex ea clade fuere, ex Galliis cum uxoribus, liberisque, sedibus jam suis egressi, ad Theudem, in Hispaniis tyrannidem jam palam exercentem, se contulere.* This Relation contains a double Mistake: For *Theodebert* is named instead of *Childebert*; and it is pretended, that the Part of *Gaul*, which the *Wisi-Goths* possessed, then fell into the Hands of the *Franks*: Tho' the *Goths* constantly kept that Part thereof which is now call'd *Languedoc*. *Jornandes* mentions *Amalaric*, but in a few Words; *cap. 58.* *Nam & Thiodem suum armigerum post mortem Alarici generi, tutorem in Hispaniæ regno Amalarici nepotis constituit. Qui Amalaricus, in adolescentia, Francorum fraudibus irretitus, regnum cum vita amisit.*

* That *Amalaric*, however allow'd the Orthodox Christians a free Exercise of their Religion, we see by the *Acta Concilii Toletani II. Tom. IV. Concil. (LABB.) p. 1734.* where, at the Conclusion, it is said: *Gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo, deinde domino nostro glorioso, Amalarico, Regi, divinam clementiam postulantes, ut innumeris annis regni ejus, ea, quæ ad cultum fidei pertinebunt, peragendi nobis licentiam præstet.*

† What an unquiet State must not the *Goths* have liv'd in, since, as we see, most of their Kings came to a violent End! This agrees partly with what *Seneca* says, *de Ira, l. 2.* *Aspice tot memoriæ proditos duces, mali exempla feti. Alium ira in cubili suo confodit; alium inter sacra mensæ percussit; alium inter leges, celebrique spectaculum fori lancinavit; alium filii parricidio dare sanguinem jussit, alium servili manu regale aperire jugulum.*

4. GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *L. III. c. 10.* relates this Matter as if it never came to a Battle; but that, however, *Amalaric* was murder'd at *Narbonne*: *Quod certissime Childebertus cognoscens, ab Arverno rediit, & IN HISPANIAM propter sororem suam, Chrotildem, DIRIGIT. Hac vero multas insidias ab Amalarico viro suo propter fidem Catholicam patiebatur. Nam plerumque, procedente illa ad Sanctam Ecclesiam, stercora, & diversos foetores super eam projici imperavit. Ad extremum autem tanta cum crudelitate dicitur cecidisse, ut infectum de proprio sanguine sudarium fratri transmitteret. Unde ille maxime commotus, HISPANIAS appetiit. Amalaricus vero hac audiens, naves ad fugiendum parat. Porro imminente Childeberto, cum Amalaricus navem deberet ascendere, ei in mentem venit, multitudinem se pretiosorum lapidum in suo thesauro reliquisse, cumque ad eosdem petendos in civitatem regrederetur, ab exercitu a portu exclusus est. Videns autem, non posse evadere, ad ecclesiam Christianorum confugere coepit. Sed priusquam limina sancta contingeret, unus, emissa manu lancea eum mortali ictu sauciavit, ibique decedens reddidit spiritum. Tunc Childebertus cum magnis thesauris sororem assumptam secum abducere cupiebat. Quæ, nescio, quo casu, in via mortua est, & postea Parisius allata, juxta patrem suum Chlodoveum sepulta est.* As to what GREGORIUS says: *Childebertum in Hispaniam iter direxisse*; and, *Hispanias appetisse*, I have already shewn from *F. le Cointe*, that the Country which the *Wisi-Goths* possess'd in Gaul, was sometimes comprehended under the Name of *Hispania*.

5. ISIDORUS in *Chr. Goth. ad An. XIII. Justiniani*: *Defuncto Theoderico, Amalaricus nepos ejus quinque annis regnavit. Qui cum Hildeberto, Francorum Rege, Narbonæ prælio superatus fuisset, Barcinonam fugiens venit, omniumque contra se odio excitato, apud Narbonam in foro ab exercitu jugulatus interiit.*

6. *F. Le COINTE* declares for the Relation of *Gregory, ad A. 531, n. 8, 9.* and affirms, that *Amalaric* was kill'd at *Narbonne*, with which *Pagius* agrees. Other learned Men, particularly *F. Daniel*, and the Compiler of the new History of *Languedoc*, hold rather, with *Isidorus*, that he was murder'd at *Barcelona*; especially as *Fredegarius*, and the *Appendix Chron. Victoris Tununensis*, are of that Side of the Question. *F. Pagius's* Computation, when he shews, *ad An. 546, n. 10. & seq.* that he was yet living, in *December, 531*, is however generally received.

XIII.

A SERIES of the Kings of the WISI-GOTHS,
from ALARIC to AMALARIC.

I. ALARIC
goes to *Italy*, plun-
ders *Rome*, 410. †
the same Year.
Confort, *N. N.*
the Sister of
Ataulph.

II. ATAULPH
King, 410; goes
to *Gaul*, 412;
murder'd 415.
Conf. 1.) *N. N.*
2.) Daugh-
ter of Emperor
Theoderic, the
Great.
Theodofus
† before his Father.

III. SEGERIC
King in 415;
killed in a
few Days.
Ricimer
Patritius † 472.
(X. 21.)

IV. WALLIA
King, 415. † 419.
N - a Daughter,
married to a *Sue-
vian Prince*.
N - a Daughter,
married to *Gun-
deucus*, King of
Burgundy.
II. Annot. n. 111.

V. THEODERIC I.
King, 419; kill'd in Battle 451.
Of him the eight following Children are known.

VI. THORISMUND
King, 415; murder'd 453.

VII. THEODERIC II. *Frideric*
King, 453; murder'd 466. kill'd in Battle, 463.

VIII. EURICUS
King, 466. † 484.
Confort, *Ragna-
childis*.

Rotemer.

Himmerit.

Two Daughters:
One married to
Hunoric, King of
the *Vandals*; the
other to *Rechia-
rius*, King of the
Suevi.

IX. ALARIC II.
kill'd 507.
Conf. 1.) *N - Conc.*
2.) *Theodichusa*,
Daughter of
Theoderic,
King of the
Ostro-Goths.

X. GESALIC
King, 507, 'till 511.

XII. AMALARIC
King, 526; murder'd 531.
Conf. *Clotildis*, Daughter of
King *Glevis*.

XI. THEODERIC
King of the *Ostro-Goths*,
who likewise rul'd over
the *Wisi-Goths*, from 511
to 526.

XII. AN

XII. ANNOTATION.

Of the Infcription, pretended to be erected, in Honour to ATAULPH and PLACIDIA.

SOME learned Men, particularly *Bouche*, in his *Histoire de Provence*, and *F. Gariel*, in *serie Præfulum Magalonensium*, extol an extraordinary Monument of the Marriage of *Ataulph* and *Placidia*: viz. a Piece of Marble, with an Infcription, and divers Emblems, pretended to have been found in the Neighbourhood of *St. Gilles*. See the Infcription, *Vol. I. VIII. 36*, as we find it in *Spon.* I shall add a farther Description of it, in the Words of *F. Gariel*. *l. cit. p. 7.*

*Non permittam, ut immitas,
Arderent isto viscera nostra igne,*

Ad militis pedes laureatum leonem eumque ferocientem demulcent Gratia;
ille posito fastu perpulchrum id videtur innuere:

*Amor servat urbem,
Gratia non omnibus grata,
Tamen amore digna.*

Ad lævam urbs altera fylvæ finitima visitur, superinducta literaria tessera:

*Nisi trajecisset amor pectora,
Roma non esset Roma,
Heraclea non esset Flaviorum Regia,
Orbis non urbis nos caperet spatium,*

The Author himself gives us his Opinion, in the following Manner: *Hæc, omnia a Romanorum ritu in signandis lapidibus, figendisque posteritati monumentis, minime abhorrentia, his potissimum inscripta temporibus crediderim, quibus Sebastiano et Jovino de medio sublatis, magnifico apparatu, Ataulphum inter & Placidiam, nuptialis Narbonæ peracta celebritas, est.* But it is almost out of Doubt, that the whole is an Invention. The learned Compilers of the New History of *Languedoc* have so evidently proved it, *Not. 46. p. 643*; that the whole is worthy a Place here

Sur une Inscription en l'honneur d'Ataulphe & de Placidie.

I. L'Inscription, dont il s'agit est conçûe en ces termes :

*Ataulpho Flavio
Potentissimo regi, regum rectissimo,
Victori victorum invictissimo, Vandalicæ
Barbarici depulsori, & Cæsareæ Placidie
Animæ suæ : dominis suis clementissimis
Anatili, Narbonenses, Arecomici
Optimis principibus in palatio
Posuerunt ob electam Heracleam in regie
Majestatis sedem.*

Plusieurs habiles modernes (a), qui ont eu occasion de parler de cette Inscription, n'ont pas fait difficulté de l'admettre comme vraie, & nous ne connoissons, que Mr. de TILLEMONT (b), qui ait paru douter de son authenticité. Quelque deference que nous aions pour le suffrage de tous ces sçavans antiquaires, nous ne croions pas devoir l'adopter : nous avons même des raisons assez fortes pour croire ce monument supposé : les voici.

II. BOUCHE (c), qui est le premier, qui l'a donné dans son histoire de Provence, dit, qu'il fut trouvé au terroir de la ville de St. Gilles,

(a) SPON. Misc. p. 159. DUCANGE Chron. Pasch. in hist. Byf. p. 572. MENESTRIER hist. de Lyon. HARD. not. in c. 4. l. 3. Plin.

(b) TILL. art. 52. sur Honoré.

(c) BOUCH. Prov. c. 1. p. 158.

près du Rhône, sous le regne de Charles V. roi de France. SPON. (a) dit au contraire, que le marbre sur lequel l'inscription est gravée, fut deterré à St. Gilles même, & il croit après POLDO d'ALBENAS (b), qui n'avoit aucune connoissance de cette inscription, que la ville de Saint Gilles est l'ancienne Heraclée. Le P. HARDOUIN (c) dans ses notes sur Pline, sans nous donner d'autre garant que BOUCHE même, qui dit tout le contraire, assure, que cette inscription fut trouvée à S. Rhemi, petite ville de Provence, & ajoute que cette dernière ville est la véritable Heraclée de Pline.

III. Cette diversité de sentimens sur l'endroit, où ce monument a été decouvert, donne d'abord lieu de presumer qu'il est supposé. On peut ajouter, qu'on ignore le lieu, où il est conservé, & que personne n'a dit encore l'avoir vu. Mais en examinant de près tous les termes de l'inscription, il est aisé de se convaincre, qu'elle a été faite à plaisir dans les derniers siècles. Nous allons donner là-dessus nos reflexions, après avoir observé, qu'elle ne peut avoir été dressée en l'honneur d'Ataulphe & de Placidie son épouse, que depuis leur mariage, qui fut célébré à Narbonne, au mois de Janvier, de l'an 414 (d), jusqu'à la fin de la même année (e), ou au plus tard au commencement de la suivante, que les Visigots quitterent entièrement les Gaules pour se retirer (f) en Espagne; qu'Ataulphe ne rentra plus dans les Gaules, & qu'il mourut au delà des Pyrenées, au mois d'Aout de l'An 415 (g). Cela posé entrons dans le detail des termes de l'inscription.

IV. *Ataulpho Flavio potentissimo regi, regum rectissimo, victori victorum invictissimo.* Selon le style des inscriptions, dont le bon gout n'étoit pas encore entièrement perdu au commencement du V. siècle, il auroit fallu dire *Flavio Ataulpho*, & non pas *Ataulpho Flavio*. D'ailleurs tous les anciens, qui ont parlé de ce Roi, ne lui ont jamais donné d'autre nom ou prénom, que celui d'Ataulphe; & quoique nous voions dans le Code Visigothique le prénom de *Flavius* donné aux Rois des Visigots, à la tête de quelques unes de leurs loix, nous n'en trouvons cependant aucun avant Reccarede, c'est-à-dire avant la fin du VI. siècle, qui se soit servi de ce prénom, & il est certain, qu'on n'en sçauroit donner aucune preuve avant ce tems-là.

(a) SPON. *ibid.*

(b) POLD. p. 220.

(c) HARD. *ibid.*

(d) OLYMP. ap. PHOT. p. 185.

(e) OROS. l. 7. c. 43.

(f) PROSP. Chron.

(g) CHRON. PASCH. p. 710.

V. IL paroît en effêt, que Theodoric roi des Ostrogots, ou d'Italie, fut le premier des princes barbares, qui se para (a) du titre de *Flavius*, affecté jusqu' alors aux seuls Empereurs. Ce prince se l'attribua sans doute, parce que, quoi qu'il n'eut pas le titre d'Empereur, il en tenoit cependant la place en occident, & qu'il pretendoit avoir succédé à leur autorité. Avant lui, & jusqu'à l'entiere decadence de l'Empire, bien loin, qu'aucun des rois barbares se soit égalé aux Empereurs par des titres si magnifiques, on voit au contraire, qu'ils se comportoient, comme s'ils leur eussent été soumis, & qu'ils se regardoient comme vassaux de l'Empire. Reccarede, qui est le premier des rois des Visigots, qui emploia ce prénom à la tête de ses loix, le prit, au sentiment d'un habile (b) critique, pour ne pas ceder & paroître inferieur aux Rois Lombards d'Italie, qui l'avoient usurpé sur les Empereurs de Constantinople, aux quels il avoit toujours été consacré.

VI. ON pourroit objecter, que le terroir de Saint Gilles, aux environs du Rhône, étoit appelé anciennement *Vallis Flaviana*, & qu'il a pris ce nom, selon quelques auteurs, des premiers rois Visigots, maitres du pays, à cause qu'ils se servoient du prénom de *Flavius*. Mais outre qu'il est constant, qu'Ataulphe ne regna jamais dans ce canton, & qu'on n'en sçau-roit donner aucune preuve, tous les memoires, où il est fait mention de *la Vallée Flavienne*, pour signifier le territoire de S. Gilles, ne remontent pas au-dessus de la seconde race de nos Rois. D'ailleurs on n'a aucune preuve, que ce pays ait tiré ce nom de quelqu'un des rois Visigots ; & quand cela seroit, on devroit la rapporter plutôt à Theodoric (c), roi d'Italie, qui regna en effêt sur le Languedoc, & la Provence, ou à quelqu'un des successeurs de Reccarede, puisque ce sont, les seuls, comme on l'a déjà dit, qui se soient donnés le prénom de *Flavius*.

VII. POUR le titre *de tres puissant roi des rois, de très juste, & très-invincible, de vainqueur des vainqueurs*, que l'inscription donne à Ataulphe, outre que ces termes ne sont point du style des anciennes inscriptions, il falloit, dit Mr. de Tillemont (d), que les peuples, qui dresserent celles, dont il s'agit, portassent alors la bassesse & la flatterie à une etrange extremité ; eux qui deux ans auparavant n'eussent traité Ataulphe que de *barbare & de tyran*. En effêt, quelle apparence que ces peuples, chez

(a) CONCIL. to. 4. p. 13. 9. 133, 1401.

(b) VAL. rer. Franc. l. 14. p. 351. v. MARIANA l. 10. c. 7

(c) V. not. 66.

(d) TILL. art. 52. sur Honoré

qui ce Roi barbare n'avoit été qu'en passant, pour les piller & ravager leurs campagnes, lui eussent par des termes si pompeux temoignée une reconnoissance si peu meritée, & qu'ils eussent célébré son entrée dans les Gaules par un éloge si peu sincere, et si peu convenable? On peut ajouter, que ce furent ou les peuples de la prétendue Heraclée, ou ceux de Narbonne, comme Bouche l'a avancé, qui firent ériger ce monument à Ataulphe. Ce ne peuvent être les premiers, puisque ce Prince, lors qu'il s'éloigna du Rhône pour aller prendre Narbonne, n'avoit pas encore épousé Placidie, qu'on n'a aucune preuve, qu'il soit retourné de ce côté-là après son mariage, & qu'il paroît au contraire, que les peuples du pays demeurèrent toujours soumis à l'autorité de Constance, general de l'Empereur Honoré, ennemi juré d'Ataulphe, & des Visigots, qu'il contraignit enfin de passer au delà des Pyrenées. Ceux de Narbonne, ne peuvent non plus avoir fait eriger ce prétendu monument; car, outre qu'ils l'auroient plutôt fait elever dans leur ville, il n'est pas vraisemblable, qu'ils eussent osé insulter Constance, en le faisant dresser sur les bords du Rhône, & sous les yeux de ce general, qui étoit alors à Arles.

VIII. *VANDALICÆ barbarici depulsi.* Cette inscription comme nous l'avons dit, ne peut convenir à Ataulphe que depuis son mariage avec Placidie, jusqu'à sa sortie des Gaules. Or il est certain (a) qu'il n'y avoit plus de Vandales dans ces provinces, lorsque les Visigots y entrerent, & que les premiers avoient déjà passé en Espagne depuis le mois de Septembre (b) de l'an. 409. deux ans auparavant; ce qui seul prouve la fausseté de l'inscription. Que si par les Vandales qu'on pretend qu'Ataulphe chassa des Gaules, on veut entendre cette partie des Alains, qui s'étoient melez avec ces barbares, & qui étoient demeurez dans les Gaules, on voit, que bien loin d'être (c) chassés par les Visigots, ils aiderent au contraire les Romains à les chasser au delà des Pyrenées, par la conduite, qu'ils tinrent durant le siege de Basas, que les mêmes Visigots avoient entrepris.

IX. *ET Cæsareæ Placidie animæ suæ dominis suis clementissimis.* Ces termes prouvent à la verité, que l'inscription est postérieure aux nœces d'Ataulphe & de Placidie; mais on ose asûrer qu'ils sont extraordinaires & contre le style des inscriptions. Quel exemple a-t-on en effet dans les anciens monumens du terme de *Cæsareæ* donné à une femme, soit qu'elle fut fille ou soeur d'un Empereur, & de celui d'*animæ suæ* à une épouse, ou à une maitresse?

(a) V. VALES. rer. Franc. l. 3. p. 111.

(b) PROSP. CHRON.

(c) PAULIN. Euchar.

X. *ANATILII Narbonenses Arecomici.* 1. Si l'inscription a été trouvée à S. Gilles, comme l'assurent Bouche & Spon, & non pas à Saint Rhemi en Provence, comme le pretend le P. Hardouin, il s'ensuit, que le pays des Anatiliens s'étendoit à la droite & en deçà du Rhône. Or selon Pline & Ptolomée ces Peuples habitoient à la gauche de ce fleuve, & du côté de Provence; ce qui a sans doute déterminé le P. Hardouin à mettre du même côté l'ancienne Heraclée, parce qu'il a trouvé dans cette inscription qu'elle étoit la capitale des Anatiliens. *Ultra*, dit Pline (a), parlant de la partie orientale de la Narbonnoise, située en delà & à la gauche du Rhône (b), *Fossæ ex Rhodano C. Marii opere & nomine insignes. Stagnum Mastremala, oppidum maritima Avaticorum, superque campi lapidei* (c) *Herculis præliorum memoria, &c. regio Anatiliorum & intus Desuviatum Cavarumque, &c.* Ptolomée (d) parlant de la même partie Orientale de la Narbonnoise, dit: *Post Rhodanum mari iterum adjacente Anatiliorum civitas, Maritima colonia, &c.* (e) Ainsi cette inscription est contraire à l'autorité de ces deux auteurs, & quoiqu'on conjecture avec assez de vraisemblance, que les Anatiliens s'étendoient entre les Bouches du Rhône, on n'a cependant aucune preuve, qu'ils fussent établis en deçà de ce fleuve.

2. CES mots *Anatili Narbonenses Arecomici* prouvent, ou que les Arecomiques joignoient leur nom à celui de *Narbonenses*, ou que ceux de Narbonne étoient du nombre des Arecomiques, ou enfin que les Anatiliens étoient Narbonnois & Arecomiques. Le premier est sans exemple; les Arecomiques étoient véritablement du nombre des Volces, qui étoient divisés en Tectosages & en Arecomiques, & qui partageoient entr'eux presque tout le Languedoc: mais jamais aucun auteur n'a donné aux Arecomiques, qui habitoient les environs de Nîmes, le nom de *Narbonenses Arecomici*, mais bien celui de *Volcæ Arecomici*, *Volcæ* étant le nom general *Arecomici* le particulier. Que si par ces termes on entend les peuples de Narbonne, la fausseté de l'inscription est encore plus sensible, puisque cette ville n'étoit pas dans le pays des Arecomiques. Afin nous avons vû que les Anatiliens n'étoient ni Narbonnois, ni Arecomiques, puisqu'ils étoient situés à la gauche du Rhône, & que les Arecomiques, du moins depuis César, ne s'étendoient qu'à la droite de ce fleuve.

(a) PLIN. *ibid.*

(b) C'est le village de Fos auprès des Martigues.

(c) La Crau.

(d) PTOL. l. 2. c. 5.

(e) Les Martigues.

3. C'EST n'étoit point l'usage au commencement du V. siècle d'employer dans les inscriptions les noms des anciens peuples particuliers des Gaules, tels que ceux des Arecomiques & des Anatiliens, & on n'en a aucun exemple. On se servoit à la vérité de ces sortes de noms dans le siècle de César & d'Auguste ; mais la denomination des anciens peuples avoit changé sous l'empire d'Honoré, parce que les villes capitales avoient déjà pris les noms du pays où elles étoient situées. La multiplication des provinces Romaines avoit d'ailleurs confondu alors les anciens noms des peuples particuliers dans ceux de ces nouvelles provinces.

XI. *OPTIMIS principibus in palatio posuerunt ob electam a se Heracleam in regiae majestatis sedem.* Nous ne disons rien sur ces termes, *regiae majestatis* : on en laisse le jugement aux connoisseurs de l'antiquité, pour nous arrêter à ce qui est dit du palais & de la ville d'Heraclee, ce qui montre évidemment la supposition de ce monument, puisque sous l'empire d'Honoré cette ville ne subsistoit plus depuis plusieurs siècles.

IL est vrai, que Pline (a) fait mention d'une ville de ce nom à l'embouchure du Rhône ; mais de son tems elle étoit déjà détruite. *Sunt autores, dit-il, & Heracleam oppidum in ostiis Rhodani fuisse.* Qu'on ne dise pas qu'elle peut avoir été rebâtie, sous le même nom, après le siècle de Pline, & avoir existé sous l'empire d'Honoré ; car 1. outre qu'on n'en a aucune preuve, on peut demander, d'où vient, que si cette ville, qui devoit être célèbre, a subsisté depuis le tems de Pline jusqu'à l'empire d'Honoré, aucun ancien auteur, ou géographe, n'en a fait mention ?

2. QUAND elle auroit été rebâtie, c'eût été sans doute par quelqu'un des empereurs qui regnerent dans les Gaules ; mais quelle apparence qu'ils eussent conservé son ancien nom, tandis qu'ils l'ôtoient aux autres pour leur imposer le leur, comme nous le voyons de Constantinople, de Grenoble, &c. & sans sortir de la province, de la ville d'Elne, que Mr. de Marca (b) a prouvé être l'ancienne Illiberis rebâtie par Constantin, à laquelle il donna le nom de l'impératrice Helene sa mere.

3. SI Heraclee subsistoit du tems d'Ataulphe, cette ville aura-t-elle été ensevelie d'abord après la mort de ce prince dans un éternel oubli ; en sorte que les historiens & les monumens qui parlent si souvent des autres villes de la province, beaucoup moins considérables, n'aient seule-

(a) PLIN. *ibid.*

(b) MARC. *Hisp. p. 24.*

ment pas daigné nommer celle, où les rois Visigots avoient d'abord établi leur siege ? Par quelle revolution aura-t-elle disparu tout à coup ? Ne meritoit elle pas d'être mise parmi les citez des Gaules, dans quelque notice, & sur tout dans celle d'Honoré qu'on rapporte au même tems ? N'auroit-elle pas dû avoir un siege episcopal, ainsi que plusieurs autres petites villes du voisinage beaucoup moins considerables ?

XII. ON dira peut-être pour appuyer cette pretendue inscription, que Godefroi de Viterbe, & Othon de Frisingue assurent, que la ville de S. Gilles s'apelloit encore de leur tems le palais des Goths, *palatium Gothorum*, & que suivant les anciens titres (a) on nommoit *Selva Gothescar* la forêt de S. Gilles. Ces autoritez prouvent tout au plus, que quelqu'un des rois Visigots, qui regnerent dans les Gaules, fit construire un palais à S. Gilles, ou aux environs, ce que nous ne disputons pas ; mais ce dût être posterieurement à la mort de l'empereur Majorien, puisque c'est seulement depuis ce tems-là, que ces peuples étendirent leur domination jusqu'au Rhône. Il paroît d'ailleurs par la suite de l'histoire qu'Ataulphe fit un séjour fort court dans les Gaules, & que toutes ses conquêtes y furent passageres. Quand on accorderoit qu'il séjourna quelque peu de tems sur les bords du Rhône après la prise de Valence sur les tyrans, comme quelques uns le pretendent (b), & comme il est assez vraisemblable, cela ne prouveroit rien en faveur de l'inscription ; & ni le palais des rois Gots, ni le séjour qu'Ataulphe pût faire aux environs de S. Gilles ne marquent nullement que cette ville soit l'ancienne Heraclee, ni que ce prince y ait établi le siege de son empire. Othon de Frisingue ne le dit pas non plus que Godefroi de Viterbe.

ON voit d'ailleurs le peu de fonds qu'on peut faire sur leur autorité, puisqu'ils supposent faussement l'un & l'autre qu'Ataulphe avoit déjà épousé Placidie, lorsqu'il entra dans les Gaules, & que le dernier met la ville de Narbonne auprès du Rhône. *Ataulphus - - - - - (c) in Gallia prope civitatem Narbonensem, ubi hodie villa S. Aegidii dicitur, in loco, qui usque hodie palatium Gothorum vocatur, consedit, supra Rhodanum fluvium ; a quo loco per Constantinum comitem postea pulsus in finibus Hispaniae cum Gothis resedit.* Suivant cet auteur le palais des Gots, & la ville de

(a) CATEL. mem. p. 453.

(b) V. LE COINT. ad ann. 531. n. 15.

(c) GOTFRID. VITERB. panth. to. 3. Pistor. p. 402.

Saint Gilles, étoient differens. Le P. le Cointe (a) pretend en effet que e premier devoit être situé à la gauche du Rhône du côté de Provence. Ainsi ce palais ne peut être la même chose que la ville de S. Gilles où l'on a trouvé la prétendue inscription ; mais qu'on a plutôt fabriquée de nos jours sur ce passage de Godefroi de Viterbe.

XIII. SUIVANT cette inscription Ataulphe choisit la ville d'Heraclée pour la capitale de ses états, & le siege de son Empire, ce qui dû arriver, comme on a voulu le faire entendre, après son mariage avec Placidie. Or dans le tems de ce mariage, qui fut célébré au mois de Janvier, de l'an, 414, Constance, general de l'Empereur Honoré, étoit maitre (b) de la ville d'Arles, & par consequent des environs de la ville de S. Gilles, & depuis ce tems-là il ne cessa de harceler les Visigots jusqu'à ce qu'il les eut obligez enfin de sortir des Gaules. D'ailleurs pendant cet intervalle, qui ne fut au plus que d'un an, ces peuples furent toujours éloignez du Rhône, puis qu'ils prirent alors les villes de Toulouse & de Bourdeaux ; qu'ils firent le siege de Basas, (c) d'où Ataulphe prit avec eux la route des Pyrenées, & qu'enfin Constance, maitre de toute la Narbonnoise, assiegeoit dans le même tems (d) la ville de Narbonne, qu'il obligea enfin de se rendre. Quelle apparence qu'Ataulphe ait été alors établir le siege de son Empire à S. Gilles, & qu'il y ait vecu tranquillement au milieu des applaudissemens des peuples du pays qu'il avoit ruinés, & cela à la face du general Constance, dont le siege étoit à Arles dans le voisinage. Ce dernier y assembla en effet toutes ses forces, dans le dessein de chasser les barbares des Gaules, comme le temoigne Orose auteur contemporain, lequel écrivoit presque sur les lieux en 417, trois ans après la sortie des Visigots des Gaules.

XIV. IL est vrai que S. Prosper (e) dans sa chronique ne parle de la sortie des Gots des Gaules, & de leur entrée en Espagne, que sous l'an. 415. & qu'ainsi leur séjour peut avoir été plus considerable : mais quand il auroit été de dix-huit mois, cela ne sçauroit detruire ce qu'on a déjà établi touchant le peu de tems qui s'écoula entre les nœces d'Ataulphe & sa sortie des Gaules. D'ailleurs S. Prosper ne parle dans sa chronique de l'époque du passage des Visigots en Espagne, qu'à l'occasion de la prise d'Attale : *Attalus a Gothis ad Hispanias migrantibus neglectus capitur.*

(a) LE COINT. *ibid.*

(b) OROS. l. 7. c. 47.

(c) PAULIN. eucharist. V. Till. art. 52. sur Hon.

(d) OROS. *ibid.*

(e) PROSP. CHRON. to. 1. Bibl. Labb. p. 49.

Les Gots peuvent donc être fortis des Gaules en 414. & Attale n'avoir été pris que l'année suivante. On doit dire la même chose de la chronique d'Idace (a), qui ne parle de la sortie de ces peuples des Gaules que sous l'an, 416. à l'occasion de la mort d'Ataulphe, qu'il suppose être arrivée cette année: mais il est certain (b) qu'elle arriva à Barcelonne, au mois d'Aout, ou au commencement de celui de Septembre, de l'an. 415. Nous savons (c) d'ailleurs que Theodose, fil de ce prince, mourut aussi dans la même ville l'an. 414. peu de tems après sa naissance; les Visigots devoient donc s'être retirés en Espagne dans la même année. Toutes ces raisons ne nous permettent pas de douter que l'inscription, que nous venons d'examiner ne soit supposée, & qu'elle n'ait été fabriquée dans le dernier siècle; car si elle eut été découverte sous le regne de Charles V. comme Bouche le pretend, elle n'auroit pas été inconnue à d'Albenas, à Catel, & à tous les autres historiens, ou Antiquaires de nos provinces, qui avoient intérêt d'en parler & d'en faire usage.

XV. Nous n'avons rien dit de deux autres inscriptions, qu'on pretend être jointes à celle-ci, & avoir été gravées sur deux autres côtes du même marbre. Le P. Menestrier (d) les a données dans son histoire de Lyon. " Sur l'un des côtes de ce marbre, dit cet auteur, on voit la ville de Rome
" & un cavalier qui y vouloit mettre le feu; mais un amour lui retenoit
" le bras, tandis que les trois grâces embrassoient & caressoient un Lyon
" couronné de laurier, avec ces mots gravez au dessus & au dessous."

*Non permittam, ut immittas,
Arderent isto viscera nostra igne.
Amor servat urbem.
Gratia non omnibus grata.*

" Sur un autre côté étoit une ville, ceinte de tours, qui representoit l'an-
" cienne Heraclée avec un grand palais, qui portoit cette inscription."

*Nisi trajecisset amor pectora,
Roma non esset Roma.
Heraclea non esset,*

(a) IDAC. to. 1. Duch. p. 186.

(b) CHR. PASCH. in hist. Byf. d. 716.

(c) OLYMP. ap. Phot. p. 188. V. Till. art. 55. sur Hon.

(d) MENEST. hist de Lyon, p. 164.

*Flavioꝝ palatium,
Orbis non urbis
Nos caperet spatium.*

Il est aisé de s'appercevoir que ces inscriptions sont de la façon d'un auteur recent, ou d'un imposteur. Le P. Menestrier qui les rapporte convient qu'elles sont d'un style, qui fait voir que lors qu'elles ont été faites, l'éloquence & la langue Latine avoient extrêmement degeneré par une affectation de pointes & d'allusions, dont les ouvrages de Sidonius, dit-il, de Cassiodore, d'Ennodius, & de la plupart des auteurs de ce tems-là sont remplis ; mais cela ne prouve rien. Ces auteurs sont de la fin du V. siècle, ou du commencement du VI. où la langue Latine commença à la vérité à déchoir à cause du mélange des barbares ; au lieu que l'inscription, dont il s'agit, doit être du commencement du V. avant que ces peuples eussent fixé leur séjour dans les provinces de l'Empire, & par conséquent avant qu'ils n'eussent eu le tems de corrompre le goût de la bonne latinité ; ce qui n'arriva pas tout-à-coup. On peut voir en effet dans le recueil de Gruter plusieurs inscriptions de la fin du IV. & du commencement du V. siècle, qui se ressentent encore de la noblesse & de la simplicité, qu'on admire dans les divers monumens, qui nous restent des plus beaux siècles de l'Empire. Sans aller plus loin nous en donnons (a), une de Narbonne, postérieure de cinquante ans à celle d'Ataulphe, dont elle est entièrement différente, soit pour le style, soit pour les pensées, elle prouve que le bon goût se conservoit encore dans la Narbonnoise vers la fin du V. siècle.

XVI. ENFIN nous remarquerons que Gariel dans son livre intitulé : *Idee generale de la ville de Montpellier* (b), ouvrage qu'on peut dire en passant rempli de faits douteux, de fables & d'anachronismes, s'il en fut jamais, rapporte les mêmes inscriptions, mais bien différemment ; car elles sont d'un style beaucoup plus diffus. Il pretend les donner telles, qu'elles furent decouvertes, avec le marbre sur lequel elles étoient gravées, *dans les superbes ruines de S. Gilles*, sous le regne de Charles le sage. Il avouë cependant qu'il les avoit tirées d'un manuscrit de feu Guillaume Pelissier, évêque de Maguelonne, *qui avoit péri depuis un siècle* ; ce que nous ne sçaurions concilier. Il est du moins évident, que ce qu'il rapporte, prouve de plus en plus la supposition de ces inscriptions, puisque ceux, qui les ont données, ne peuvent convenir entr'eux, ni du lieu, où elles furent trouvées, ni en quels termes elles étoient conçues.

(a) PR. p. 4. inscr. 9.

(b) GARIEL. id. de Montpell. p. 48. & seqq.

XIII. ANNOTATION.

Of the OSTRO-GOTHS, in particular.

The History of the OSTRO-GOTHS, to the Foundation of their Kingdom, in Italy.

I.

Hermanaric, King of the Ostro-Goths: The Family of the Amali.

1. **I** HAVE already taken Notice, when the *OstroGoths* separated from the *Wisi-Goths*. Their King, *Hermanaric*, is equally famous, as well because the Power of the *Goths* came to its highest Pitch, as because it declin'd again in his Reign. (VII. 15.) He was of the Family of the *Amali*, (VI. 43. 1.) so called, because it descended from *Amala*.

2. THE *Goths* themselves were very proud of this Extraction. King *Athalaric* in his Letter to the *Roman Senat* (*Cassiodor. Var. VIII. 2.*) to inform them of his Accession to the Government, says: *Prælatæ est ergo spes nostra cunctorum meritis; & certius fuit de nobis credi, quam quod de aliis potuit approbati, nec injuria: quoniam quævis claritas generis Amalis cedit, & sicut, qui ex vobis nascitur, origo Senatoria nuncupatur, ita, qui ex hac familia progreditur, regno dignissimus approbatur*: And to the *Goths* themselves, *ibid. ep. 5. Recipite itaque prosperum vobis semper nomen Amalorum, regalem prosapiam, Baltheum germen, infantiam purpuratam*. This very King reproaches the *Vandals*, for not having shewn greater Tokens of their Respect to the Blood of the *Amali*, in their Queen *Amalfried*. *Var. IX. ep. 1. (ad Hildericum, Regem) Nam & hoc vestræ nobilitati fuisset adjectum, si inter Asdingorum stirpem retinuissetis Amali sanguinis purpuream dignitatem*. It would have been well for the Descendants of this Family, if they had always remember'd, what King *Theoderic* (*Cassiod. L. cit. IV. 39.*) wrote to *Theodehat*: *Amali sanguinis virum non decet vulgare desiderium*.

3. IN

3. IN the Genealogical Table of the *Amali*, compiled by *Jornandes*, we have the less Certainty, with Regard to the first Persons of it, as he himself refers to the fabulous Times of the *Goths*. For the latter, they may be the better warranted, as we have likewise a farther Account of them in other Historians of Credit. *Jornandes* writes (c. 14.) having before made Mention of the *Gothick Heroes*, who were famous at the Beginning of the second Century: *Horum ergo (ut ipsi suis fabulis ferunt) primus fuit Gapt, qui genuit Halmal, Halmal vero genuit Augis: Augis genuit eum, qui dictus est Amala, a quo & origo Amalorum decurrit. Et Amala genuit Isarna, Isarna autem genuit Ostrogotha, Ostrogotha genuit Unilt, Unilt genuit Athal, Athal genuit Achiulf, Achiulf genuit Ansilam & Edulf, Vuldulf & Hermerich: Vuldulf vero genuit Valaravans, Valaravans autem genuit Wnithbarium, Wnithbarius quoque genuit Theodemir, & Walemir & Widemir, &c.* In the Cod. MS. of the *Ambrosian Library*, there is a Difference, for there *Wnithbarius* is said to have had but one Son, call'd *Wandalarius*. *Vulfuulf vero genuit Valaravans, qui genuit Vinitarium, & ipse Vuandalarium, patrem Thiudemir, Valemir & Videmir. Thiudemir genuit Theudericum, &c.* So likewise *Jornandes*, in the vulgar Editions, (c. 48.) calls *Wandalarius* a Father of *Valamir*, &c. *Sed nobis, ut ordo, quem coepimus, decurrat, ad Wandalarum sobolem, quae trino flore pullulabat, redeundum est. Hic etenim Wandalarum, fratrueis Ermanarici, & supra scripti Thorismundi consobrinus, tribus editis liberis, in gente Amala gloriatum est, id est, Walamir, Theodemir, Widemir. Ex quibus per successionem parentum Walamir in regnum conscendit, adhuc Hunnis eos inter alias gentes generaliter obtinentibus. Eratque tunc in tribus his germanis contemplatio grata, quando mirabilis Theodemir pro fratre Walamir militabat imperio, Walamir vero pro altero jubet orando, Widemir servare pro fratribus aestimabat. Sic, eis mutua affectione se tuentibus, nulli penitus deerat regnum, quod utrique in sua pace tenebant. Ita tamen, ut saepe dictum est, imperabant, ut ipsi Attilae Hunnorum Regis imperio deservirent.*

II.

Condition of the Ostro-Goths, after Hermanaric's Death.

I. AFTER *Hermanaric's* Death, this History is the more obscure, because *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Jornandes* differ. The former, who lived about this Time, says, that *Vithimer*, after *Hermanaric's* Death, was elected King; and, being kill'd in a Battle with the *Huns*, (VII. 15.) was succeeded by his Son *Vitberic* (VII. 17. n. 5.)

2. JOR-

2. *JORNANDES* mentions neither *Vithimer* nor *Vitheric*; but says that, after *Hermanaric's* Death, the *Ostro-Goths* did not agree among themselves: That his Son, *Hunnimund*, submitted to the Sovereignty of the *Hunns*; but that *Vinithar* * endeavour'd to maintain his own and his Nation's Liberty, 'till *Balamer* making War with him, he was himself

kill'd in Battle. His Words are as follows: *Ostrogothæ Ermanarici Regis sui decessione a Vesegothis divisi, Hunnorum subditi ditioni, in eadem patria remorati sunt; Winithario tamen Amalo principatus sui insignia retinente; qui avi Ataulfi virtutem imitatus, quamvis Ermanarici felicitate inferior, tamen moleste ferens, Hunnorum imperio subjacere, paululum se subtrahabat ab illis, suamque dum nititur ostentare virtutem, in Antarum fines movit procinctum, eosque dum aggreditur, prima congressione superatur: deinde fortiter egit, Regemque eorum, Box nomine, cum filiis suis & LXX primatibus, in exemplo terroris, cruci adfixit. ut dedititiis metum cadavera pendentium geminarent. Sed cum tali libertate vix anni spatio imperasset, non est passus Balamer, Rex Hunnorum, sed adscito ad se Sigismundo, Hunnimundi magni filio, qui juramenti sui & fidei memor, cum ampla parte Gothorum Hunnorum imperio subjacebat, renovatoque cum eo foedere, super Winitharium duxit exercitum, diuque certantibus, primo & secundo certamine Winitharius vincit. Nec valet aliquis commemorare, quantam stragem de Hunnorum Winitharius fecit exercitu. Tertio vero prælio subreptionis auxilio ad fluvium, nomine Erac, dum uterque ad se venissent, Balamer, sagitta missa, caput Winitharii saucians interemit; neptemque ejus, Waldamaram, sibi in conjugio copulans, jam omnem in pace Gothorum populum subactum possedit: ita tamen, ut genti Gothorum semper unus proprius regulus (quamvis Hunnorum consilio) imperaret.*

3. AFTER him, the above-mention'd *Hunnimund* became King of the *Ostro-Goths*; and he was succeeded by his Son *Thorismund*, who lost his Life in a Battle with the *Gepidæ*. Of these Descendants of the *Amalian* Lineage, *Cassiodorus* gives us some Account; and none could have a better Knowledge of them than he, as he lived so long at the *Gothick* Court, and had himself a Hand in writing the *Gothick* History *. In a Letter

* *CASSIODORUS* makes Mention himself of this his Work, (Var. XII. 20.) as likewise in *Præf. ad libros Variarum*, where he says: *Duodecim libris Gothorum historiam, defloratis prosperitatibus condidisti. He speaks in Praise of them, in the Person of King Athalaric, in ep. ad Senatum, VAR. IX. 25. Tetendit se etiam in antiquam prosapiam nostram: lectione discens, quod vix Majorum notitia cana retinebat. Ille Reges Gothorum longa oblivione celatos, latibulo vetustatis eduxit. Ille*

Letter to the Roman Senat, (*Var. XI. 1.*) he says of Queen *Amalasuintha*: *Ordo flagitat dictionis, AUGUSTARUM VETERUM pompam moderna comparatione discutere. Sed quemadmodum illi sufficere poterunt exempla foeminea, cui virorum laus cedit universa? Hanc si parentum cohors illa regalis aspiceret, tanquam in speculum purissimum, sua praconia mox videret. Enituit enim AMALUS felicitate, OSTROGOTHA patientia, ATHALA mansuetudine, MUNIARIUS † æquitate, UNIMUNDUS forma, THORISMUTH † f. Vuinitari- castitate, WALAMER fide, THEUDIMER pietate, patientia (ut jam vidistis) ^{rius.} inclitus pater.*

4. *THORISMUND*, indeed, left a Son, call'd *Berimund*, but he chose rather to abandon his native Country, than to live under the Sovereignty of the *Hunns*, and retir'd to the *Wisi-Goths*, in *Gaul*. *JORNANDES*, cap. 33. *Berimundus, Thorismundo patre genitus, de quo in catalogo Amalorum familiae superius diximus, cum filio Witiricho ab Ostrogothis, qui adhuc in Scythiae terra Hunnorum oppressionibus subjacebant, ad Vesegotharum regnum migravit. Consciens enim erat virtutis, & generis nobilitatis: facilius sibi credens Principatum a parentibus deferri, quem heredem Regum constabat esse multorum. Quis namque de Amalo dubitaret, si vacasset eligere? Sed nec ipse adeo voluit quis esset ostendere. Et illi jam post mortem Valiae Theodericum ei dedere successorem, ad quem veniens Berimund, animi pondere, quo valebat, eximiam generis sui amplitudinem commoda taciturnitate suppressit: sciens regnantibus semper de Regali stirpe genitos esse suspectos. Passus est ergo ignorari, ne faceret ordinanda confundi. Susceptusque est cum filio suo a Rege Theoderico honorifice nimis, adeo, ut nec consilio suo expertem, nec convivio faceret alienum, non tantum pro generis nobilitate, quam ignorabat, sed pro animi fortitudine & robore gentis, quam non poterat occultare.*

5. *HIS* Grandson, *Eutharick*, had the Honour, that *Theoderic*, King of *Italy*, afterwards pitch'd upon him for his Son in Law. (*XI. 39.*)

Iste Amalos cum generis sui claritate restituit: evidenter ostendens, in decimam septimam progeniem stirpem nos habere Regalem. Originem Gothicam historiam fecit esse Romanam: colligens quasi in unam coronam germen floridum, quod per librorum campos passim fuerat ante dispersum. Perpendite, quantum vos in nostra laude dilexerit, qui vestri Principis nationem docuit ab antiquitate mirabilem; ut sicut fuistis a Majoribus vestris semper nobiles aestimati: ita vobis Regum antiqua progenies imperaret. We may easily perceive, that he had the Renown of the Goths principally in View, in this Work: But it is lost, and Jornandes's History is to be look'd upon as an Extract of it; for he himself writes, (Præf. ad Castalium;) De breviatione Chronicorum suades, ut nostris verbis duodecim Senatoris volumina, de origine actuque Getarum, ab olim usque nunc per generationes, Regesque, descendente, in unum, & hoc parvo libello coartem.

ANNOTAT.

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III. VALA-

III.

VALAMIR, THEODEMIR, VIDEMIR,

Kings of the Ostro-Goths.

1. THE *Ostro-Goths* remain'd some Time without a King, 'till *Valamir*, the Son of *Vimithar*, ascended the Throne. This Prince, with his two Brothers, *Theodemir* and *Videmir*, accompanied, in the Year 450, *Attila*, King of the *Hunns*, on his Expedition into *Gaul*. (IX. 25. n. 2.)

2. BUT when, after *Attila's* Death, his Monarchy fell to nothing, these three Brothers came to an Agreement with *Marcian*, the *Roman* Emperor, who gave them that Part of *Pannonia*, which I have already describ'd (X. 7.), where they had enough to do with the *Hunns*, *Gepidae*, *Sarmatians*, and other Nations. (*Ib.* 8, 9, 10.)

3. AFTER *Marcian's* Death, the Emperor *Leo* renew'd the Alliance with them, on which Occasion, *Theodemir* deliver'd his Son, *Theoderic*, as an Hostage, to the Emperor. (*Ib.* 9.)

4. *VALAMIR* died without Issue, and his two Brothers, thinking themselves too much streighten'd in their Habitation, in *Pannonia*, resolv'd to seek their Fortune farther. *Videmir* went to *Italy*; but died soon afterwards, and his Son, of the same Name, join'd the *Wisi-Goths*, in *Gaul*. (X. 30.) *Theodemir* invaded *Greece*, about the Year 474: But *Zeno*, the Emperor, came to a new Agreement with him, and resign'd to him the District of *Pautalia*, in *Dacia Mediterranea*. His Death, which happen'd quickly after, made Way for young *Theoderic* (X. 31.), whom we shall meet with, in the following Annotation, as Founder of the Kingdom of *Italy*.

Genealo-

Geological Table of the Pacific of the Americas



(1005)

XIV. ANNOTATION.

Of King THEODERIC, and of the Kingdom of the OSTRO-GOTHS, in ITALY.

WE cannot acquire a better Knowledge of the Kingdom of the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*, than from the History of King *Theoderic*, who founded it. To what I have already said, in its proper Place, of his Person, Court, and the Constitution of his Kingdom, I shall here only add some single Observations, which may serve, partly as a Confirmation, and partly as an Illustration of what I have said before.

I.

Of Theoderic's Person and Family, &c.

OF his Family, I treated, (XI. 39.) but the Account of his Funeral (*ib.* 38.) is in some Measure contradicted, if we compare with it, what *Agnellus*, who wrote in the XIth Century, in *Lib. Pontifical.* p. 280. says of it. *Theodericus autem post XXXIV annos regni sui coepit claudere ecclesias Dei, & coartare Christianos, & subito, ventris fluxum incurrens, mortuus est, sepultusque est in mausoleum, quod ipse edificare jussit extra portas Artemetoris, quod usque hodie vocamus ad Farum, ubi est monasterium S. Mariae, quæ dicitur ad memoriam Regis Theoderici. Sed, ut mihi videtur esse, sepulcro projectus est, & ipsa urna, ubi jacuit, ex lapide porphyretico valde mirabilis ante ipsius monasterii aditum posita est.*

II.

Theoderic's Behaviour, with Regard to the Romans.

I. ONE of the most remarkable Circumstances in *Theoderic's* History, is his Conduct with Regard to the Emperor, and the Roman Empire. This may be illustrated by certain Inscriptions. That in *Spon, Miscell.* p.

277, borrowed by *F. Banduri*, and inserted in *Numism. Imp. T. II. p. 601.* is particularly remarkable.

SALVIS DOMINO NOSTRO ZENONE
AUGUSTO ET GLORIOSISSIMO REGE
THEODORICO VALENTINIANI U. C. ET INL.
EX COM. DOMESTICO SACRI PALATII
IN ATRIO LIBERTATIS - - - - -
QUÆ VETUSTATE - - - - -
VE CONFEC - - - - -

2. THERE are likewise, in *Rome*, and other Places, Inscriptions, in which the King is mention'd alone, and that in the very same Manner as Mention is us'd to be made of the Emperors. *Raph. Fabretti* tells us, *Inscript. Antiqu.* p. 521, that many Stones have been found, in *Rome*, with the following Inscriptions :

REG. DN THEODE
RICO FELIX ROMA

Likewise REG DN THEODE
RICO BONO ROMÆ

HE likewise there gives us another Inscription, *ex Schedis PEIRESCII* :

SALVO. D.N. THEODERICO
REGE GLORIOSISSIMO

In GRUTERUS, p. 1082, 14. we read

REGNANTE D. N. THE
ODERICO. CONSTAN
TIUS. U. C. PU DIC.

3. BUT none is more remarkable, than that we find, p. 152. n. 8.

Anxuri five Terracinæ, in Cæsarei templo.

DN. GLORIOSISS. ATQ. INCLUTUS. REX. THEODORICUS,
VICT. AC. TRIT. SEMPER. AUG. BONO. REIP. NATUS. CUS-
TOS.

TOS. LIBERTATIS. ET. PROPAGATOR. ROMANI NOMINIS
 DOMITOR. GENTIUM.
 DECENNOVII. VIÆ. APPIÆ. ID. EST. A. TRIB.
 USQ. TERRACENA. ITER. ET. LOCA. QUÆ
 CONFLUENTIBUS. AB. UTRAQ. PARTE. PALUDUM
 PER. OMNES. RETRETO. PRINCIPUM. INUNDAVERANT
 USUI. PUBLICO. ET. SECURITATE. VIANTIUM
 ADMIRANDA. PROPITIO. DEO. FELICITATE
 RESTITUIT. OPERI. INJUNCTO. NAVITER. INSUDANTE
 ATQ. CLEMENTISSIMI. PRINCIPIS. FELICITER
 DESERVIENTE. PRÆCONIIS. EX. PROSAPIA. DECIO
 RUM. CÆC. MAV. BASILIO. DECIO UC. ET. INL.
 EXPF. URB. EXPO. EXCONS. ORD. PAT. QUI. AD
 PERPETUANDAM. TANTI. DOMINO. GLORIAM. PER
 PLURIMOS. QUI. ANTE. NON. ERANT. ALBEOS — — —
 — — — DEDUCTA. IN. MA
 RE. AQUA. IGNOTÆ. ATAVIS. ET. NIMIS. ANTIQUÆ
 REDDI — — —

Some Expressions in this Inscription might render it suspected. We have however this Satisfaction, that *On. Panvinius* allows it to be genuine, and *Raph. Fabret* only finds Fault with it, *l. c.* that it is ill copied.

III.

Of the Royal Attire, &c.

1. *THEODERIC*, after he had established himself in *Italy*, gave the Royal Dignity, among the *Goths*, as it were, a new Lustre. *Jordanes* says of it. *Zenonis, Imperatoris, consulto, privatum habitum, sueque gentis vestitum, reponens; insigne Regii amictus, quasi jam Gothorum Romanorumque regnator, adsumit.* (XI. 4. not. 1.) It seems Emperor *Zeno* allowed *Theoderic* the Royal Title, with all the Pomp, that was anciently used, at the Imperial Court, on the like Occasions *: And his Successors afterwards kept up to it. So *Procopius* says of *Ildebadus*: *Quem cum induissent purpura, Regem salutarunt;* (XI. 21. not. 3.) and of *To-*

* This belongs to the *Ritus appellandi Reges*, which was very ancient in *Rome*. So *Julius Caesar* put King *Ariovistus* in Mind of the particular Favour shewn him by the *Romans*, in allowing him the Royal Title and Treatment. (II. 5.)

*tilas, Agathias relates, (XIII. 22. not. 3.) that he seiz'd the Insignia Gothici Principatus, at Cuma **.*

Of the Palace at Ravenna.

2. HE chose the City of *Ravenna* for his Residence, as it had already been that of the Emperors. *Rubeus* makes mention of the Palace, in *Hist. Ravenn. Lib. III. p. 127. In hac Urbe ades sibi magnificas, ac plane regias extruxit eo loco, quem inter D. Martini in cælo aureo, sive, ut aliis placet, ad sacellum Arrii, ab se itidem edificati, & muros urbis ad Orientem, nunc in hortos degenerasse videmus: Portas domus, ferunt, ac porticus, carbasseis velis intentis obductas, magnum publicæ securitatis exemplum præbuisse. Harum imaginem, vermiculato pictam opere, in D. Martini, quod Apollinaris novi vocant, dextro pariete, videre quisque, templum ingrediens, potest.* We may take a View of this *Museo*, to which *Rubeus* refers, in *Ciampini Veteribus Monumentis, Tom. II. cap. 12.* which is remarkable on Account of the *Vela* being so well express'd in it. *Ciampini's* Opinion, that *Theoderic* did not first build this Palace, but that it was the Palace of the ancient Emperors, is very probable.

Customs at the Election of a King.

3. The *Gothick* Government was not absolutely hereditary. Their Elections were held in the open Field, and they set their King on a Shield, to shew him to the People. So *Vitiges* says of his Election, *Gothos inter procinctuales gladios, more majorum, scuto supposito, regalem sibi contulisse dignitatem. XII. 8. not. 2.* I have likewise observed the same Custom of other German Nations.

IV.

Coins of the Kings of the Ostro-Goths, in Italy.

THAT *Theoderic* likewise caused Money to be coined, with his own Image, in Gold, Silver, and a baser Metal, is plain by the following Passage. *Var. VII. ep. 32. Omnino moneta debet integritas quæri, ubi & vultus noster imprimitur, & generalis utilitas invenitur. Quidnam erit*

** The Kings of the *Franks*, of the first Race, were likewise clothed in Purple. So likewise *Fausus* writes, in *Vit. Mauri Abbatis*, of King *Theodebert*, of *Austrasia*, that he went into the Monastery (*Monasterium Glannasolium*) *regali indutus pupura*; of which see *VALESIUS, Lib. VIII. p. 436.*
tutum

tutum, si in nostra peccetur effigie, & quam subiectus corde venerari debet, manu sacrilegia violare festinat? And farther: Si vultus cuiuslibet sincero colore depingitur, multo iustius metallorum puritate principalis gratia custoditur. Auri flamma nulla injuria permixtionis albescat: argenti color gratia candoris arrideat: acris rubor in nativa qualitate permaneat.

V.

Famous Men in Theoderic's Reign.

I. WE might have a greater Light into Theoderic's Reign, if we had a better Account of those Persons, as well *Goths* as *Romans*, who were famous under him, and whose Names we, in Part, meet with in his History. There was an excellent Academy, in which both Nations strove to outvy each other, that they might please a Prince, who was so good a Judge of Merit. In the Letters of *Cassiodorus*, *Ennodius*, and *Avitus*, we find some such Materials, and the following Annotation will present us with the Image of the famous *Boëtius*, as it were for a Specimen. In the mean Time, I shall only add here, the excellent Epitaph of *Senarius* * from *Pithæus*, *Lib. IV. Epigramm.*

Ille ego sum mundi quondam sine fine viator
 Senarius, membris tumulo, non nomine, clausus.
 Principis invicti semper sublimis amore,
 Cujus in orbe fui vox Regum, lingua salutis,
 Fœderis orator, pacis via, litibus hostis.
 Novit & hoc Oriens, hoc ultimus axis Iberi,
 Hoc scit bruma rigens, scit & Africa solibus usta.
 Bis denas & quinque simul legatio nostra
 Signat in orbe vias, & nunquam strata labore.
 Cursus erat volucer. namque anno pervigil uno
 Bis maris Oceani, bis Pontica littora vidi,
 Europamque Asiamque sequens, duo limina mundi.
 His etiam meritis sociavimus agmen honorum.
 Aulica quippe Comes rexi patrimonia clarus,
 Et mea patricio fulserunt cingula cultu.
 Me pietas, me sancta fides, me fovit honestas.
 Sæcla canant titulos, nam moribus astra tenemus.

* Of *Senarius* see *Cassiodorus*, *Var. IV. ep. 13.* *Avitus* writes to him, *ep. 36.* *Ennodius* makes Mention of him, *Lib. V. ep. 16.* and writes to him, *Lib. III. ep. 11.* and *Lib. 6. ep. 8.*

It is a good Sign, even in the Midst of Flattery, when great Men love to be praised for those Virtues, which perhaps they do not possess in so high a Degree. How many are there not, who are apt to persuade themselves that Riches and Favour at Court, place them above all Virtues.

VI.

Of the Swabians who were subject to Theoderic.

IN the Countries, which belong'd to *Theoderic's* Kingdom, on this Side the *Alps*, we find likewise a Nation of *Swabians*, *Var. IV. ep. 49*, where the King constitutes *Fridibad* his Lieutenant over them, with the Supercription: *Universis Provincialibus, CAPILLATIS, Defensoribus, & Curialibus in SUAVIA constitutis*. And, *Lib. V. ep. 15. Universis Possessoribus in SUAVIA constitutis*. So likewise, *Lib. IX. ep. 8*, *Osuin* is appointed *Stattholder* in *Suavia* and *Dalmatia*. These *Swabians*, of whom *Jornandes* makes frequent Mention, and in particular, *cap. 55. (X. II. not. 4.)* are probably the very same whose Habitation is taken Notice of by *PROCOPIUS de bell. Gothic. Lib. I. cap. 15. Hinc se aperit Prebulis regio: sequitur, cui Dalmatiæ nomen est, & quæ cum ipsa Occidentalis imperii finibus comprehenduntur, proxima Liburnia, hinc Istria, deinde regio Venetorum ad Ravennam urbem porrecta. Atque hi sunt maris accolæ: supra quos Siscii & SUABI, non illi, qui Francis parent, sed ab iis diversi, interiores terræ tractus obtinent. Ultra hos Carnii siti sunt Noricique: ad quorum dexteram Dacas, & Pannonæ habitant.*

VII.

Of the Liberty of the Goths.

I. IN the Constitution of his Kingdom, as far as regards the *Goths*, we find they were all in general esteemed a free People *: We find a Token of it, *VAR. L. V. ep. 30. Costula igitur atque Daila cum Deo propitio Gothorum nostrorum libertate latentur, onera sibi servilia a nobis causantur injungi.*

* We find the same of the *Franks* in *VALES. T. II. 98. 198.*

Of their Warlike Exercises and Turnaments.

2. THEY were, however, bred to War. Even in Time of Peace, their Diversions were such as accustomed them to a ready Use of the Spear and the Bow. This Custom is extoll'd by *Ennodius*, in *Panegy.* p. 314. *Jam illud quo ore celebrandum est, quod Getici instrumenta roboris, dum provides, ne interpellentur otia nostra, custodis, & pubem indomitam sub oculis tuis, inter bona tranquillitatis, facis bella proludere? Adhuc manent in soliditate virium victricia agmina, & alia jam creverunt. Durantur lacerti missilibus, ut impleant actionum fortium, dum jocantur: agitur in vicem spectaculi, quod sequenti tempore poterit satis esse virtuti. Dum armis puerilibus hastilia lenta torquentur, dum arcus quotidianæ capitum neces dirigunt, urbis omne pomerium simulacro congressionis atteritur. Agit figura certaminum, ne cum periculo vera nascantur.* Custom made these Exercises a Sort of Diversion, and probably these Turnaments of the German Nations contributed, in some Measure, to the Neglect of the ancient Circus among the Romans, in the West.

3. WHEN *Procopius*, *Lib. III. cap. 4.* describes the Combat, of which I made Mention, *XII. 27.* it gives us an Idea of those Turnaments which afterwards came so much in Vogue. *Jamque in conspectu proximo utrique steterant, cum Vir Gothus, Viliaris nomine, mole corporis valens, visu terribilis, impiger ac bellicosus, admissso equo processit ante aciem, medioque in campo constitit, lorica munitus, & galea, atque e Romanis omnibus unum aliquem, quiscunque vellet, in certamen poposcit. Huic unus obtulit sese Artabazes, cæteris gravi metu defixis. Ergo equis concurrunt adversis ambo: hisque admotis proxime, hastas contorquent. Promptior Artabazes dexterum Viliaris latus confodit. Barbarus, lethali accepto vulnere, supinus in terram casurus erat; sed ipsius hasta, a tergo humi fulta ad petram, eum sustinuit a lapsu. Tum Artabazes magis ac magis connititur, ut hastam in viri viscera adigeret, illum lethaliter nondum faucium ratus. Hic forte accidit, ut cuspis haste Viliaridis, quæ pene arrecta erat, lorica Artabazis contigerit, ac sensim progrediendo, per eam ascenderit lubrica, donec ad collum Artabazis illapsa, cutem perstrinxit. Casu quodam insinuans sese altius ferrum, illius partis arteriam rupit: unde multo statim sanguine sine ullo doloris sensu defluente, ad Romanam ille aciem se equo retulit. Viliaris autem exanimis ibi concidit. Artabazes, cum sistere non posset sanguinem, tertio post die efflavit animam.*

4. THE same Historian extols, *Lib. IV. 31*, the Readiness of King Totilas, in these Exercises. *Unus admodum Totilas inter aciem utramque prodit, non ad singulare certamen; sed ducendi eximendique temporis gratia. Cum enim bis mille Gothos, quos desiderabat, in proximo esse audiret, prælium in eorum adventum extrahens, hæc palam egit. Primum hostibus ostendere voluit, qui vir esset. Armis auro plurimo illitis indutus erat. Ex ejus pilo atque hasta pendebant phaleræ, purpura adeo ardenti insignes, ut Regi plane convexiret mirificus hic ornatus. Ipse equo eximio vectus, inter geminas acies armorum ludum scite ludebat. Equum enim circumagens ac reflectens utroque versum, orbes orbibus impediēbat. Sic equitans, hastam in auras jaculabatur, eamque, cum tremula relaberetur, arripiebat mediam, & ex altera manu in alteram sæpe trajiciens, ac dextere mutans, operam huic arti feliciter navatam ostendebat: resupinabat sese, & flexu multiplici nunc huc nunc illuc ita inclinabat, ut appareret, diligenter ipsum a pueritia didicisse saltare. In hac ludicra exercitatione tempus omne matutinum contrivit.*

Difference of the Soldiers among the Goths.

5. NOTWITHSTANDING the Goths, in general, boasted of their Freedom, there was a certain Distinction of Persons among them, which seems to have its Foundation in their Military Discipline. *Procopius* says of the Goths, whom Theoderic sent with his Sister *Amalfrid*, when she was married to *Thrasamund*: *de Bell. Vand. Lib. I. cap. 8. Sororem ille misit cum comitatu Gothorum mille nobilium, qui stipatorum munus obirent: hos secuta sunt ministeria, e viris bellicosus collecta, ad quina circiter millia.*

6. THE same Distinction was likewise among the Longobards. *Procopius* says, speaking of the Troops which King *Audoin* sent the Emperor, as Succours, in the Gothick War, *Lib. IV cap. 26. Audoinus Longobardorum Rex, a Justiniano Augusto, multa pecunia, & fœderis sanctione inductus, delectu suorum habito, bis mille ducentos bellatores egregios auxilio miserat, hisque in famulatum addiderat amplius tria pugnatorum millia.* This is the same Distinction which was afterwards made between Freeman and Servants, Knights and private Centinels.

Millenarii: Vexilliferi: Of the Annual Donation.

7. OF the Donation *, Mention is made, *Lib. V. ep. 26.* *Præsenti jussione mandamus, ut octavo Iduum Juniarium die, Deo auxiliante, ad præsentiam nostram venire debeatis, qui solemniter Regalia dona suscipitis, si venire protinus festinatis. Illud tamen necessario commonentes, ut venientium nullus provenire possit excessus, nec possessorum segetes, aut prata vastetis: sed sub omni continentia properantes, de custodita disciplina grata nobis esse vestra occurso possit: quia ideo exercituales gratanter subimus expensas, ut ab armatis custodiatur intacta civilitas.*

8. THE Millenarii are mentioned, *Var. V. ep. 27.* *Consuetudine liberalitatis regie commonemur, ut Gothis nostris debeamus solennia dona largiri. Et ideo devotio tua MILLENARIOS provincie Picensis, & Samnii sine aliqua dilatione commoneat, ut eos, qui annis singulis nostræ mansuetudinis præmia consequantur, pro accipiendo donativo ad Comitatum faciat incunctanter occurrere; quatenus, qui bene nobis meriti fuerint, majore munificentia gratulentur.* The Vandals had the very same Division (*X. 35. n. 7 and 8.*) as well as the *Wisi-Goths*. Among the other Offices of War, we particularly find that of *Vexillifer*.

VIII.

Of the Office and Dignity of the Dukes and Counts.

1. IT will likewise not be amiss to explain what has been said of the *Duces & Comites Gothorum*. The *Duces* bore the Title of *Vir Sublimis*. Wherein their Office consisted, we may conclude from the formula *Ducatus Rhetiarum*, *Var. VII. 4.* where among other Things, it is said: *Ideoque validum te ingenio ac viribus audientes, per illam indictionem, Ducatum tibi credimus Rhetiarum, ut milites & in pace regas, & cum eis fines nostros solemniter alacritate circumeas: quia non parvam rem tibi respicis fuisse commissam, quando tranquillitas regni nostri tua creditur sollicitudine custodiri. Ita tamen, ut milites tibi commissi vivant cum Provincialibus jure civili; nec insolescat animus, qui se sentit armatum: quia clypeus ille exercitus nostri quietem debet præstare Romanis. Quos ideo constat appositos, ut intus vita felicior secunda libertate carpatur. Qua*

* The Emperors were likewise wont to give their Soldiers a Donation, of which we find many Footsteps in *Tacitus*, as likewise, *l. 10. D. de re milit.* and *l. 1. C. eod.*

propter

propter nostro responde judicio, fide nobis & industria placiturus; ut nec gentiles sine discussione suscipias, nec nostros ad gentes sub incuriositate transmittas.

2. THEY were principally set over Military Discipline; but had likewise other Things under their Disposition, as we may see by the good Exhortations the King gives them, in sundry Passages. He writes, *Var. IV. 17. to Iba: Esto contra talia omnino sollicitus, ut qui es bello clarus, civilitate quoque reddaris eximius. Sic & arma tua, Deo juvante, corroboras, si justitiam mediocribus servare contendas.* And *Lib. V. ep. 30. to Duke Gudui: Quos Duces eligimus, eis simul & æquitatis momenta jure delegamus: quia non tantum armis, quantum judiciis nos effici cupimus clariores.*

3. THE *Officium Comitis* consisted properly in judiciary Matters. We find *Comitiva per Provincias, Var. VII. 1.* and in particular *Comitiva super Gothis.* Wherein these last Offices consisted, appears by the *Formula Comitivæ. Var. III. 3. Cum, Deo juvante, sciamus, Gothos vobiscum habitare permixtos; ne qua inter consortes, ut assolet, indisciplina nasceretur, necessarium duximus, illum sublimem virum, bonis nobis moribus hætenus comprobatum, ad vos COMITEM destinare, qui secundum edicta nostra inter duos Gothos litem debet amputare: si quod etiam inter Gothum & Romanum natum fuerit fortasse negotium, adhibito sibi prudente Romano, certamen possit æquabili ratione discingere. Inter duos autem Romanos Romani audiant, quos per provincias dirigimus, cognitores, ut unicuique sua jura servantur, & sub diversitate Judicium una justitia complectatur universos.*

IX.

Of the Courts of Justice.

THEODERIC himself, *Variar. III. 24,* says, in Praise of the Goths, that their Courts did not admit of Decisions by Combat; as was customary with other German Nations; And, in the same Place, admonishes the Inhabitants of Pannonia to follow the Example of the Goths, and to abolish this Custom. *Cur ad monomachiam recurritis, qui venalem judicem non habetis? Deponite ferrum, qui non habetis inimicum: pessime contra parentes erigitis brachium, pro quibus constat gloriose moriendum. Quid opus est homini lingua, si causam manus agat armata? aut unde pax esse creditur, si sub civilitate pugnetur. Imita-*
mini

mini certe Gothos nostros, qui foris proelia, intus norunt exercere modestiam. Sic vos volumus vivere, quemadmodum parentes nostros, Domino præstante, cernitis floruisse.

X.

Preservation of the Gothick Tongue.

NOTWITHSTANDING most Writings were made in the *Latin* Tongue, the *Gothick* still remained in common Use. What I have already said (XI. 43.) of the Preservation of it, is illustrated by the two following Passages. *Theoderic* writes to the King of the *Heruli*, *Var. IV. ep. 2. Reliqua per Illum & Illum, Legatos nostros, patrio sermone mandamus, qui vobis literas nostras evidenter exponant, & ad confirmandam gratiam, quæ sunt dicenda, subjungant.* *Athalaric* says in Praise of the *Patricius Cyprianus*, that he caused his Children to learn *Gothick*. *Ibid. VIII. ep. 21. Pueri stirpis Romanæ nostra lingua loquuntur, eximie indicantes, exhibere se nobis eorum fidem, quorum jam videntur affectasse sermonem.*



XV. ANNOTATION.

Of BOETIUS.

ad XI. 36.

WHAT I have already said (XI. 36.) of *Boetius*, which will be farther illustrated by the following Passages, may serve as a Specimen how the History of famous Men, in *Theoderic's* Reign, may be collected.

1. HIS Name at Length is: *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boetius*. We have his Life written by *Jul. Martianus Rota*: But *Pagius* justly calls him *Autor futilis*, ad *A. 526. n. 7.* Some Circumstances may be illustrated from *Boetius's* Treatise *de Consolatione Philosophiæ*.

2. HE takes Notice, how, when *Theoderic* had a Suspicion of the Senat of *Rome*, he espoused their Cause. *L. I. prof. 4. p. 12. Meministi, inquam, Veronæ cum Rex avidus communis exitii, majestatis crimen, in Albinum delatum, ad cunctum Senatus ordinem transferre moliretur, universi innocentiam Senatus, quanta mei periculi securitate defenderim. Scis, me hæc & vera proferre, & in nulla umquam mei laude jactasse.*

3. *BOETIUS* justifies his own good Conduct, and that he fear'd no Danger, *Lib. I. Prof. 4. p. 9.* where he addreses himself in the following Manner to Philosophy. *Hanc igitur auctoritatem secutus, quod a te inter secreta otia didiceram, transferre in actum publicæ administrationis optavi. Tu mihi; & qui te sapientium mentibus inservit, Deus, conscii, nullum me ad magistratum, nisi commune bonorum omnium studium, detulisse. Inde cum improbis graves, inexorabilesque discordiæ, & quod conscientia libertas habet, pro tuendo jure sprete potentum semper offensio.*
Quoties

Quoties ego COGIGASTUM † in imbecilles cuiusque fortunas impetum facientem obvius excepi! Quoties TRIGUILLAM, regiae praepositum domus, ab incepta perpetrataque jam prorsus injuria dejeci! Quoties miseros, quos infinitis calumniis impunita semper Barbarorum avaritia vexabat, objecta periculis autoritate protexi! Numquam me ab jure ad injuriam quisquam detraxit. Provincialium fortunas, tum privatis rapinis, tum publicis vectigalibus, pessundari, non aliter, quam qui patiebantur, indolui. Cum acerbæ famis tempore gravis atque inexplicabilis indicta coemptio profligatura inopia Campaniam provinciam videretur, certamen adversum praefectum pratorii, communis commodi ratione, suscepi, rege cognoscente contendendi, & ne coemptio exigeretur, evici. Paulinum, consularem virum, cujus opes Palatini canes jam spe atque ambitione devorassent, ab ipsis biantium faucibus traxi. Ne Albinum, consularem virum, praedjudicatae accusationis poena corripere, odiis me Cypriani delatoris opposui.

4. HE extols the happy Occurrences of his Life, and in particular the Honour of having his two Sons Consuls, at one and the same Time. L. II. Prosa 3. p. 26. fin. Verumtamen, ne te miserum existimari velis, an numerum modumque tuæ felicitatis oblitus es? Taceo, quod, desolatum parente, summorum te virorum cura suscepit, delectusque in affinitatem principum civitatis, quod pretiosissimum propinquitatis genus est, prius carus, quam proximus, esse coepisti. Quis non te felicissimum cum tanto splendore focerorum *, cum conjugis pudore, tum masculæ quoque prolis opportunitate prædicavit? Prætereo (libet enim præterire communia) sanctas in adolescentia negatas senibus dignitates: ad singularem felicitatis tuæ cumulum venire delectat. Si quis rerum mortalium fructus ullum beatitudinis pondus habet, poteritne illius memoria lucis quantalibet ingruentium malorum mole deleri, cum duos pariter consules liberos tuos domo provehi, sub frequentia patrum, sub plebis alacritate vidisti, cum eisdem in curia curules insidentibus, tu regiae laudis orator, ingenii gloriam, fa-

† S. CONIGASTUM. Ad illum extat epistola R. Athalarici, VAR. VIII. 28.

* Boetius had first Elpis, the Daughter of Festus, in Marriage; and at that Time his second Wife, Rusticiana, the Daughter of Symmachus, of whom Mention was made (XII. 35.) was living. Ennodius, in Parænesi didascalica, speaks, at the same Time, in Praise of Festus and Symmachus. Patricii Festus & Symmachus, omnium disciplinarum materia, & constantes forma sapientiæ, ab urbe sacratissima non recedunt. In ipsis est nobilis Curiae Principatus: quos vidisse, erudiri est. Non apud eos sermo de ludicris, nec pantomimorum vix ignoscenda commemoratio. Illi auram popularem per pudoris detrimenta non capiunt: contenti recte magis placere, quam plurimis, fortiuntur de innocenti actione testimonium. Istorum quamvis in omnibus jussa sequenda sint, est tamen in illis & magistra taciturnitas, & eruditi forma silentii.

cundiaque meruisti: cum in circo, duorum medius, consularis, circumfusæ multitudinis expectationem, triumphali largitione satiaisti.

5. HE himself takes Notice of the Accusation hatch'd against him, *l. c. p. 10.* It was insinuated to the King, that he had formed dangerous Projects concerning the Roman Liberty: But Boetius complains as much of the Injustice of the Senat, as of the Malice of his Accusers. *Quibus autem deferentibus perculsi sumus? quorum Basilii olim regio ministerio depulsus, in delationem nostri nominis, alieni aeris necessitate compulsus est: Opilionem vero, atque Gaudentium, cum ob injurias, atque multiplices fraudes ire in exilium regia censura decrevisset, cumque illi parere nolentes sacrarum sese ædium defensione tuerentur, compertumque id regi foret, edixit, ut nisi infra præscriptum diem Ravenna urbe decederent, notas insigniti frontibus pellerentur. Quid huic severitati posse adstrui videtur? Atqui eodem die deferentibus iisdem nominis nostri delatio suscepta est. Quid igitur? nostrane artes ita meruerunt? an illos accusatores justos fecit præmissa damnatio? Itane nihil fortunam puduit, si minus accusatæ innocentia, at accusantium vilitatis? At, cujus criminis arguimur, summam quæris? Senatum dicimur salvum esse voluisse. Modum desideras? delatorem, ne documenta deferret, quibus senatum læsæ majestatis reum faceret, impedisse criminamur. Quid igitur, o magistra, censes? infitiabimur crimen, ne tibi pudori simus? At volui, nec unquam velle desistam. Fatebimur? sed impediendi delatoris opera cessabit. An optasse illius ordinis salutem nefas vocabo? Ille quidem suis de me decretis, uti hoc nefas esset, effecerat. Sed sibi semper mentiens imprudentia, rerum merita non potest immutare: nec mihi Socratico decreto fas esse arbitror, vel occuluisse veritatem, vel concessisse mendacium. Verum id quoque modo sit, tuo, sapientiumque judicio, æstimandum relinquo. Cujus rei seriem, atque veritatem, ne latere posteros queat, stylo etiam, memoriaque mandavi. Nam de compositis falso literis, quibus libertatem arguor sperasse Romanam, quid attinet dicere? Quarum fraus aperta patuisset, si nobis ipsorum confessione delatorum, quod in omnibus negotiis maximas vires habet, licuisset. Nam quæ sperari reliqua libertas potest? Atque utinam posset ulla. Respondissem Canii verbo: qui cum a C. Cæsare, Germanici filio, conscius contra se factæ conjurationis fuisse diceretur: si ego, inquit, scissem, tu nescisses. Qua in re non ita sensus nostros mæror hebetavit, ut impios scelerata contra virtutem querar molitos: sed quæ speraverint effecisse vehementer admiror.*

6. HE complains, in particular, that no Form of Process was observed, *l. c. p. 12.* *Pro veræ virtutis præmiis falsi sceleris poenas subimus. Et cujus unquam facinoris manifesta confessio ita judices habuit in severitate*

tate concordēs, ut non aliquis vel ipse humani error ingenii, vel fortunæ conditio, cunctis mortalibus incerta, summitteret? Si inflammare sacras aedes voluisse, si sacerdotes impio jugulare gladio, si bonis omnibus necem struxisse dicerentur, præsentem tamen sententia confessum, convictumque punisset. Nunc quingentis fere passuum millibus procul moti, atque indefensi, ob studium propensus in senatum, morti, prescriptionique damnamur. O meritos, de simili crimine neminem posse convinci! cujus dignitatem reatus ipsi etiam, qui detulere, viderunt: quam, uti alicujus sceleris admittance fuscarent, ob ambitum dignitatis sacrilegio me conscientiam polluisse mentiti sunt. He thereupon introduces Philosophy as answering: p. 16. Et tu quidem de tuis in commune bonum meritis vera quidem, sed pro multitudine gestorum tibi, pauca dixisti. De obsectorum tibi vel honestate, vel falsitate, cunctis nota memorasti. De sceleribus, fraudibusque delatorum recte tu quidem strictim attingendum putasti, quod ea melius, uberiusque recognoscentis omnia vulgi ore celebrentur. Increpisti etiam vehementer INJUSTI FACTUM SENATUS. He therefore found some Comfort in his Misfortune, in the inward Conviction of his own Innocence, which remains the most certain Reward of Virtue, when deceitful Fame, when Malice and Ignorance represent the best of Actions in a false Light. Indeed all his Merit could not then ward off the Blow, which his Fate and Power had prepared for him: But they have preserv'd his Memory, and Posterity blames, or, at least, pities Theoderic, for having sprinkled his Throne with the Blood of Boetius and Symmachus †.

7. OF his Execution, we find the following, in *Anon. Valesii*: Rex vero vocavit Eusebium, præfectum urbis Ticini: & inaudito Boethio protulit in eum sententiam. Qui mox in agro Calventiano, ubi in custodia habebatur, misit, & reum fecit occidi. Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus, ita ut oculi ejus creparent, sic sub tormento ad ultimum fuste occiditur. Marius Aventicensis (ad A. 524.) Interfectus est Boethius in territorio Mediolanensis. This Computation is confirmed by Pagius, ad A. 524. n. 3, and ad A. 526. n. 6 7. As this *Anonymus* names the *Ager Calventianus*, so, on the contrary, the vulgar Relation is, that Boetius was imprisoned at Pavia, where not only his Epitaph is to be seen; but, according to Baronius, ad A. 526. n. 16, likewise the Tower which was his Prison.

† Q. AURELIUS MEMMIUS SYMMACHUS, Excons. and Patricius. The Family of the Symmachi we find an Account of in SIRMONDUS, in not. ad lib. 7. epist. ENNODII, and REN. VALLINUS in not. ad BOETIUM, p. 36.

8. I HAVE here only cited those Passages, which confirm what is said of *Boetius*, in the History of King *Theoderic*. His Writings render him noted on another Account. In them we discover an excellent Genius, and, at the same Time, a more than ordinary Diligence, which he applied in the Study of *Plato's* and *Aristotle's* Philosophy. He ventur'd likewise to discuss the most subtle controversial Points the Church was then engag'd in: Tho' he complained, that Occasion was taken, from his Application to Study, to render him suspected *. Some learned Men, upon going thro' his Works more narrowly, have, at the same Time, examined the Occurrences of his Life more circumstantially. In this Light we may look upon *Ren. Vallini vita Boetii*, which he has added to his Treatise *de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, and more particularly, *La vie de Boece, avec la Critique de ces Ouvrages*, inserted by *Mons. le Clerc*, in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, T. XVI. And likewise the *Histoire de Boece, Sénateur Romain, avec l'Analyse de tous ses Ouvrages* **, of which we find an Account in the *Journal des Sçavans*, T. 59. p. 329.

* He says, lib. 1, addressing himself to Philosophy. Sed o nefas? illi vero de Te tanti criminis fidem capiunt, atque hoc ipso videbimur affines fuisse maleficio, quod Tuis imbuti disciplinis, tuis instituti moribus sumus.

** Paris, 1715. 12. in 5 Vol.



XVI. ANNOTATION.

State of the PUBLICK SHEWS, in the Times of THEODERIC, particularly of the Ludi Circenses, and the Factiones Circi.

SOME may perhaps think it strange, to find in the History of King *Theoderic* (XI. 42. n. 14.) that he employed his Care for the Publick Shews, and even concerned himself in the Factions which then reigned in the *Circus*. But the Management of the Theatre was then one of the Affairs of State.

I.

The Pleasure the Romans took in Publick Shews, especially the Circus.

1. THE Romans took an unmeasurable Delight in Publick Shews. Even in the Time of their Liberty, they not only placed the greater Part of their Diversions; but likewise a Sort of Devotion in them; and their Splendor encreased in Proportion to the Wealth of the Times. *Cicero's* Letter to *Marius** may serve to give us an Idea what Pleasure the most noble of the Romans took in this Kind of Diversion.

2. THEY were, in a particular Manner, fond of the Races in the *Circus*. This Propensity was so general, that an ancient Author † reckons it among the Causes that perverted the *Roman* Youth from the Pursuit of more valuable Studies. *Fam vero propria & peculiaris Urbis hujus vitia pene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor,*

* Famil. VII. 1.

† Autor Dialogi de causis corruptæ eloquentiæ, cap. 2.

Et gladiatorum, EQUORUMQUE studia: quibus occupatus Et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? quotum quemque inveneris, qui domi quidquam aliud loquatur? quos alios adolescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? Nec praeceptores quidem ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis fabulas habent. Many young Men, of the most distinguish'd Families, applied themselves to nothing, with that Fervency, as an Expertness in the Management of their Chariots and Horses*.

Of the Factiones Circi.

3. THERE were four distinct Companies who appeared in the *Circus*, and were distinguish'd by the Colours of their Habits and Chariots. Among these was divided the Affection of all *Rome*. The Spectators laid considerable Wagers among themselves, and their Partiality was thereby the more quicken'd. *Pliny* gives us the more impartial Account of these Things, as he was not himself bias'd by an Inclination to them: X. ep. 6. *Circenses erant; quo genere spectaculi ne levissime quidem teneor. Nihil novum, nihil varium, nihil, quod non semel spectasse sufficiat. Quo magis miror, tot millia virorum tam pueriliter identidem cupere currentes equos, insistentes curribus homines videre. Si tamen aut velocitate equorum, aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio nonnulla: nunc favent panno, pannum amant: et si in ipso cursu, medioque certamine, hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, studium favorque transibit, Et repente agitadores illos, equos illos, quos procul noscitant, quorum clamitant nomina, relinquunt. Tanta gratia, tanta auctoritas in una vilissima tunica. Mitto apud vulgus, quod vilis tunica est; sed apud quosdam graves homines: quos ego cum recordor in re inani, frigida, assidua, tam insatiabiliter desiderare, capio aliquam voluptatem, quod hac voluptate non capiar. Ac per hos dies libentissime otium meum in litteris colloco, quos alii otiosissimis occupationibus perdunt.* At this Time, it is hardly to be conceived, to what a Length the *Romans* suffer'd this their Inclination to hurry them. *Pliny*, the elder, even says †, that when the Corpse of one *Felix*, who was famous in the Red Company, was burning, one of his Admirers rush'd into the Flames. It might be asked whether ever a Philosopher had so

* *JUVENAL. Sat. I. 58. and VIII. 146.*

† *Hist. Natur. Lib. VII. cap. 54. Invenitur in actis, Felice Russato auriga elato, in rogam ejus unum e faventibus jecisse sese: frivolum dictu: ne hoc gloriae artificis daretur, adversis studiis copia odorum corruptum criminantibus.*

zealous Adherents? But Wisdom neither covets nor allows of such Sacri fices.

II.

Particularly of the Prasini and Veneti.

1. THE Green † and Blue || Bands render'd themselves the most † famous. As a Specimen, we need only have Recourse to what Juvenal † Prasini. Veneti. says of the *Factio Prasina*, Sat. X. 195.

*Totam hodie Romam circus capit, & fragor * artem
Percutit, eventum VIRIDIS quo colligo panni.
Nam si deficeret, mœstam attonitamque videres
Hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis
Consulibus.*

Their Adherents carried this Matter so far, that, at Length, the Colours of the *Circus*, at that Time, distinguish'd the different Factions in the Kingdom: So easy it is to strengthen a Party, when *Discord* has once display'd her Fane.

2. THE Emperors themselves sometimes were too partial in their Favour to one or other of these Companies. *Caligula* shew'd his Affection to the *Prasini* †. On which Occasion, it is no Wonder that he made himself so familiar with the Charioteers, that he would even have made his Horse a *Roman Consul* **. On the other Hand, *Vitellius* favour'd the *Veneti*, and it was almost dangerous to shew any Affection to either of the other Companies. *Suetonius* says of him (*Vit.* 14.)

* SEN. in *Epist.* Ecce, Circensium obstrepit clamor, subita aliqua & immanis voce feriuntur aures meæ.

† SUTTON. in *Cal.* 55. Prasinae factioni ita addictus & deditus, ut cenaret in stabulo assidue, & maneret. Agitatori Cythico comissione quadam in apophoretis vicies HS. contulit. Incitato equo, cujus causa pridie Circenses, ne inquietaretur, vicinæ silentium per milites indicare solebat, præter equile marmoreum, & præsepe eburneum, præterque purpurea tegumenta, ac monile e gemmis, domum etiam, & familiam, & supellestem dedit, quo lautius nomine ejus invitati acciperentur: consulatum quoque traditur destinasse.

** DIO pag. 650. Unum e suis equis, incitatum nomine, ad cenam quoque adhibebat, & in auro hordeum apponebat, & in aureis poculis vinum propinabat, salutem ejus ac fortunam jurabat, & pollicebatur, Consulem se renunciaturum.

ANNOTAT.

Q q q

Quos-

Quosdam de plebe ob id ipsum, quod Venetæ factioni clare maledixerant, interemit: contemptu sui & nova spe id ausos opinatus. Commodus * and *Helio- gabolus* †, even put on the Habit of the *Prasini*, when they drove themselves. Now the more one Party was elevated by the like Favours, the more outrageous were the other; and, taking Advantage of the Liberty of the *Circus*, did not even spare the Purple. So *Capitolinus* says, that *L. Verus*, because he was, beyond Measure, affectionate to the *Prasini*, was obliged to put up with many Reflections from the *Veneti* ‖. His Brother, *M. Antoninus*, therefore thanks the Gods, that he never embraced any Party, either in the *Circus* or in the Amphitheater **.

III.

Continuation and Encrease of the Circenses.

I. TOGETHER with the Seat of the Empire, the *Circenses* and other Publick Shews were removed to *Constantinople*, and, according to the Example of the two Capitals, the other principal Cities of the Provinces built their *Circi*; of which we find Instances in *Gaul* ††, even in the Times of the *Goths* and *Franks* ‖‖. The Primitive *Christians* express'd

* *Id. pag. 824. fn.* Currus nunquam agitavit publice, nisi si quando nocte obscura id facere cupivisset. Pudebat enim eum multitudinis. Id vero domi faciebat assidue PRASINO UTENS ORNATU.

† *Id. pag. 932.* Currus agitabat PRASINO VESTITU, idque domi inter privatos parietes facere videbatur.

‖ *CAPITOL. in Vero:* Circensium tantam curam habuit, ut frequenter provincialibus litteras, causa Circensium & miserit & acceperit. Denique etiam præfens, & cum Marco sedens, multas a Venetianis est passus injurias, quod turpissime contra eos faveret. Nam & volucris, equo Prasino, aureum simulacrum fecerat, quod secum portabat. Cui quidem passas uvas & nucleos, in vicem hordei in præsepe ponebat, quem sagis fuco tinctis coopertum, in Tiberianum ad se adduci jubebat: cui mortuo sepulcrum in Vaticano fecit. In hujus equi gratiam primum cœperunt equi aurei, vel bravia postulari. In tanto autem equus ille honore fuit, ut ei a populo Prasinianorum sæpe modius aureorum postularetur.

** *de Vit. l. 5. 5.* Ne in certamine equestri Prasinae aut Venetæ factioni, neve in gladiatorio Thraci, aut Secutorio fautor fierem.

†† *PROCOPIUS* says, of the Kings of the *Franks*, that they caused the same Kinds of Diversions to be performed at *Arles*. (XII. 9. n. 4.) The Passage of *Salvianus* (IX. 21. n. 6.) concerning the *Circus* at *Trters*, is worthy our Notice.

‖‖ *Narbonne* was already in the Hands of the *Goths*, when *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *Carm. XXIII.* c. 376. wrote of the *Circus* of that Place.

expres'd a great Abhorrence of all such Publick Shews, and particularly of the *Circus*, chiefly on Account of the Idolatry annexed to them, as we may see in *Tertullian's* Treatise *de Spectaculis*. Notwithstanding this, the *Christian* Emperors could not abolish them. *Constantine* the Great contented himself with having put down the *Gladiators* *: But he suffer'd the *Circus*, together with the Rest. When therefore *Amm. Marcellinus* describes the State and Manners of *Rome*, in his Time, he does not forget to take Notice of their Propensity to these Diversions: *Exoptato die equestrium ludorum illucescente, nondum solis puro jubare, fusus omnes festinant præcípites, ut velocitate ipsos currus anteeant certaturos, super quorum eventu, discissis votorum studiis, anxii plurimi agunt pervigiles noctes.* The Emperors *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius* mention the *Ludi Circenses*, in their Laws, as a very innocent Pastime †. *Justinian* himself allows of them, expressly by Name, among the other Diversions with which the Consuls were used annually to entertain the Populace ||.

Rãucus cordã ferit fragor faventum.
Atque ipfis pariter viris equisque
Fit cursu calor.

Of the *Circus* which King *Chilperic* caused to be built, see XIV. 18. not. 4.

* *L. un. C. de Gladiat. penitus tollendis*: Cruenta spectacula in otio civili, & domestica quiete non placent; qua propter omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus.

† *L. 2. 3. C. de Spectacul.*

|| Nov. 105. c. 1. The Passage is remarkable, on Account of the Diversions themselves which are mentioned in it. Processiones autem eorum volumus esse septem. Si enim ad hoc adinventum est, ut spectacula ad animi voluptatem agantur populo, hæc autem a nobis determinantur in Circensibus, & bestiarum spectaculis, & thymeleis delectatione, nullo horum noster privabitur populus: sed erit ei quidem processus primus, quo suscipiet consulatum, & hujus possidebit codicillos, Kalendis Januariis. Post illum vero secundumaget spectaculum CERTANTIUM EQUORUM, (quam MAPPAM vocant.) Et tertium, qui THEATROQUINEGIUM dicitur, non bis; sed semel exhibendum, & post illud, quod dicitur totius diei, multa delectatione implebit populum: hoc quod vocatur ΠΑΓΗΓΕΔΤΙΟΝ, & cum bestiis pugnantes homines, & vincentes audacia, in super & interemptæ bestiæ. Quintum quoque faciet possessum, qui ad THEATRUM ducit, quem ADORNA vocant, ubi in scena ridiculorum est locus, tragœdis & thymelicis choris, & spectaculis universis, & audibilibus apertum est theatrum. Rursus quidem spectaculum equorum certantium edit, seu quæ vocatur HIPPOMACHIA, sextum agens hunc conventum. Ex hoc deponit annalem hunc honorem, in depositione agens solemnem EDITI-ONEM. Et ita septem nostrum & processuum complebitur cursus, nullam specierum antiquitus statutarum derelinquens.

Vehemence of the Factions in the East.

2. IN the *East*, these Factions were, at Length, the most turbulent. In the Reign of *Anastasius*, they concerned themselves even in religious Controversies (which of all Things such Assemblies have the least Pretensions to) and, by that Means, had almost thrust the Emperor from his Throne. (XI. 29.) One would likewise hardly imagine it of *Justinian*, that a Prince, who would not suffer any Sects among the Practitioners of the Law, could not keep the Factions of the *Circus* within Bounds. *Procopius*, *de Bell. Pers. Lib. I cap. 24*, gives the following Account of their Insolence, in which even the Women took Part. *Pervetus quidem est in civitatibus singulis factionum Venetæ Prasinaque discrimen: haud tamen ita vetus insania, qua nominibus his & coloribus, quibus conspicui ludis intersunt, ita sunt dediti, ut eorum gratia fortunas profundant, corpora cruciatibus acerbissimis offerant, nec mortem defugiant vel turpissimam. Cum adversariis digladiantur, ignari causæ, cur in periculum se ac dimicationem conjiciant; at non ignari paratæ poenæ, cum probe sciant, se, quamvis victores, sub ipsam statim pugnam raptum iri in carcerem, indeque ad supremum supplicium. Alter ab altero nulla injuria provocati, odium inter sese excipiunt adeo inexpiabile, ut licet germanitatis aut alio hujusmodi vinculo juncti, qui colorum istorum diversis invicem studiis dissident, nulli tamen necessitudini, non consanguinitati, non legibus amicitiae concedat. Præ victoria, quam in his ambiunt, divina æque apud illos humanaque jacent omnia: neque ipsis pensi est, quid socii amulive impie in Deum peccent, aut quo scelere leges remque publicam violent. Eos nec rei familiaris angustia, nec summa injuria, quæ in maximis necessitatibus infertur patriæ, movet, dummodo Pars (ita vocant: socios factionis) belle se habeat. Neque ipsæ foeminae hoc piaculo vacant: siquidem eandem cum viris suis, vel forte adversam factionem sequuntur: quamvis spectaculis omnino abstineant, neque alio quopiam agi irritamento possint: ut illud ego verius nequeam apellare, quam animi morbum, veramque insaniam.*

Justinian is favourable to the Veneti. Cosroës, on the contrary, declares for the Prasini.

3. *JUSTINIAN* himself and *Theodora* were bias'd in Favour of the *Veneti*; and *Procopius* assigns as a Reason for it, that *Theodora* herself had been an Actress in this Company, and in that Capacity had the Fortune
to

to captivate *Justinian* *. Therefore *Cosroes*, King of *Persia*, who was then the most dangerous Enemy the *Roman Empire* had in *Asia*, when he came to *Seleucia*, declared for the *Prasini*. *Procop. loc. cit.* *Post amore popularis auræ incensus, populum in Circum ascendere, & aurigas consueta certamina edere jubet. Eodem ipse ascendit, spectandi cupidus, quæ ibi fierent. Et quoniam Justinianum Aug. colori Veneto, qui caruleus est, incredibili studio favere didicerat, quo illi hic quoque adversaretur, victoriam Prasino deferre constituit. Igiter coeptum a carceribus cursum agebant aurigæ, cum forte prætervectus Venetus præiit. Sequebatur Prasinus impressam ab illo orbitam insistens. Quod ex composito fieri putans Cosroës, stomachatur & minitabundus clamat, primas concedi Cæsari non oportere: tum præcurrentibus imperat, equos sustineant, ut deinde a tergo relictæ certent. Mos illi gestus, atque ita victoria Cosroi & factioni Prasinae cessisse visa est.* The same Historian describes the dreadful Bloodshed occasioned by the *Factiones Circi*, at *Constantinople*, when they attempted to depose *Justinian*, and proclaim'd *Hypatius*, a Relation of *Anastasius*, Emperor †. We may therefore very well believe, with him, that it was something extraordinary, in those Days, when a Person of Distinction at Court, as he says, in Praise of *Germanus* **, would have no Concern with the *Factiones Circi*.

IV.

Theoderic's Care for the Publick Shews. He takes the Part of the Prasini. Of the Office of Tribunus Voluptatum.

UNDER these Circumstances, it is no Wonder that *Theoderic* was solicitous for the Encouragement of Publick Shews, and in particular for the *Theatrum Pompeii*, and the Diversions of the *Amphitheatre* and *Circus*; on which Occasion, we may observe, that Musick, and the other Arts, which are required for the Stage, have been constantly preserved, even to this Day, in *Italy*, or at least in *Rome*. *Theoderic* declares, *pro parte Prasina, Variar. I. ep. 20. ad Albinum atque Albienum: Qua propter illustris magnitudo vestra præsentî jussione commonita, patrociniû partis*

* Hist. Arc.

† Hist. Arc.

** *De Bell. Goth. III. 40. Ei (sc. Germano) nulla consiliorum societas, nulla erat consuetudo cum Circi Byzantini factionis, quamvis multi, qui honoribus utebantur, in absurda illa media prolaberentur.*

Prasinae,

Prasina, quod glorioſæ recordationis pater veſter impendit, dignanter aſſumat. And farther: Convocatis ergo ſpectatoribus, de *Hellandio* & *Theodoro*, qui lætitiæ publicæ aptior fuerit æſtimatus, populi confuſione ſublata, conſtituatur a vobis *Prasini Pantomimus*: quatenus ſumptum, quem pro ſpectaculo civitatis impendimus, electis contuliſſe videamur. Perhaps, at that Time, the *Veneti* bore the Sway in the *Eaſt*. At leaſt, we may plainly perceive, by the Deſcription which *Cæſſiodorus*, *Var.* III. 51, gives of the *Circus*, that the King followed the Propenſity of the *Romans* more than his own. *Cætera Circi Romani longum eſt ſermone decurrere, dum omnia videantur ad cauſas ſingulas pertinere. Hoc tantum dicimus omnibus ſtupendum, quod illic, ſupra cætera ſpectacula, fervor animorum inconfulta gravitate rapiatur. Transit Prasinus, pars populi mœret: præcedit Venetus, & potior turba civitatis affligitur: nihil proficientes, ferventer inſultant: nihil patientes graviter vulnerantur; & ad inanes contentiones ſic deſcenditur, tanquam de ſtatu periclitantis patriæ laboretur. Quod merito creditur dicatum numeroſæ ſuperſtitioni, ubi ab honeſtis moribus ſic conſtat excidi. Hæc nos fovemus neceſſitate populorum imminentium, quibus votum eſt ad talia convenire, dum cogitationes ſerias delectantur abjicere. Paucos enim ratio capit, & raros probabilis oblectat intentio, & ad illud potius turba ducitur, quod ad curarum remiſſionem conſtat inventum. Nam quicquid æſtimat voluptuoſum, hoc & beatitudinem temporum judicat applicandum. Quapropter largiamur expenſas, non ſemper ex judicio demus. Expedi interdum deſipere, ut populi poſſimus deſiderata gaudia continere. Theoderic willingly allowed the *Romans* theſe Diverſions, that they might the more readily leave the Wars to him and the *Goths*: But the Inſpection over them belong'd to the *Tribunus Voluptatum*, as we may ſee by the Appointment to this Office, *Var.* VII. 10.*

V.

When the Ludi Circenſes ceaſ'd?

I. THE *Circus* ſtill continued in Vogue, in the *Eaſt*. *Juſtinus Minor* did indeed, almoſt at the Beginning of his Reign, enjoin the two Factions to live quietly, as *Theophanes*, ap. *Alemann. in not. ad Hiſt. Arc.* p. 155. relates. *Aurigarum curriculo abſoluto, factioſi inter ſe tumultuabantur: quare Juſtinus utrique factioni per mandatum ſic interminatus eſt. Vobis deſunctum jam eſſe Juſtinianum ſcitote Veneti: ſupereſſe etiam nunc vobis Prasini Juſtinianum credite. Leo illi audito quieverunt, neque amplius altercati ſunt.* But under *Mauritius* they were the more inſolent, and even quarrel'd about what Name ſhould be given to the new

new-born Prince. So *Alemannus* says, l. c. p. 104. from a *Cod. MSC. Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ*. *Constantina, Mauritiæ conjux, filium genuit, quem Mauritius Theodosium nominavit; & Veneti Justinianum appellandum contendebant: contra Prasini Theodosium, quod ille orthodoxus fuerit, diuque vixcrit. Tum Veneti acclamarunt, Justiniani tibi Deus annos cum pace concedat. Nam illius nonaginta & amplius anni fuerunt, Theodosii vero quinquaginta.* Under *Focas*, Matters came, at Length, to an open Rupture with them. *Paulus Diaconus, VI. cap. 37. Hujus tempore Prasini & Veneti per Orientem, & Ægyptum civile bellum faciunt, ac se mutua cæde prosternunt.*

Particularly in the West.

2. BUT in the *West*, and particularly in *Italy*, both the *Circus*, and the *Amphitheatre* were sooner abolish'd; which probably was in Part owing to the Badness of the Times, especially when the Consulship was no more, and they were no longer provided for at the Publick Expence. To this we may add the more rigid Discipline of the Churches*, which had long shewn their Zeal at the Councils, against the *Circenses*; and perhaps, likewise, the Propensity of the *German Nations*, who delighted in quite different Diversions, and particularly in Turnaments.

* *Concil. Arelat. 1. De circissariis agitatoribus, qui fideles sunt, placuit, eos, quamdiu agitant, a communione removeri.*



XVII. ANNOTATION.

Of the Right of the Kings of the OSTRO-GOTHS, with Regard to the PAPAL ELECTION.

I HAVE already observed (XI. 42.) what Right the Kings of the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*, exercis'd, with Regard to the Papal Chair, and particularly at the Election of the Popes. This Point wants some Illustration, and the more, as in following Times, the *Carolingians*, and after them likewise other *German* Emperors, were accustomed to confirm the Popes.

*Whether the Kings of the Ostro-Goths first introduced
this Claim?*

I CANNOT conceive how so many learned Men * can pretend, that the Kings of the *Ostro-Goths* first assumed certain Rights at the Papal Elections, and that the succeeding Emperors only trod in their Steps: Whereas it rather appears, that the *Roman* Emperors had before, from Time to Time, exercis'd their supream Authority †, even in what concern'd the *Roman* Chair; so that, in this Point, the Kings of the *Goths* rather followed the Footsteps of the Emperors.

* In this they followed Baronius, who, ad A. 526. n. 24. says: Hanc ab Arianis Italia Regibus vindicantem sibi tyrannice auctoritatem, iis de medio sublatam, Orientalis Orbis Imperatores sibi pariter arrogarunt.

† So says SOCRAT. Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. Proem. Ex illo tempore, quo imperatores Christiani esse coeperunt, ecclesiae negotia ex illorum nutu pependere visa sunt.

More ancient Tokens of it, under the Emperors.

2. THIS Authority of the Emperors is chiefly discovered in their Ordinances for the Election of Bishops. We likewise find several Tokens of it in the Induction of the other Patriarchs, particularly those of *Constantinople* *.

Especially under Valentinian I.

3. WE find, even in the *Roman Church*, two Instances of it, which leave us no Room for Doubt. First, in the Reign of *Valentinian I.*, when, about the Year 367, *Damasus* and *Ursicinus* were elected Popes, in Opposition to one another: Whereupon *Prætextatus*, who was *Præfectus Urbis*, protected *Damasus* in the Possession of the *Roman Chair*, and drove *Ursicinus* out of the City. Of this we find the following in *Amm. Marcellinus*, *Lib. 27. cap. 3.* *Cujus PRÆTEXTATI autoritate, justisque veritatis suffragiis, tumultu lenito, quem Christianorum jurgia concitarent pulsoque Ursicino, alta quies parta.*

And Honorius.

4. YET more evident is the Example we have in the Times of *Honorius*, when, after the Death of Pope *Zosimus*, *Bonifacius* and *Eulalius* were chosen, *A. 418.* The *Præfectus Urbis*, *Symmachus*, gave an Account of it to the Emperor, and, in his Letter, *ap. Baron. ad An. 418.* we find the following remarkable Words: *Et quoniam Pietatis vestrae est de hac parte ferre judicium, statim pro competenti sollicitudine vestram Majestatem credidi consulendam, ut, quod de hac parte pietas vestra decernat, præcepto vestri numinis evidenter informet.* *Honorius* took the Matter under Consideration, and sent *Achilleus*, Bishop of *Spoletto*, to *Rome*, with Orders, in the mean Time, to Exercise the Papal Functions, at the approaching Festival of *Easter*. At Length, the *Præfectus Urbis* was commanded to introduce *Boniface* into *Rome* (*Baronius ad An. 419.*) and the Emperor thereupon publish'd that famous Decree (*lb. n. 41.*) that when, for the Future, two Popes should be elected, neither of them should remain so, but a new Election should be appointed †. *Sed illum*

* *SOCRATES* writes, *Lib. VII. 4.* of *Theodosius Junior*: *Per Episcopos, qui ibi aderant, Proclum, in sede episcopali, (sc. Constantinopolitana) collocandum curavit.*

† *Vid. Can. 8. Dist. 79. which Passage is taken out of this Decree of Honorius.*

solum in sede Apostolica permansurum, quem rex numero clericorum nova, ordinatione, divinum judicium, & universitatis consensus elegisset.

II.

Nature of the Papal Election, in the Time of Odoacer.

1. WHEN, afterwards, the Kings of the *Ostro-Goths* rul'd in *Italy*, this Point was liable to greater Difficulties, because the Kings were of a different Communion. Our safest Way will be exactly to remark the different Cases that happen'd. In the Time of *Odoacer*, *Basilus*, *Præfectus Prætorii*, puts the *Romans* in Mind that Pope *Simplicius* himself ordain'd, that no Pope should be elected, without the King's previous Knowledge. His Words are: *Admonitione beatissimi viri, Papæ nostri, Simplicii, quam ante oculos semper habere debemus, hoc vobis meministis sub obtestatione fuisse mandatum, ut propter illum strepitum, & venerabilis ecclesiæ detrimentum, cum de hac luce transire contigerit, non sine nostra consultatione cujuslibet celebraretur electio.* See XI. 2. n. 1.

*Examples of the Exercise of this Right, under Theoderic:
At the Election of Symmachus.*

2. THE Reign of *Theoderic* gives us two Instances, in which the Royal Authority, with Regard to the Papal Election, is apparent. When, in the Year 498, the Senat and the Clergy differ'd, some having chosen *Symmachus*, and others *Laurentius*, the King summon'd both to *Ravenna*, of which *Anastasius* says: *Ambo perrexerunt ad judicium Theoderici Regis, qui, dum ambo introissent in Ravennam, hoc judicium æquitatis invenerunt, ut, qui primo ordinatus fuisset, vel ubi pars maxima cognosceretur, ipse sederet in sede Apostolica* *. But four Years afterwards, the Party which had oppos'd *Symmachus*, began to be in Motion again, of which *Anastasius* gives the following Account: *Post annos quatuor zelo ducti aliqui ex clero, & alii ex Senatu, maxime Festus & Probinus, incriminarunt Symmachum, & subornaverunt testes falsos, quos miserunt Ravennam ad Regem Theodericum, accusantes B. Symmachum, & occulte revocaverunt Laurentium, post libellum Romæ factum, & fecerunt schisma, & divisus est iterum clerus. Et alii communicabant Symmacho, alii Laurentio. Tunc*

* *Anastasius* says of *Symmachus*: *Hic sub contentione ORDINATUS est uno die cum Laurentio, So it appears, that the Pope was consecrated at Rome, immediately after the Election, without waiting for the King's Confirmation: We shall find the same, in the Sequel, at the Election of Boniface II,*

*Festus & Probinus Senatores miserunt relationem Regi, & coeperunt agere, ut Visitatorem daret Rex sedis Apostolicæ. Tunc Rex dedit Petrum Altinæ (Altinæ) civitatis Episcopum, quod canones prohibebant. At Length, the King, at the Desire of Symmachus himself, conven'd a Council, which is known by the Name of the Synodus Palmaris: By the Acts of this Synod, we see, that the Bishops made a Scruple of attending at it, if the Pope was not satisfied with it. Memorati Pontifices, quibus allegandi imminebat occasio, suggererunt, ipsum, qui dicebatur impetitus, debuisse Synodum convocare, scientes quia ejus sedi, primum Petri Apostoli meritum, vel Principatus, deinde secutam jussionem Domini Conciliorum venerandorum auctoritas, singularem in Ecclesiis tradidit potestatem: nec antedictæ sedis Antistitem minorum subjacuisse judicio, in propositione simili forma aliqua testaretur. Sed potentissimus Princeps ipsum quoque Papam in colligenda Synodo voluntatem suam literis demonstrasse significavit. Unde a mansuetudine ejus pagina postulata sunt, quas ab eo directas constabat, hasque dari Sacerdotibus sine tarditate constituit. At this Assembly, the Pope defended himself against the Articles he was charged with; and the King * left the Decision to them: Whereupon they decreed Symmachus to be the lawful Head of the Roman Church.*

At the Election of Felix.

3. AFTER the Death of Pope John, A. 526, Theoderic assum'd a yet greater Authority, and nominated Felix, Pope, (XI. 37.) who accordingly was consecrated at Rome, the 12th of July: But we have hardly any farther Account of this, than in the Letter written by King Athalaric, who, in the mean Time, had succeeded Theoderic, in the Government, in which he expresses, *Var. VIII. ep. 15*, his Satisfaction at this Election, to the Senat of Rome, in the following Manner: *Gratissimum nostro profitemur animo, quod gloriosi Domini avi nostri respondistis in Episcopatus electione judicio. Oportebat enim arbitrio boni Principis obediri, qui, sapienti deliberatione pertractans, quamvis in aliena religione, talem visus est Pontificem delegisse, ut nulli merito debeat displicere, ut agnoscat, illum hoc optasse precipue, quatenus bonis Sacerdotibus Ecclesiarum omnium religio pulcharet. Recepistis itaque virum, & divina gratia probabiliter institutum, & Regali examinatione laudatum. Nullus adhuc pristina contentione te-*

* The King writes: in Synodali esse arbitrio, in tanto negotio sequenda præscribere, nec aliquid ad se, præter reverentiam, de ecclesiasticis negotiis pertinere: He only desires, ut provisione concilii pax in civitate Romana Christianis omnibus redderetur.

neatur. Pudorem non habet victi, cujus votum contingit a Principe superari.

Whether, at that Time, the Papal Election took a new Form?

4. F. FRANC. PAGIUS, in *Breviar. in vit. S. Felicis*, n. 1. is of Opinion, that the Papal Election then took a new Form. *Et tandem lege res composita est, ut more pristino a clero Pontifex eligeretur, & a Rege assensu suo confirmaretur, certa pecunie summa pro confirmatione imperata, non tantum Romano Pontifici, sed etiam omnibus Episcopis, qui sub Gothorum ditone in Italia gemebant: And farther: Ea creandi Pontificis Romani ratio obtinuit, quandiu Gothorum in Italia floruit imperium. Imo quando illud deletum, Justinianus Imperator jus approbandi Pontificis Romani sibi retinuit.* But this Assertion is not yet sufficiently proved. Immediately after the Death of *Felix*, *Boniface* and *Dioscorus* were ordain'd, without the King's previous Confirmation being sought.

In Athalaric's Reign: Boniface II. seeks in vain to shake off this Yoke.

5. AFTER the Death of *Felix*, there was again a Division among the Romans, one Party elected *Boniface II.* and the other *Dioscorus* *, who however died soon after, and to put an End to this Schism. *Boniface* attempted to introduce an Innovation; and perhaps he thought the then Government, in the Minority of King *Athalaric*, a favourable Opportunity for it. With this View, he nominated, in a Synod, *Vigilius*, Deacon of the Roman Church, his Successor. But this his Proceeding was annull'd in a Council that ensued. (XII. 3.) *Anastasius* gives us the following Account of it: *Eodem tempore, facta iterum Synodo, hoc † censerunt sacerdotes omnes, propter reverentiam Sanctæ Sedis, & quia contra canones hoc fuerat factum, & quia culpa eum (sc. Bonifacium) respiciebat, ut successorem sibi constitueret: ipse Bonifacius Papa REUM SE CONFESSUS EST MAJESTATIS **, quod Diaconum Vigilium, sui subscriptione*

* ANASTAS. Hic cum Dioscoro ordinatur sub contentione, qui Dioscorus ordinatus in Basilica Constantiniana, Bonifacius vero in Basilica Julii. Et fuit dissensus in Clero & SENATU dies 28. Eodem tempore defunctus est Dioscorus.

** Cardinal Baronius observes on this Occasion, ad An. 531. § 2. MAJESTATIS vero ex ea parte crimen videri poterat Gothis Bonifacius incurrisse, quod contra Regis voluntatem, ad quem electionem Romani Pontificis spectare Theodericus statuerat, a Bonifacio fuisset institutus successor.

chirographi, ante confessionem B. Petri, successorem constituit, ac ipsam constitutum in praesentia omnium sacerdotum, & cleri, & SENATUS incendio consumpsit. (XII. 3.)

Senatus consultum against Bribery at the Papal Election.

6. NOTHING is so remarkable on this Occasion, as that the Senat of Rome, about this Time, had an Eye over the Papal Election. As Bribery began to prevail, and, particularly at this very Election of *Bonifacius* and *Dioscorus*, run very high; a *Senatus consultum* was decreed against it, which made it the more memorable, as one should hardly have expected, that the Senat had retain'd so much of its ancient Power. *Atbalaric* confirm'd this Decree, and commanded the *Præfectus Urbis*, to cause as well that as his Rescript, to be hewn in Marble, and to be affix'd at the Entrance into *St. Peter's Church*. *Var. IX. 16. Dudum siquidem Senatus amplissimus, a splendore suo cupiens maculam foedissimæ suspicionis abradere, provida deliberatione constituit, ut in beatissimi Papæ consecratione nullus se abominabili cupiditate pollueret, poena etiam constituta, qui talia præsumere tentavisset: non injuria, quia tunc electi vere meritum quaeritur, cum pecunia non amatur. Quod nos laudantes & augentes inventum, ad beatissimum Papam direximus constituta, quæ his antelata præfulgent; ut ab honestate Sanctæ Ecclesiæ profanus ambitus auferatur. Hoc vos ad notitiam Senatus & Romani populi volumus sine aliqua dilatione perducere; quatenus cunctorum figatur cordi, quod cupimus omnium studio custodiri. Verum ut Principale beneficium & præsentibus hæreat seculis, & futuris, tam Definita nostra, quam SCA tabulis marmoreis precipimus decenter incidi, & ante atrium B. Petri Apostoli, in testimonium publicum, collocari.*

7. HE likewise wrote, on this Account, to Pope *John II*, the Successor of *Boniface*, *Var. IX. 15*, where, at the same Time, we meet with a far ther Account of this S.C. *Nuper siquidem ad Nos defensor Ecclesiæ Romanæ flebili allegatione pervenit, cum Apostolicæ sedi peteretur Antistes, quosdam nefaria machinatione necessitatem temporis aucupatos, ita facultates pauperum extortis promissionibus, ingravasse, ut, quod dictu nefas est, etiam sacra vasa emptioni publica viderentur exposita. Hoc quantum fuit crudele committi, tanto gloriosum est adhibita pietate rescari. Atque ideo Sanctitas Vestra statuisse nos præsentem definitione cognoscat, quod etiam ad universos patriarchas, atque metropolitanas ecclesias volumus pertinere; ut a tempore Sanctissimi Papæ, Bonifacii, cum de talibus prohibendis suffragiis PATRES CONSCRIPTI SENATUS CONSULTA, NOBILITATIS SUÆ MEMORES, condiderunt: Quicum-*
que

que in Episcopatu obtinendo, sive per se, sive per aliam quamcunque personam, aliquid promississe declaratur, ut execrabilis contractus cunctis viribus effoetetur. Si quis autem in hoc scelere deprehenditur fuisse versatus, nullam relinquimus vocem; verum etiam si aut repetendum, aut quod acceptum est, non reddendum crediderit, sacrilegii reus protinus habeatur, accepta restituens compulsionem Judicis competentis. Justissime siquidem leges, ut bonis aperiunt, ita claudunt malis moribus actionem. Præterea quicquid in illo SENATUS decretum est CONSULTO, præcipimus in eos modis omnibus custodiri, qui se quoquo modo per interpositas quascunque personas scelestis contractibus miscuerunt.

In Theodehat's Reign.

8. IN the Reign of Theodehat, Sylverius was elected, at the Desire of of the King: Anastasius says of him: *Hic levatus est a Tyranno Theodato sine deliberatione decreti. Qui Theodatus corruptus pecunia data talem timorem induxit clero, ut, qui non consentiret in ejus ordinationem, gladio puniretur. Qui quidem Sacerdotes non scripserunt in eum secundum morem antiquum, vel decretum confirmaverunt ante ordinationem. Jam autem ordinato sub vi & metu Silverio, propter adunationem Ecclesiæ & religionis, postmodum sic subscripserunt Presbyteri.*

What Power the Kings of the Goths properly had at the Papal Election.

9. OUR of all these Cases, we cannot however form one certain Rule, what Power the Kings properly had at the *Papal Election*. It seems rather, as if the Proceedings were not always the same, but were generally ruled by the Circumstances of the Times. But this we may, however, conclude, that the *Romans* had the Freedom of Electing and Ordaining the Pope, and that the Concurrence of the Senat was particularly essential. We do not, indeed, find any express Testimony, that the Kings regularly confirmed the Popes: Tho' it may be probably conjectured. On the other Hand, it is beyond all Doubt, that in controverted Elections, the Decision was the King's Prerogative; and, on these Occasions, he proceeded in the same Manner as the Emperors were wont to do. When Theoderic promoted Felix, and Theodehat, Sylverius, to the Papal Dignity, it was out of the common Way, and the less to be taken for a Rule, as we do not so much as know, in what Manner it was really transacted.

Of the Defensor Sedis Apostolicæ.

10. As likewise the *Romish* Church, had, in many Occurrences, Affairs at Court *, they were transacted by a particular *Defensor*; as the Popes kept afterwards their *Responsales*, with the *Exarch*, at *Ravenna*, and even with the Emperors at *Constantinople*.

III.

Nature of the Election under Justinian, and the succeeding Emperors.

1. *BELISARIUS* had no sooner taken *Rome*, than *Justinian* made sure of the *Roman Chair*. (XII. 12.) The Proceedings of the Emperors with the Popes were much more rigid, than those of the Kings of the *Goths*. We need, for Instance, only mention what *Justinian* did to *Sylvester* and *Vigilius*, and *Constans* to *Martin* (XV. 12.) and what *Leo Isaurus* threaten'd *Gregory II*. (XVI. 3.)

2. IN this Period, we find a more certain Account of the Concurrence of the Court at the Papal Election: and especially, that the Pope would not be consecrated till he was confirmed by the Emperor.

3. *ANASTASIUS*, therefore, remarks it as something extraordinary, at the Election of *Pelagius II*, that he was consecrated † *absque* † A. 578. *jussione Principis*; tho' the Occasion of it was, because the *Longobards* had invested *Rome*, in such Manner, that no one could go out or in. (XIV. 8. not. 9.) Necessity was an Excuse for this Proceeding; and besides, *Pelagius* was as much devoted to the Emperor as his Predecessors. (XIV. 24. not. 1.) *F. Pagius*, in *Breviar*. p. 543, is of Opi-

* The Roman Church itself submitted, in judiciary Matters, to the Royal Officers of Justice, of which we have an Example, Var. III. ep. 49. On the other Hand *Athalaric*, Var. VIII. 24. confirm'd her in the Privilege, that if any one had a Demand on an Ecclesiastick, he must first bring his Cause before the Pope. Si quispiam ad Romanum clerum aliquem pertinentem in qualibet causa probabili crediderit actione pulsandum, ad beatissimi Papæ judicium prius conveniat audiendus, ut aut ipse inter utrosque more suæ Sanctitatis cognoscat, aut causam deleget æquitatis studio terminandam; & si forte, quod credi nefas est, competens desiderium fuerit petitoris elusum, tunc ad secularia fora, jurgaturus, occurrat, quando suas petitiones probaverit a supradictæ Sedis Præsule fuisse contemptas.

nion,

nion, that Gregory III was the last who was confirmed by the Grecian Emperor; and that the Roman Church first attained to a perfect Independency at the Election of Zacharias. Tho' some Doubt may arise, with Regard to the latter, if we consider, that, at that Time, as well Rome as Zacharias himself, yet constantly allowed the Supremacy of the Empire. (XVI. 29.)

The Testimonies of On. Panvinus, Mabillon and Pagius.

4. THESE Circumstances of the Papal Election described by F. Mabillon, in *Comment. in Ord. Romanum* §. 17. ex opere MS. Onuphrii Panvini de varia creatione Romani Pontificis: *Gothis Italiae ditione a Narsete omnino exactis, Italiaque cum urbe Roma in Orientis Imperii portionem redacta, insignior fuit in electione Papae mutatio, usque ad Carolum M. Mortuo Pontifice, sedis Apostolicae vacantis cura tribus praecipuis cleri ministris committebatur, scilicet Archipresbytero, Archidiacono, & Primitio Notariarum. Ab his quam primum de morte Papae nuntium significatur Exarcho, quem, Gothis puls, Ravennae instituerat Imperator. Post justa defuncto persoluta, exactumque tridui jejunium, de eligendo Pontifice tractabatur. Huic electioni intererant clerus, optimates, populus & milites; hoc est, militum stationes, qui, ad tutandam adversus Longobardos, reliquam Italiae partem, Romae potissimum & Ravennae consistebant. De electione mox referebatur ab Imperatore, a quo petebatur, expectabaturque factae electionis approbatio. De ea item scribebatur ad Exarchum, ad Judices, Archiepiscopum & APOCRISIARIUM Ravennae, ut electioni faverent. Post datam ab Imperatore approbationem electus tandem ordinabatur ad Confessionem Beati Petri, ibique fidem profitebatur: moxque fidei suae confessionem ad omnes Ecclesias dirigebat. Haec omnia constant ex libro diurno Romanorum Pontificum, cujus formulae ab eo tempore, id est, post electionem Pelagii, in usu esse coeperunt. F. Pagius cites this Passage, ad An. 555. n. 11. and adds, Ita Mabillonius, cui in omnibus assentio, nisi in eo, quod ait, morem hunc usque ad Carolum M. perdurasse; infra enim videbimus, regnante Pipino, Francorum Rege, Ecclesiam ab illa servitute liberatam fuisse, licet Ludovico imperante mos ille in pristinum statum restitutus fuerit, & Pontificum Romanorum ordinatio coram legatis Caesareis iterum peracta.*

Form of the Letters which were wont to be written to the Emperor and the Exarch, for obtaining this Confirmation.

1. IN the Journal of the Roman Pontiffs, we find Copies of the Letters, which, on this Occasion, were written to the Imperial Court, and to the Exarch, at *Ravenna*; which give a particular Light to this Matter. To the Emperor they say, *Tit. III. p. 15. Ideoque lacrymabiliter cuncti famuli supplicamus, ut dominorum pietas servorum obsecrationes dignanter exaudiat, & concessa pietatis suæ jussione, petentium desideria, pro mercede imperii sui, ad effectum de ordinatione ipsius præcipiat pervenire. Quatenus per sacros clementiæ suæ apices, sub pastore eodem constituti, pro vita imperioque serenissimorum dominorum nostrorum, omnipotentem Dominum, & beatorum Apostolorum Principem, cujus Ecclesiæ dignum ordinari gubernatorem concedit, jugiter exoremus.*

2. THEY give almost as good Words to the Exarch, at *Ravenna*, *Tit. IV. p. 19. Iterum atque iterum impensius, præcelse & a Deo servate domine, supplicamus, ut celerius, Deo operante, vestrisque præcordiis inspirante, Apostolicam sedem de perfecta ejusdem nostri Patris atque Pastoris ordinatione adornare præcipiatis, utpote per gratiam Christi ministerium Imperialis fastigii feliciter atque fideliter peragentes: quatenus & nos exigui famuli desiderium nostrum maturius expleri cernentes, incessabiles Deo & Imperiali clementiæ, atque eximie a Deo placitæ Dominationi Vestræ, gratiarum actiones valeamus exsolvere, & cum promotæ Apostolicæ sedis Pontifice, spiritali nostro Pastore, juges preces effundere, pro vita atque incolumitate atque perfectis victoriis tranquillissimorum atque Christianissimorum Dominorum nostrorum Ill. & Ill. magnorum, victorum, Imperatorum, ut regalibus eorum virtutibus misericors Deus multiplices concedat victorias, & de subjectione omnium gentium Christianam rempublicam faciat triumphare, deque restituta plenius Romani Imperii prisca devotione lætitiâ cordis impertiat. Scimus enim, quod oratio ejus, quem ad Pontificalis dignitatis culmen Dei nutu eligimus, divinam omnipotentiam suis precibus flectet & complacabit, & optatæ felicitatis incrementa Romano Imperio præparabit, vestramque a Deo custodiendam potestatem, ad dispensationem hujus servilis Italicæ Provinciæ, nostrumque omnium famulorum præsidium, & subventum longævis armorum actis conservabit.*

IV.

Of the Money which was to be paid at the Confirmation of a Pope.

1. F. PANVINIUS and *Mabillon* omit one Circumstance, which F. *Pagi* takes Care to observe, in the Passage cited above, II. 4. of this *Annotation*, viz. That the Popes, as well as the other Patriarchs, were obliged to pay a certain Sum of Money, when they obtained the Imperial Confirmation, as likewise, at their Consecration, to distribute Money to the People.

2. UNDER the *Gothick* Government, we find some Mention of this in the *Senatus consultum* cited above, II. num. 6. King *Athalaric*, on this Occasion, moderates the Expences to be made, in these Cases, as well at Court, as to the People. *Var. IX. 15. Cum de Apostolici consecratione Pontificis intentio fortasse pervenerit, & ad palatium nostrum producta fuerit altercatio populorum, suggerentes nobis inter tria millia solidorum cum collectione chartarum censemus accipere. A quibus tamen omnes minus idoneos, rei ipsius consideratione, removemus: quia de ecclesiastico munere pauperibus est potius consulendum. Alios vero Patriarchas, quando in comitatu nostro de eorum ordinatione tractatur, in supra dictis conditionibus, atque personis, intra duo millia solidorum jubemus expendere. In civitatibus autem suis tenuissimæ plebi non amplius quam quingentos solidos se distributuros esse cognoscant.*

Constantinus Pogonatus remits this Tax.

3. UNDER the succeeding Emperors we find more express Testimonies. *Anastasius* remarks it as something extraordinary, that *Constantinus Pogonatus* remitted this Payment to Pope *Agatho*. *Hic Agatho divalem jussionem, secundum suam postulationem, ut suggestit, suscepit, per quam relevata est quantitas, quæ solita erat dari pro ordinatione Pontificis facienda: sic tamen, ut, si contigerit post ejus transitum electionem fieri, non debeat ordinari, qui electus fuerit, nisi prius decretum generale introducatur in regiam urbem, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, & cum eorum conscientia & jussione debeat ordinatio provenire.**

* From this Passage C. 21. Dist. 63. is taken.

BUT what were the real Motives to, and Circumstances of this Tax, and when it was first laid, is not yet so clearly made out.* They that suppose it to be a Sort of Tribute, appropriated wholly to the Treasury, are the farthest from the Mark. It appears by the abovementioned Ordinance of King *Athalaric*, that it was distributed at Court; and therefore it may perhaps be derived from the Gifts, or Perquisites, which on many Occasions, and particularly, when Persons entered upon any Post of Honour, were wont to be distributed at *Rome*, and to be received by Persons of the greatest Distinction. They were in Time converted into Money, as we may conclude from *Juvenal*. Sat. I. 117.

*Sed cum summus honos finito computet anno
Sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat;
Quid faciant Comites, quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est
Et paries, fumusque domi?*

And even the *Sacerdotia* were not exempted from them in *Ancient Rome*. SUTTON. Claud. 9. *Postremo sestertium octogies, pro introitu novi sacerdotii coactus impendere.* We see by the Letters of *Symmachus*, Ep. X. 124. that such Gifts were, in his Time, customary, at entering upon the Consulship: *Sportulam Consulatus mei & amicitiae nostrae, & honori Tuo debeo. Hanc in solido uno ad Te misi, orans, ut benigno animo solennia officii mei libamenta accipias.* Thus, probably, they were also continued in the Case of Ecclesiastical Dignities.

Of the Inthronisticum, or Cathedraaticum.

5. THIS Money so to be paid for Confirmations at Court, is not to be confounded with the *Inthronisticum*,† or *Cathedraaticum*, which the Patriarchs, as well as Metropolitans, and other Bishops, were used to pay at their Consecrations, to the Bishops who were present, and to the Notaries who assisted at them. *Justinian* regulated this *Inthronisticum*, or, as *Julian* translates it, *Cathedraaticum*, in the memorable Nov. 123. *de sanctis. Episcopis, &c.* in which we have a full View of the Power the Emperors then exercised, with Regard to the Clergy; and that Passage is, in some Measure, illustrated by the above-mentioned Ordinance of *Athalaric's*. *Jubemus igitur beatissimos archiepiscopos & patriarchas,*

* F. Thomassin is of Opinion, that this Custom first came up after the Council of Chalcedon.

† This *Inthronisticum* is treated of by PETR. DE MARCA de Concord. Sacerd. & Imper. Lib. IV. cap. 10. §. 3. 4, 5. where a great deal is said, in Explanation of this Passage.

hoc est, senioris Romæ, & Constantinopoleos & Alexandria, & Theopoleos, & Hierosolymorum, siquidem consuetudo habet episcopis & clericis in eorum ordinatione, non minus quam viginti auri libras dari, ipsa solummodo præberi, quæ consuetudo recognoscit : plus autem ab hac quantitate nihil supra viginti auri libras præberi ; Metropolitæ autem a propria synodo, aut a beatissimis patriarchis ordinatos, & alios omnes episcopos, qui aut a patriarchis, aut a metropolitæ ordinantur, dare pro inthronisticis quidem solidos centum : notariis autem ordinantis, & aliis ministrantibus ei, & solenniter accipientibus solidos trecentos. Hæc autem, quæ præberi disposuimus, primus presbyter ordinantis Episcopi, & Archidiaconus, suscipientes, ex consuetudine percipientibus dividant. He likewise lays down the Reasons which gave Occasion to this Law : viz. Ut non ex talibus occasionibus ecclesiæ debitis prægraventur, & sacerdotia venalia fiant.



XVIII. ANNOTATION.

Of AMALASWINTH, and THEODEHAT*.

Ad XII. 3, 4.

THE History of Queen *Amalaswinth*, and her perfidious Partner in the Government, *Theodehat*, I have already treated of (XII. 3. *sq.*) I will here only add some Passages, which may serve as Proofs to confirm it.

I.

Theodehat's unjust Behaviour in Tuscany.

1. IN what Manner *Amalaswinth* obliged *Theodehat*, in her Son's Life-Time, to resign certain Estates he unjustly possessed, is related by *Procopius*, Lib. I. c. 4. p. 316. *seq.* *Hæc ibi dum aguntur, interea Tusci complures, de vi in omnes provinciæ suæ incolas apud Amalasuntham accusant Theodatum, ex mera libidine cum in alios quosvis, tum in domus regiae fundos, quos patrimonium vocitant, involantem. Quamobrem illa acutum ad rationem reddendam Theodatum, & ab accusatoribus manifeste convictum, quæcunque malis artibus eripuerat, restituere coëgit, ac tum demum remisit. Inde cum in summam offensionem hominis incurrisset, deinceps intercessit inter ambos discordia, illum avaritia conficiente, quod nec peccare licentius, nec vi invadere cupita posset. Cassiodorus, Var. X. 4.* has a View to this Proceeding, when he writes to the Senat of Rome, in the Person of *Theodehat*, whom the Queen had then admitted to a Partnership with her in the Government. *Sed inter diversa munera, quæ nobis*

* This Name, which is properly of Gothick Original, is written differently. In Cassiodori Var. he is call'd Thedahadus; but, on Coins, Theodahatus. Procopius always names him Theodatus, as does likewise Justinian, the Emperor, in the Sanctio Pragmatica, mentioned XIII. 27.

cum regia majestate Divina tribuerunt, illud amplius permulcet animum nostrum, quod nos sapientissima Domina trutina magnæ disceptationes elegit: cujus prius ideo justitiam tuli, ut purior ad ejus profectionis gratiam pervenirem. Causas enim, ut scitis, jure communi nos fecit dicere cum privatis. O animi nobilitas singularis! En equitas mirabilis, quam mundus loquatur! Non dubitavit parentem prius juri publico subdere, quem paullo post voluit ipsis quoque legibus anteferre. Exploravit conscientiam, cui erat regni traditura censuram; ut & illa domina cognosceretur esse cunctorum, & me probatum perducere dignaretur ad regnum.

He endeavours privately to enter into a League with Justinian.

2. *THEODEHAT* had neither the Moderation to be satisfied with what was justly his Due, nor Courage enough openly to attempt any thing farther. His Hatred and revengeful Temper sought other Means, so that, according to *Procopius's* Relation, *loc. cit. Lib. I. cap. 3.* he privately agreed with *Justinian* to deliver *Tuscany* into his Hands, on Condition, that he would call him to the Senat at *Constantinople*. *Procopius* says, *Lib. I. cap. 3. p. 313.* *Inter Gothos quidam erat, nomine Theodatus, filius Amalafridæ, sororis Theodorici, proventa jam ætate homo, ac latinis quidem literis & philosophia Platonis imbutus, * sed rei bellicæ plane rudis, summe ignavus, & avaritiæ deditus extra modum. Hic agrorum Tusciæ partem maximam cum possideret, e reliquis exturbare dominos enitebatur, genus quoddam infelicitatis esse ducens, habere vicinos. Quam hominis cupiditatem omni studio reprimebat Amalasuntha: ideoque hanc ille inexpiabili odio prosequabatur, victusque impatientia, Tusciam in Justiniani Aug. potestatem tradere cogitabat, ut ab eo multa auctus pecunia, & in Senatum electus, deinceps Byzantii vitam ageret.*

II.

Amalaswinth takes him for her Partner in the Kingdom.

1. *THE* Death of the young King *Athalaric* put a stop to his Designs at that Time. The Circumstances of Things were very precarious

* Of his Learning, see farther, in the following §. II. num. 3.

for his Mother, not only with Regard to the *Goths*, but in Respect to the *Romans*. The same Author relates, on what Conditions she, therefore, raised *Theodebat* to be a Sharer with her on the Throne. *Sub idem tempus tabe exesus obiit Atalaricus, cum in regno annos VIII. vixisset. Tunc Amalasuntha, haud dubie peritura, nulla nec indolis Theodati, nec suæ in eum recentis severitatis habita ratione, in animum induxit, se illum plane innoxium experturam, si in ipsum majus aliquod beneficium conferret. Eum igitur accersit, ac post ipsius adventum delinuit, asseverans, se antea cognovisse, quæ esset opinio de morte propinqua filii; quippe cum a medicis omnibus prenunciatam illam audiret, ac videret ipsa Athalarici corpus in dies contabescere: quoniam vero perspiciebat, minus commode apud Gothos & Italos audire Theodatum, ad quem Theoderici genus redactum esset, sibi id cordi fuisse, ut, turpi illa existimatione depulsa, ipsi ad regnum vocato nihil obstaret: preterea se ex amore æqui sollicitam timuisse, ne quando ab illis circumfusa, qui se injuria affectos ab eo dicerent, audiret expostulantes, adesse neminem, ad quem, quæ passi essent, deferrent, sibi que infensum dominum imperare; itaque se ad regnum jam illum invitare, cum esset purus a suspicione, & in famam secundam restitutus: at sanctissime jurandum esse, nomen quidem regis potestatis ad Theodatum transiturum, rem vero ipsam, ut prius, in Amalasuntha mansuram. Theodatus, his auditis, quicquid placuit Amalasunthæ, jurato promisit, sed malo animo ac fraudulenter; quippe memor uti ante ab ea fuisset habitus. Juravit quoque Amalasuntha Theodato ex animi sui sententia, ac decepta, regem illum constituit: qua de re missis Byzantium legatis Gothis, Justinianum Aug. certiore fecit.*

2. *AMALASWINTH* acquainted the Emperor *Justinian* with this her Choice. *Var. Lib. 10. ep. 1. Perduximus ad sceptrum virum nobis fraterna proximitate conjunctum, qui regiam dignitatem communi nobiscum consilii robore sustineret, ut & ille avorum suorum purpureo decore fulgeret, & animum nostrum solatium prudentis erigeret.*

3. *AMALASWINTH* herself extol'd him, in the Letter by which she inform'd the Senat of the Choice she had made. *Var. X. 3. Elegimus, Deo auspice, CONSORTEM REGNI felicissimum, Theodatum; ut quæ hætenus Reipublicæ molem solitaria cogitatione pertulimus, nunc utilitates omnium junctis consiliis exequamur, quatenus in tractatibus duo, in sententiis unus esse videamur. And farther: Accessit his bonis desiderabilis eruditio literarum, quæ naturam laudibilem eximie reddit ornatum. Ibi prudens invenit, unde sapientior fiat: ibi bellator reperit, unde animi virtute roboretur: inde princeps accipit, quemadmodum populos sub æqualitate*

litate componat; nec aliqua in mundo potest esse fortuna, quam literarum non augeat gloriosa notitia. Accipite, quod majus generalitatis vota meruerunt. Princeps vester etiam ecclesiasticis est literis eruditus, a quibus semper, quicquid est pro homine, commonemur, judicare recte, bonum sapere, divina venerari, futura cogitare judicia.

4. THE new King likewise wrote to the Emperor: *Variar. Lib. X. ep. 2.* Quod facienti mihi, piissime Imperator, multo melius divina tribuerunt: quoniam vestram gratiam securus expeto, quam præcellentissimam dominam sororem nostram Nobis pepigisse cognosco. Ab ejus enim judicio me nullatenus deviare certissimum est, quæ tanta sapientiæ luce resplendet, ut & propria regna mirabili dispositione componat, & promissam cunctis gratiam robusta firmitate custodiat. Ideo enim me curarum suarum fecit esse socium, quatenus & ego illos desiderem habere reverendos, quos sibi ipsa fecit esse pacificos.

5. AMALASWINTH therefore, did not take the Title of Queen, 'till after her Son's Death. We find him in publick Records, *Var. VIII. ep. 8.* and *10.* She names Theodehat, *Confors Regni, Ib. ep. 3,* as he likewise gives himself the Title, *Ib. ep. 4.*

III.

Theodehat's Ingratitude to the Queen.

1. IT is, in itself, a dangerous Thing to admit of Partnership in Dominion: But Theodehat's Temper made it the more so. Amalaswinth's unhappy Choice cost herself her Liberty and Life, and, at the same Time, paved the Way to the Subversion of the Gothick Kingdom. Procopius informs us how ungratefully Theodehat behav'd himself to her. Principatum adeptus Theodatus, cum spem Amalasunthæ, tum sui promissi fidem prorsus fefellit. Gothorum enim, ab illa intersectorum, complexus propinquos, quorum magnus in ea gente & numerus erat & splendor, repente quosdam ex Amalasunthæ necessariis occidit, adeoque ipsam conjecit in carcerem, prius quam legati Byzantium pervenissent. Est in Tuscia lacus (Vulturnum appellant) & in eo parva admodum insula, castello munita valido. Clausam hic Amalasuntham Theodatus servari jussit, ac veritus, quod accidit, ne eo facto Imperatorem offenderet, Liberium & Opilionem, Senatores Romanos, aliosque nonnullos misit, omni ope deprecari jussos illius odium, affirmando, nihil mali Amalasunthæ irrogasse Theodatum, quamvis

quamvis ab ea prius acceptum pessime. In eandem sententiam literas & ipse Rex dedit, & ab Amalasuntha, vel invita expressit.

He causes her to be murdered.

2. HE gives us farther Circumstances of her Murder: *Ibid. p. 318. D. Gothorum enim, quos illa morte affecerat, propinqui, Theodatum adierant, eique asseverant, nec ipsum, nec se vivere securos posse, nisi Amalasuntham de medio quam primum tollerent. Annuente illo, nulla interposita mora delati in insulam, necem attulerunt Amalasunthæ, & ea re mœrorem maximum Italis omnibus & cæteris Gothis. Hæc enim mulier summa animi firmitate, ut supra paullo dixi, omnium officia virtutum obibat. Quocirca Petrus Theodato Gothisque cæteris aperte denuntiavit, quandoquidem hoc facinus admisissent, Imperatori bellum cum ipsis fore inexpiabile. At stolide ineptus Theodatus, cum Amalasunthæ intersectoribus plurimum honoris tribueret, Petro & Imperatori persuadere volebat, se minime approbante, quin potius invitissimo, Gothos hoc piaculum perpetrassent. When Justinian made a Pretence of this Inhumanity to make War with the Goths, Theodehat was so irresolute, that he neither brought the Treaty of Alliance, which was begun, to a Conclusion, nor prepared for a gallant Resistance. His own Son-in-Law was the first who went over to the Emperor.*

Whether the Empress Theodora excited him to it?

3. WHAT I hinted of Theodora's Instigation, we find in Procopius Hist. arcan. cap. 16. *Posteaquam Amalasuntha, ut libris superioribus declaravimus, Gothorum abdicatis rebus, aliud vitæ genus quæsit, cogitavitque Byzantium ire, æquo cum civibus jure victura, Theodoræ statim occurrit fœminæ illius nobile genus, regia dignitas, forma corporis singularis, acre & industrium ingenium, ob idque non dubitavit, quin sibi & ab illius virili animi majestate, & levitate conjugis, metuendum foret. Nec sane leviter hanc patefecit rivalitatem, sed insidias ac necem reginæ molita, viro confestim persuasit, ut Petrum ad eam legaret in Italiam. Huic ergo Cæsar proficiscenti, quæ opportuno loco narravi, imperat; at Augusta (cujus metu, veræ tunc locus narrationi non fuit) hoc unum committit, ut Amalasunthæ paret, maturaretque necem, magnorum injecta spe bonorum, si jussis pareat. Ille vel dignitatis vel divitiarum spe in Italiam statim transmittit; nam ad nefarias cædes moderate venire mens humana nequit, Theodatum rationibus mihi quidem obscuris in Amalasunthæ cædem impellit. Ex-*

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inde Petrus ad Magistri dignitatem magna quidem potentia, sed omnium odio, evehitur. But here Procopius manifestly contradicts himself, when, *de bello Goth. Lib. I. cap. 4.* he gives us to understand, that Peter did not come to Italy, till after Theodebat had caused the Queen to be murdered.

IV.

Jornandes's Relation of Queen Amalaswinth.

JORNANDES de rebus Gothicis, c. 59, gives us her History in a few Words. Tum mater, ne pro sexus sui fragilitate a Gothis sperneretur, secum deliberans, Theodatum, consobrinum suum, germanitatis gratia accersitum a Thuscia, ubi, privatam vitam degens, in laboribus propriis erat, in regnum collocavit. Qui, immemor consanguinitatis, post aliquantum tempus a palatio Ravennate abstractam, in insulam lacus Bulsinensis eam exilio relegavit. Ubi, paucissimos dies in tristitia degens, ab ejus satellitibus in balneo est strangulata. And, de regn. success. p. 140. Mortuoque Athalarico, mater sua Theodahatum, consobrinum suum, regni sic participem faciens, non post multum, ipso jubente occisa est. Et quia dudum se, suumque filium commendaverat Principi Justiniano, is mortem ejus audiens doluit, nec passus est inultam transire: Sed mox eundem ducem belli, qui Pœnorum domitor fuit, & de opibus Vandaliticis triumphans adhuc in fascibus erat, agmini diversarum præponens nationum, ad partes Hesperias destinavit: qui primo accessu mox Siciliam pervadit, duce ejus Sinderich superato, &c.

V.

False Accounts of this Queen given by Gregorius Turonensis.

1. To conclude, I am at a Loss how the Bishop of Tours comes to give so bad an Account of Amalaswinth, Lib. III. cap. 31. Et quia Theodoricus, Rex Italiae, Chlodovei Regis sororem in matrimonio habuit, mortuus parvulam filiam cum uxore reliquit. Hæc autem cum adulta facta esset, per levitatem animi sui, relicto matris consilio, quæ ei Regis filium providebat, servum suum Trauvilanem nomine accepit, & cum eo ad civitatem, qua defensari posset, aufugit. Cumque mater ejus contra eam valde frenderet, peteretque ab ea, ne humiliaret diutius nobile genus, sed dimisso servo similem sibi
de

de genere regio, quem providerat, deberet accipere, nullatenus voluit adquiescere. Tunc mater ejus contra eum frendens, exercitum commovit. At illi venientes super eos, Trauvilanem interfecerunt gladio, ipsam quoque cædentes in domum matris reduxerunt. Erant autem sub Arianæ sectæ viventes. Et quia consuetudo eorum est, ut ad altarium venientes, de alio calice Reges communicent, & de alio populus minor, venenum in calice illo posuit, de quo mater communicatura erat *. Quo illa hausto, protinus mortua est. And farther: Indignantibus ergo Itali contra hanc mulierem Theodatum Regem Tusciæ invitantes, super se Regem statuunt. Hic vero cum didicisset, quæ meretrix illa commiserat, qualiter propter servum, quem acceperat, in matrem extiterat parricida, succensò vehementer balneo, eam in eodem cum una puella includi præcepit. Quæ nec mora, in arduos vapores ingressa, in pavimento corruens mortua atque consumpta est. Quod cognoscentes hi Reges, Childebertus & Chlotharius, consobrini ejus, nec non & Theodebertus, quod scilicet tam turpi fuerit interfecta supplicio, ad Theodatum legationem dirigunt, exprobrantes de morte ejus, atque dicentes: si hæc, quæ egisti, nobiscum non composueris, regnum tuum auferemus, & simili pœna te damnabimus. These Fables of Gregory's are confuted by F. le Cointe, ad Ann. 534. n. 42. — 49. In the mean Time, they may serve as a Warning to us, how erroneous the Accounts we find in ancient Writers frequently are.

2. THOMAS CORNEILLE has given us a Tragedy called *Theodat*, in which he has painted this King as a Hero, and *Amalaswinth* in the false Colours Gregory has shewn her in. This may indeed be, in some Measure, allowed in a Poet: But for the false Circumstances we find in many latter Historians, I shall not detain the Reader with enumerating them here, since *Mons. Rival* has already pointed them out, in his *Dissertation sur quelques particularités de l'Histoire d'Amalasonthe, Princessse des Ostrogoths, en Italie* †.

* We need not think it extraordinary in the Goths, that they received the Communion in both Kinds. It was a general Custom in the Church. F. Ruinart makes the following Remark on this Passage: Mos adhuc sæculo 8. in Romana ecclesia vigeat, ut colligere licet ex epistola 9. Gregorii II. ad Sanctum Bonifacium Moguntinum, ubi Pontifex scribit, congruum non esse duos vel tres calices in altario ponere, cum Missarum sollemnia celebrantur.

† This we meet with in his *Dissertations Historiques & Critiques*. T. I.

XIX. ANNOTATION.

OF BELISARIUS.

Ad XII. 38.

AS *Belisarius* greatly experienced the Instability of Fortune with the Great, and, even in his Life-time, furnished no less Matter for Satyr than for Panegyrick; Posterity is in the dark as to many Parts of his History, whether he more deserves our Admiration or our Pity.

I.

Of his Country: Whether he was a German?

1. HE was born in *Germania*, a City of *Thrace*. *Procopius* de Bel. Vandal, Lib. I. *Ducebat originem ex Germania, quæ inter Thracas & Illyrios sita est.* The Name of *Germania* seduced *Leunclavius* to believe *Belisarius* was a German; and in the Dedication of his Edition to *Sambucus*, he expresses himself thereupon, in the following Manner: *Sic igitur hæc a Procopio fuisse scripta conjicimus, ut Belisarium dicat oriundum ex illa fuisse parte Germaniæ, quæ inter Illyricum & Thraciam sese porrigat. Hoc modo vir eminentissimus & ornamentum ejus sæculi singulare, qui perpetuis victoriis per orientem & meridiem, & occasum, sic obscuratam & extinctam prope Romani nominis famam, illustravit, ut eum merito suo Justinianus Imperii Romani decus in numismatis appellarit, Belisarius, quasi natalibus restitueretur, & germanæ patriæ, Germaniæ nostræ vindicabitur.*

2. MANY

2. MANY more learned Men were of this Opinion, who are already refuted by *Alemannus*, in *not. ad Procop. Hist. Arcan.* when he remarks on the above-cited Words: HUBERTUS GIPHANIUS in *Commentario de Justiniano Imperatore, cui adstipulatur* MARCUS VELSERUS, Lib. 4. *Rerum Augustanarum, sic eum locum accepit, ut Belisarium Germanum crediderit. Rationes, quibus id adstruere conatur, ingeniosæ sunt, non veræ. Nam Germania, quæ inter Thraciam & Illyricum jacet, non sunt Quadi in Austria, sed urbs Thraciæ, & alibi nota, & in Sanctionibus Orientalium Antistitum, eaque metropolis est.*

II.

Procopius lessens his Character in the Historia Arcana.

1. IN the Course of this History, I have introduced *Belisarius*, as represented by *Procopius*, in his Books of the *Gothick* and *Vandalick* Wars: But in his *Anecdots*, he paints him in very different Colours. The History in general, does indeed agree, tho' some secret Circumstances may differ from what they are generally related: However, we are not to build so absolutely on *Procopius's Anecdots*. An Author, who himself acknowledges, that he, at another Time, concealed the Truth out of Fear, may afterwards have been farther misled by Hatred and a Love of Slander, than he was before by Fear.

2. IF it be true what *Belisarius*, in these *Anecdots*, is said to have suffered from his Wife *Antonina*, and how he was misled by her, we cannot but wonder, that a General, who conquered Kings and Nations, could be so pliant and submissive among the Women and Eunuchs; and how much more dangerous secret Enemies at Court are, than open ones in the Field.

3. AT least we see, by this *Historia Arcana*, what Judgment the Enemies and Enviars of *Belisarius* formed of his Expeditions. All his Success was attributed wholly to Fortune, c. 4. p. 15. *In Italiam ubi pervenit, infelices rerum eventus, quandoquidem divino numine adverso, indies coepit experiri. Primo quidem bello contra Theodatum, & Vittigem, quæ pro re nata coepit consilia, licet minime opportuna rebus viderentur; ad exitus tamen plerumque felices deducta sunt. Secundo vero illa demum fuit aliorum de eo sententia, optime quidem consultare, utpote qui Italici belli administrandi experimentum haberet; at rebus ut plurimum male sic recidentibus, minime sane consilii opinionem movit, confirmavitque.* They who judge as *Procopius* does here, must take great Delight in finding Fault. When every Thing went to *Belisarius's* Wishes, it was owing
to

to blind Fortune; but when an Expedition miscarried, the Blame lay at his Door.

4. BUT he that finds Fault with a General, in his Enterprizes, because a greater Share of Fortune than Understanding appears, praises him more than he thinks. Indeed the Renown of a Hero may then be said to be compleat, when Prudence in his Orders, and Fortune in the Execution of them unite, as Cicero says of some Roman Generals. *pro L. Manilia*, cap. 16. *Existimo, Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, & ceteris magnis Imperatoribus, non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam sapius imperia mandata, atque exercitus fuisse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quædam ad amplitudinem, & ad gloriam, & ad res magnas bene gerendas, divinitus adjuncta fortuna**. But where they do not both meet, Fortune, with but an indifferent Conduct, is, in Reality, preferable to Wisdom in the Management, without Success in the Event. The Carthaginians therefore dealt unreasonably, in punishing their Generals, if they made a Mistake, tho' the Event proved successful. *Carthaginienses, Duces, bella pravo consilio gerentes, etiamsi prospera fortuna subsequuta esset, cruci tamen suffigebant: quod bene gesserunt, Deorum immortalium adjutorio, quod male commiserant, ipsorum culpæ imputantes.* Val. II. cap. 7. exemp. ext. 1. How often have Things succeeded contrary to all Appearances? Velleius Paterculus wonders at this in young Octavius, who ventured to enter upon the Inheritance of Julius Cæsar, contrary to the Advice of his Friends. *Non placebat Atiæ Matri, Philippoque Vitrico, adiri nomen invidiosæ fortunæ Cæsaris: sed asserebant salutaria Reipublicæ, terrarumque orbis fata conditorem conservatoremque Romani nominis. Sprevit itaque cælestis animus humana consilia, & cum periculo potius summa, quam tuto humilia proposuit sequi.* God sometimes employs mean Instruments to carry the most important Transactions into Execution. In such Cases the Circumstances operate quite unexpectedly, as it were of themselves; whereas, on the other Side, the best concerted Measures miscarry †.

5. OF the ill Success of his latter Italian Expeditions, Procopius says farther, cap. 5. *Post secundam ergo Belisarius in Italiam Expeditionem turpissime inde reducitur; cum e navigiis in terram descendere, ut supra me-*

* In the same Place he requires of a compleat Hero in War, that he possess: *Eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, EGREGIA FORTUNA.*

† The Roman Senat heard Qu. Fabius Maximus (Liv. XXII. 25.) with great Coldness, when he boasted: *Propediem effecturum se, ut sciant homines, bono Imperatori haud magni fortunam momenti esse: mentem rationemque dominari.*

moravi, quinquennium totum nequiverit, neque incertum aliquod præsidium se recipere, sed perpetuo maritimam oram classe legeret. Certe licet insane Totilas cuperet; minime tamen illum cum toto Romanorum exercitu perculsum in aciem deducere potuit. Quare afflictas Italiae res non restituit; quin Romam etiam, & si quæ alia reliqua erant, de manibus insuper amisit. He goes on, in the same Place, to censure his Covetousness: Nihil ex ærario Cæsaris ad hoc bellum illi fuit, proinde hoc tempore profunda laboravit avaritia, omneque studium ad turpe compendium convertit. Sic Italos fere omnes, Ravennates, Siculosque indigenas expilavit, & si quos alios fortuna in ejus potestatem conjecisset, a quibus, nescio quo jure, antea acta vitæ cogitationum poenas exegit. Sic in Herodianum animadversurus pecunias petiit, minas omnes intendens; quarum ille pertæsus dictum Romanis sacramentum exuens, cum suis cohortibus seque & Spoletum Totila, Gothisque, dedit. It seems, indeed, to be somewhat hard for a General to carry on a War at his own Expence: But Hannibal, at a certain Time, was under the Necessity of doing it, and yet Livy doubted whether he should admire him most in his fortunate or unfortunate Days **.

III.

Of the Disgrace he at last fell under.

I. AMONG all the Vicissitudes of Fortune, which Belisarius experienc'd, the Disgrace he fell under, in his old Age, gave most Occasion for his being talk'd of. Agathias attributes the whole of the Accusation against him to Envy. He boasts, *Lib. V. p. 561*, how Belisarius drove the Huns from before Constantinople, and then goes on: Belisarius autem, tametsi verisimiliter eos abeuntes majore strage ac damno afficere potuisset, utpote homines jam metu perculsos insectans, quum fugæ similem discessionem facerent; nihilominus tamen statim in urbem rediit, idque non tam ex animi sui sententia, quam Imperatoris jussu. Quum enim, populus universus victoria hac ipsis nunciata, eum decantaret, & in conventibus summis laudibus efferret, veluti ab illo apertissime conservatus; momordit vero id, pessimeque habuit, plerosque primores urbis invidia & livore occupatos, vitiis adeo atrocibus, & semper optima quæque labefactantibus. Calumniati itaque sunt virum, ut arrogantem & popularis auræ blanditiis in solescentem, altasque spes animo agitantem. Quibus quidem de causis citissimeque eo ventum est, ut non absolutissimam gloriam repor-

** *Lib. XXIII. 12.* Nescio, an mirabilior adversis quam secundis rebus fuerit.

taret, neque ob res præclare abs se gestas debito honore afficeretur; Sed omnis victoriæ laus ei quodammodo e manibus effluxit, quantum in illis erat oblitterata, præmiique expers, & in universum silentio involuta.

2. WE must here, at the same Time, consult *Theophanes* and *Zonaras*. The latter says, *Lib. XIV. cap. 9. p. 69. Cum autem Justiniano multorum insidiæ nunciarentur, quarum etiam Belisarius patricius esset particeps: satellites ei omnes ademit, ipsumque domi custodiri jussit, ejusque mortui opes in fiscum omnes sunt relatæ.* From *Theophanes* * we see, that he was, indeed, restored to the Emperor's good Graces; but, notwithstanding that, his Effects were confiscated after his Death.

3. FROM hence it is self-evident, that what some modern Writers pretend, of his being depriv'd of his Sight and his Effects, at one and the same Time, and becoming so poor, that he was oblig'd to beg his Bread, is a Fable; as *Alemannus*, in *not. ad Procopii Anecdota*, and *Du Gange*, in *not. ad Zonaram*, *loc. cit.* have already remark'd more circumstantially.

IV.

Whether the Medals said to be of him are genuine?

1. AMONG the *Byzantine* Historians, *Michael Glycas* † and *Cydrenus* **, take Notice that *Justinian* caused Medals to be struck in Honour to *Belisarius*, when he put so successful an End to the *African* War. Some more modern Writers pretend actually to have seen them. *Pe. Gyllius*, in his *Topograph. Constantinopol. Lib. II. p. 378*, says, that he had such a Medal in his Hand at *Constantinople*. *Nunc vero Circus Constantinopoli-*

* *THEOPHANES, ad An. Justiniani XXXVI. Cæterum, Julii mensis die decimo nono, Patricius Belisarius, prioribus cunctis dignitatum honoribus restitutus, in gratiam quoque Imperatoris rediit.*

Id. ad An. Justiniani XXXVIII.

Hoc anno, mense Martio, indictione decima tertia, Patricius Belisarius Byzantii moritur facultateque ejus omnes Imperialibus Marinæ ædibus, & ejus ærario, addictæ.

† *Annal. P. 4. p. 266.* Belisarius sexcentis victoriis insignis ad Imperatorem est reversus. Quo factum, ut Imperator eum meritis præmiis honestans, propriis in numis, tam aureis, quam argenteis, virum armatum insculperet, cum gladio stricto. Quin etiam triumphum ei splendidum apparavit, in quo Gellimer ante ipsum captivus incedebat.

** *T. I. p. 370.* Belisarius triumphavit in circo, & consulatum gessit in Urbe: Adeo autem acceptus fuit Justiniano, ut is, percusso numo, in altera parte se, in altera parte Belisarium armatum effinxerit: cum inscriptione hac: *BELISARIUS ROMANORUM DECUS.*

tanus

tanus friget, omnibus ornamentis spoliatus, nuperque exadificari coeptus est: quod me spectantem dolor affecit: quem augebat Belisarii, primum de Rege Vandalorum in Hippodromo triumphantis, deinde ob virtutem summam maxime periclitantis, recordatio, quam mihi dabat numisma, quod tum forte habebam in manibus, in cujus uno latere sculptus erat Justinianus, Belisarium excipiens triumphantem, in altero Belisarii imago cum hoc elogio: GLORIA ROMANORUM BELISARIUS.

2. THERE is another Silver Medal, with the Head of *Belisarius*, and the Reverse, *Gothis devictis* *, which differs quite from the Description of the Greek Historians. I leave it to the Decision of *Connoisseurs* to whose Hands they may come †. *F. Banduri*, who had seen the latter, declares them both to be spurious, in *Comment. in Anon. Antiquit. Constantinop.* p. 778. sq. *Unde crederem laudatum numum, quem olim possidebat Pet. Gylius, ex eadem officina prodisse, ex qua prodiit alter argenteus, quem Parisiis nacti sumus; in cujus quidem numi parte anteriori cernitur Belisarius barbatus cum galea, ad pectus cum chlamyde, ubi legitur hæc inscriptio: BELISARIUS. In altera vero parte visitur figura muliebris ad dextram gradiens, dextra gestans coronam lauream, sinistra palmam: cum hac inscriptione: GOTHIS DEVICTIS. Sed hunc numum supposititium quidem esse non dubito, uti suo loco pluribus de hac re adnotabimus.*

* Ap. PAUL PETAVIUM in *Supell. Antiqu.* in *Monf. SALENGRE's Thesaur. nov. Antiqu. Rom.* T. II. p. 1038.

† It happen'd, besides, very seldom, that the Emperors granted this Favour to any one. Tho' we find, in *F. Banduri*, T. II. p. 570, a Medaillon of Copper, with a Bust of Emperor Valentinian III, on the Reverse of which, is the famous Count Boniface, in Triumph: As likewise, p. 573, another Medal of the same Emperor, on which is represented Petronius Maximus, V. C. Consul.

XX. ANNOTATION.

Of N A R S E S.

I.

The good Qualities of Narses.

1. **I**F we may believe what *Procopius* and *Agathias* * say of *Narses*, he is a Contradiction to the Opinion of those who believe, that the Operation made upon Eunuchs renders them unfit for great Actions †. What *Claudian* reproaches in *Rufinus* is not applicable to him.

- - - - *penitusque supremum*
In cerebrum secti traxerunt frigora nervi.

We can, with more Safety, give Credit to these Historians; because the Victories he obtain'd over *Totilas* and *Tejas*, alone shew him to have

* *The Passage from Procopius, I have given above, XIII. 15. not. 1. Agathias says of him: Erat enim Narses inprimis mente validus, acer, solersque, aptare se temporibus: & quanquam litteris tinctus non erat, nec ad eloquentiam exercitus, compensabat hæc ingenii felicitate, nec consiliis exprimendis verba deerant, mirum in spadone, interque aulæ delicias educato. Corpus illi natura breve, curatura etiam gracile, sed fortior & celsior, quam credi posset, animus. Adeo ubicunque libertas generosa in pectore est, ne quis vir sit optimus, cætera non impediunt.*

† *Whatever has been said, either by Natural Philosophers or Historians, to the Advantage or Disadvantage of Eunuchs, and how much the Laws have oppos'd this Operation, is discuss'd by Heribertus, in a particular Treatise, entitled, Eunuchi, nati, facti, mystici. Divon. 1655. 4.*

been

been a great General. On the other Hand, *Evagrius* confines himself to extol his Devotion, and hardly finds any Room for other Virtues **.

2. IN the Inscription erected to his Honour (XIII. 25.) he is called, *Ex Præposito S. Palatii* EXCONS. atque *Patritius*. The Law of *Theodosius Junior* ††, that no Eunuch should be honoured with the *Patriciat*, must therefore have given Way to the Valour and Success of *Narses*: But for his Title of *Consul*, it was merely honorary.

3. THE *East* had been long accusom'd to *Eunuchs*, not only at Court, but in the Army; as we have likewise more modern Instances, in those Parts *: But *Narses* could never gain the Affection of the *Romans*. The Pomp of the *Patriciat* seems the less becoming him †, because he had render'd himself more particularly obnoxious by his Extortions; Complaints of which we shall find in the Sequel.

** *Lib. IV. cap. 23.* De *Narsete*, qui familiariter cum eo vixere, illud perhibent, ita ipsum ex divino numine pendisse, atque id omnis generis pietate coluisse, & Virginem, eandemque Dei genetricem ita veneratum esse, ut illa manifesto illi apparens, quando prælium commitendum esset, præciperet, neque illum facile prius in aciem descendisse, quam tempus opportunum ab ea cognovisset.

†† *SUIDAS* observes in voce *Ευνῆχος*: Imperator, *Theodosius minor*, *Antiocho præposito* iratus edictum promulgavit, ne eunuchus inter *Patricios* censeretur.

* In the East we find more Examples of Eunuchs, who gave Proofs of their Valour in War. In the Reign of *Justinian*, we have given Instances above, XIII. 15. In more modern Times, *Sultan Solymans*'s General is famous, of whom I shall here add the Words of *Thuanus*. He says of him, *Lib. XVII.* *Erat Halis Eunuchus*, sed corporis defectum animo pensabat, &c. Among other Things, he observes the Answer he gave, when Advice was brought him of the Loss of the City of *Gran*. *Ejus rei cum trepidus nuncius ad eum venisset, ipsa vultus consternatione magnum aliquod malum professus, purpuratus non sine circumstantium risu consternationi nuncii illudens, & Strigonii, quod nullo negotio recuperari posset, amissionem elevans, his verbis eum excepisse dicitur. Quam tu mihi cladem ingentem, fatue, quod tantum incommodum narras? ea demum mihi clades deploranda contigit, cum hinc (genitalium sedem ostentans) ea membra ademta sunt, quibus vir eram.*

† *Spado Romuleo succinctus amictu.*

II.

He is recall'd out of Italy ; but dies, in the mean Time, at Rome.

An. 571.

1. EMPEROR *Justin* recall'd *Narses* out of Italy. *Marius* *ad An. II. Justiniani*: Hoc anno *Narses*, Ex *Præposito* & *Patricio*, post tantos prostratos Tyrannos, id est, *Baduilam* & *Tejam*, Reges *Gothorum*, & *Bucelenum*, Ducem *Francorum*, nec non & *Sindevalum* *Erolum*; *Mediolanum* vel reliquas civitates, quas *Gothi* destruxerant, laudabiliter reparatas; de ipsa Italia a suprascripto *Augusto* remotus est. But *F. Pagius* observes, *ad An. 567. N. 5*, that *Marius* mistakes the Year, and that *Narses* was already recall'd about the Year 566. Tho' it is to little Purpose to dispute about the precise Year when this happen'd.

2. CERTAIN, however, it is, that *Narses* did not return to *Constantinople*; but died at *Rome*. *Anastasius*, in *vit. Johannis*, has some memorable Circumstances, from which we, at the same Time, discover the Disaffection of the *Romans* to him. *Ut cognovit Johannes Papa, quia suggestionem suam ad Imperatorem contra Narsetem Senatorem misissent Romani, festinus venit Neapolim: coepit eum Joannes Papa rogare, ut reverteretur Romam. Tunc Narses dixit ei: Dic, Sanctissime Papa, quid male feci Romanis? Vadam ad pedes ejus, qui me misit, ut cognoscat Italia, quomodo totis viribus laboravi pro ea. Respondit Joannes Papa, dicens: citius ego vadam, quam tu de hac terra egressus fueris. Reversus ergo est Narses cum Joanne Sanctissimo Papa. Hinc Sanctissimus Papa retinuit se in cœmeterio SS. Tiburtii & Valeriani, & habitavit ibi multum temporis, ut etiam Episcopos ibi consecraret. Narses vero ingressus Romam, non post multum temporis mortuus est, cujus corpus positum est in locello plumbeo, & reductæ sunt omnes divitiæ ejus Constantinopolim.* *Pagius* places his Death in the Year 571.

3. *AGNELLUS*, an Author, who indeed lived in the ninth Century; but who made Use of more ancient Intelligences, writes, among other Things: in *Vita Agnelli, Episcopi Ravennatis XXVII. Tertio vero anno Justiniani minoris, Imperatoris, Narsis Patritius de Ravenna evocatus, egressus*

gressus est cum divitiis omnibus Italiae, & fuit Rector XVI. annis, & vicit duos Reges Gothorum, & Duces Francorum jugulavit gladio. And farther; ad An. V. Justin: Narsis Patritius obiit Romæ, postquam gessit multas victorias in Italia, cum denudatione omnium Romanorum.

III.

Whether he invited the Longobards into Italy?

(*Ad XIV. 6.*)

I. WE should have yet less Reason to concern ourselves about his being recalled, if there was not a general Report, that he, out of Despair, on that Account, enticed the *Longobards* to come into *Italy*. Some ancient Writers relate this Matter, with the following Circumstances: The Empress *Sophia* having, at the same Time, sent him a Spindle, with the reproachful Message, that, for the future, he should, in the Habit of a Woman, have the Inspection over such Kind of Work, *Narses* declared he would begin such a Web, that should furnish the Empress with Work for all her Life-time; and that he thereupon excited the *Longobards*, to exchange their miserable Territories of *Pannonia*, for wealthy *Italy*; and to encourage them the more to it, sent them all Sorts of *Italian* Fruits. The Words of *Paulus* are, *Lib. II. cap. 5. Deleta, ut dictum est, vel superata Narses omni Gothorum gente, Hunnis quoque, de quibus diximus, pari modo devictis, dum multum auri, sive argenti, seu ceterarum specierum divitias adquisisset, magnam a Romanis, pro quibus multa contra eorum hostes laboraverat, invidiam pertulit, qui contra eum Justino Augusto, & ejus conjugii Sophiæ; in hæc verba suggererunt, dicentes: Quia expedierat Romanis, Gothis potius servire, quam Græcis, ubi Narses imperat eunuchus, & nos servitio premit, & hæc noster piissimus princeps ignorat: Aut libera nos de manu ejus, aut certe & urbem Romam, & nosmet ipsos gentibus trademus. Cumque hæc Narses audisset, hæc breviter retulit verba: Si male feci cum Romanis, male inveniam. Tunc Augustus intantum adversus Narsetem commotus est, ut statim in Italiam Longinum mitteret præfectum, qui Narsedis locum obtineret. Narses vero his cognitibus valde pertimuit; & in tantum maxime ab eadem Sophia Augusta territus est, ut regredi ultra Constantinopolim non auderet. Cui illa inter cetera, quia eunuchus erat, hæc fertur mandasse, ut eum in gynæceo lanarum faceret pensa dividere. Ad quæ verba Narses dicitur hæc responsa dedisse: Talem se eidem telam orditurum, qualem ipsa, dum viveret, depo-*
nere

nere non posset. Itaque odio metuque exagitatus, in Neapolitanam civitatem secedens, legatos mox ad Longobardorum gentem dirigit, mandans, ut paupertina Pannonia rura desererent, & ad Italiam, cunctis refertam divitiis, possidendam venirent. Simulque multimoda pomorum genera, aliarumque rerum species, quarum Italia ferax est, mittit, quatenus eorum ad veniendum animos posset illicere.

2. *FREDEGARIUS* relates it almost in the same Manner, *Epit.* 65. *Narsis* Patritius minis *Justini* imperatoris, ejusque *Augustæ*, *Sophiæ*, perterritus, eo quod *Augusta* ei adparatum ex auro factum muliebre, eo quod eunuchus erat, cum quo filaret, direxit, & pensilarios regeret non populos. At ille respondet: *Filium* filabo, de quo *Justinus* Imperator, nec *Augusta* ad caput venire non possunt. Tunc Longobardos a Pannoniis invitans, cum *Alboëno* rege Italiam introduxit. So likewise *ANASTASIUS* in *Johanne* III: Tunc Romani, invidia ducti, suggestionem fecerunt *Justiniano* & *Sophiæ*, quia expedierat Romanis Gothis servire, quam Græcis, ubi *Narses* eunuchus imperat, & servitio nos subjicit: Aut libera nos de manu ejus, & civitatem Romanam, aut certe nos gentibus deserviemus. Quo audito, *Narses* dicit: si male feci Romanis, male inveniam. Tunc egressus *Narses* de Roma venit Campaniam, & scripsit genti Longobardorum, ut venirent & possiderent Italiam. These three Testimonies agree so exactly, even in the very Words, that they may, as it were, be looked upon as one and the same.

3. *F. PAGIUS*, ad *A.* 567. n. 7. quotes a Passage, from a Manuscript Chronicle, whose Author, *Mellitus*, lived about the Year 614. *Narsis* Patricius, postquam sub *Justiniano* Augusto, *Tutilano* Gothorum Regem in Italia superavit, *Sophiæ* Augustæ, *Justini* conjugis, minis perterritus, Longobardos a Pannoniis invitavit, eosque in Italiam perducit. *Isidorus* likewise mentions the same Circumstances, as does likewise the co-eval Author of an ancient Chronicle, published by *Em. a Scheelstraten*, out of the *Vatican* Library; and these are followed by *Sigebertus*, *Hermannus Contractus*, and other more modern Writers.

4. ON the other Hand, *Baronius*, ad *An.* 568. n. 10, and *Valesius*, *T.* II. p. 37. have called these Relations in Question; and the very Circumstances themselves render them suspicious. Among others, *Narses* had no Occasion to send the Fruits of the Land, to entice them to come to Italy; since they were before well enough acquainted with that Country. (*XIII.* 15, 17.) The Testimony of *Anastasius*, that he died in Peace,

at

at *Rome*, and that Pope *John* always preserved a high Esteem for him, do not so well agree with the pretended open Intelligence with the *Longobards*. Probably the whole Story has no other Grounds but an uncertain Report. The Populace, at all unexpected Revolutions, are very apt to dream of Poison and Treachery ; and might be the more ready to lay such Things to the Charge of *Narses*, as his Discontent was publickly known, and the *Longobards* invaded *Italy* at the same Time.



XXI. ANNOTATION.

*The Remainder of the OSTRO-GOTHS.**Ad XIII. 25.*

1. **A**S, among the Kingdoms, which the *Germans* established in the *Roman* Provinces, that of the *Ostro-Goths* made the greatest Figure, the Overthrow of it is the more memorable. How numerous this Nation was, we may conjecture, from the Assignment that was made them of the third Part of the cultivated Lands in *Italy*. (XI. 42.) War being their Occupation, we may easily conceive, that the unhappy Circumstances thereof were of themselves sufficient to exhaust the Nation, especially as their Armies suffered so greatly, many of their Chiefs submitted voluntarily to the Emperor, and many were carried away Captive with *Vitiges*. (XII. 22.) The Number of the *Goths*, who afterwards resumed their Courage, under *Ildebad*, was very small. (XII. 23.) The Overthrows they suffered in following Times; especially after *Tejas* was kill'd, put an End to their Kingdom: (XIII. 20.) And as for those who, from Time to Time, submitted to the Emperors, they remained peaceably under their Subjection; and perhaps, likewise, many single Persons afterwards joined the *Longobards*; so that nothing remained that could make the Appearance of a Nation.

2. BUT as *Procopius* makes mention, that after the Overthrow of *Tejas*, his Troops capitulated for a Retreat out of *Italy*, (XIII. 20. not. 3.) it naturally excites our Curiosity to enquire, whether any Footsteps are to be traced out of these *Goths*. It is believed, in *Swisserland*, that the Inhabitants of the Canton of *Uri* are descended from them. *Stumpf* appeals for this to the ancient Tradition of the Land-holders*: Tho' Tradition as often propagates Falschhood as Truth.

* Beschreib. der Eydgenossen, &c. fol. 450. add. DELICES DE LA SUISSE, p. 316.

3. *NICHOLAS PETREIUS*, in his *Origines Cimbrorum & Gothorum*, p. 100. sq. has the Assurance to pretend to persuade the World, that these *Goths* returned to the Island of *Gothland*. His Words are: *Confecto igitur bello Gothico Principes, concilio convocato, quid porro agendum sit, deliberant. Pronuntiatis itaque libere sententiis, statuunt, non indecorum fore, si sub Romana militia, quibus ita fert animus, stipendia facerent; reliquis autem, quo patrius servetur honos libertasque, tentare consulant, si qua ratione, quave via in Gothlandiam & primævas sedes pervenire queant. Dimisso concilio in duas partes Gothorum exercitus divisus est, quarum altera Romanæ militiæ adscripta in Italia remansit, altera occasionem captans, qua sese tuto itineri mandare poterat, non destitit, donec GOTHLANDIAM, solumque, ex quo natales traxit, denuo ingressa est.* He gives more particular Circumstances, p. 103. *Porro reliquiæ Gothorum circa annum Christi quingentesimum quinquagesimum septimum in Gothlandiam redeuntes a gentilibus suis perquam amice suscepti sunt, cum quod pestis, quæ paulo ante tempore Justiniani Imperatoris grassata est, miserabili strage Gothlandiam affecisset, tum quia a vicinis & præsertim orientalibus populis, Livoniam, Curlandiam & Estiam incolentibus piratica infestabantur. Provinciam, quæ illis a Gothlandis concessa est, ROMAM appellavere, ut nomen Romanum saltem apud illos maneret, qui caput orbis totius afflixerant. Hoc in loco apud Gothos postea exstructum est monasterium ordinis Benedictini, cujus templum totum marmoreum erat.* But this Treatise of *Petreius* is full of strange Conceits; which neither have any Foundation in the ancient Historians, nor agree with the Circumstance of real History.



XXII. ANNOTATION.

Of the Kingdom of the GEPIDÆ.

I.

The Original, and most Ancient History of the GEPIDÆ.

1. **T**HE *Gepidæ* were of the same Extraction, and had the same Language and Manners, as the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Burgundians*, (V. 33. X. 6.) and the Traces we find of them are in the Histories of these Nations.

2. So we find, that their King *Fastida* was defeated by *Ostro-Gotha*, King of the *Goths*. (V. 33, 5.) And, at another Time, they are reckon'd among the *Gothick* Nations, who went from the *Niester*, into the *Black Sea*. (V. 44.)

3. *PROBUS* conquered, at one and the same Time, the *Greutungi*, *Vandali*, and *Gepidæ*. (V. 55.)

4. *MAMERTINUS*, in his Panegyrick on the Emperor *Maximinian*, when he speaks of the Domestick Wars, which, at that Time, put the Northern Parts of *Germany* in Motion, mentions likewise the *Vandals* and *Gepidæ*, as being attacked by the *Thuringians* and *Taisali*. (VI. 6.)

5. *FEROM* reckons them among those Nations who invaded *Gaul*, An. 407. (VII. 16. n. 1.)

6. **T**HEY underwent the same Fate as the *Ostro-Goths*, and became subject to the *Huns*. Their King, *Ardaric*, is particularly famous in *Attila's*

Attila's History, and was present at the Battle in *Campis Catalaunicis*. (*Ibid.* 28.)

II.

Ardaric, after Attila's Death, establishes a new Kingdom in Dacia.

1. THE same *Ardaric*, after the Power of *Attila* fell with him, gave the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ* a new Splendor. He threw off the Yoke the *Hunns* had laid upon his Nation, beat the Sons of *Attila* out of the Field, and made himself Master of *Ancient Dacia*. He strengthened himself in the Possession of it by an Alliance with the Emperor *Mar-cian*. (*Ibid.*) The *Gepidæ* received a certain annual Subsidy from the Emperors, in Consideration of their serving the *Roman Empire*, or, at least, to prevent their infesting the adjacent Territories.

2. AT the same Time, likewise, many other Nations had shook off the Yoke of the *Hunns*, and sought new Habitations. The *Rugi* settled in the Neighbourhood of the *Gepidæ*, on the River *Morava*. (X. 7.) Others forced their Way into *Pannonia*, and took the Field against one another, on which Occasion the *Gepidæ* assisted the *Ostro-Goths* against the *Scirri* and *Suevi*. (X. 10.)

3. THEY afterwards extended themselves beyond the *Danube*; especially in those Parts where the two Cities of *Sirmium* and *Singedunum* were situated. A Party of *Heruli* likewise joined them, after this Nation was vanquished by the *Longobards*. (XIII. 1. sq.)

4. WHEN *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, led his Nation out of *Thrace* into *Italy*, **Traffila*, King of the *Gepidæ*, endeavoured to oppose* An. 489: his March, but was kill'd, in a bloody Battle, not far from the *Paludes Volc.* (or *Platten-See*) a Lake, several German Miles in Length, between the Cities of *Canisia* and *Stuhl-Weissenburg*, (or *Alba Julia*) in *Lower Hungary*. (XI. 13. add. XIII. 4.)

5. AS long as the Kingdom of the *Goths*, in *Italy*, subsisted, their Kings knew how to keep the *Gepidæ* in Awe. And here we may apply what *Cassiodorus* says in Praise of *Amalaswintha*, VAR. XI. 1. *In ipsis quoque primordiis, (quando semper novitas incerta tentatur) contra Orientis Principis votum, Romanum fecit esse Danubium. Notum est, quæ pertu-*
lerint

lerint invasores; quæ ideo prætermittenda dijudico, ne genius socialis Principis verecundiam sustineat perditoris. Quid enim de nostris partibus senserit, hinc datur intelligi, quando pacem contulit læsus, quam aliis concedere noluit exoratus. Additur, quod tantis nos legationibus tam raro requisitus ornavit; & singularis illa potentia, ut Italicos Dominos erigeret, reverentiam Eoi culminis inclinavit. See a farther Proof, XIII. 4. n. 3.

III.

Their Differences with the Longobards, in the Reign of Justinian; as likewise with the Hunns, Sclaveni, &c.

1. AFTER *Justinian* made War with the *Ostro-Goths*, and took from them what they possessed in *Pannonia*; but could not well People the habitable Places, the *Gepidæ* extended their Dominions more and more. (XIII. 4.)

2. THE Emperor therefore with-held the usual Subsidies, and suffer'd the *Longobards* to come into *Pannonia*, who waged a bloody War with the *Gepidæ*, especially about the City of *Sirmium*. (XIII. 4.) About this Time *Elemundus* ruled over the *Gepidæ*, and after him *Thorismus*. (Ib.)

3. THE latter suffered, in the Year 551, or the Beginning of the following Year, a signal Overthrow, from *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*, (XIII. 8.) to whom *Justinian* sent some Succours, under the Conduct of *Amalafrid*, Prince of the *Thuringians*.

4. THESE Wars occasioned great Devastations in the Territories of *Illyricum*, and, at the same Time, gave an Opportunity to the *Sclavi* and *Hunns*, but more particularly to the *Abari*, to make Excursions at Pleasure. Hence we find these Nations so often mentioned, in the History of the *Gepidæ*, about this Time. (XIII. 7, 8.)

IV.

When the Kingdom of the Gepidæ was overthrown?

Ad XIII. 8. n. 2. and XIV. 3.

1. *PAGIUS* is of Opinion, that the signal Overthrow, I mentioned

ed above, brought on, at the same Time, the Ruin of the whole Nation, and therefore reckons it in the Year 552. There is, however, no Doubt, but that it did not happen till the Reign of *Justin*, the Successor of *Justinian*.

2. FOR, at the Beginning of his Reign, the *Gepidæ* were still reckoned among those Nations, whose Arms the *Roman Empire* had Reason to be apprehensive of*. Soon afterwards the *Longobards* and the *Abari* concluded the Alliance, that proved so fatal to the *Gepidæ*, of which I shall here subjoin a Proof.

3. *MENANDER* gives a circumstantial Account, how *Cunemund*, King of the *Gepidæ*, applied to *Justin* for Succours, when *Alboin*, King of the *Longobards*, entered into a League with the *Abari* against him, p. 110. B. *Alboinus, Longobardorum Rex, (nec enim inimicitias, quas cum Cunemundo, Gepidarum rege exercebat, deponebat, sed quacunque ratione Gepidarum opes sibi evertendas ducebat) legatos ad Bajanam misit, quibus eum ad armorum societatem adhortabatur. Legati cum advenissent, precibus cum Bajano, Abarorum duce, agebant, ne se contemneret, qui nefanda omnia a Gepidis passi erant, quin etiam & a Romanis, Abarorum genti quam infestissimis, qui Gepidas bello juvassent. Neque tam ardenti studio in Gepidas bello ferri, nisi ut Justinum labefacerent, regem omnium Abaris inimicissimum. Is foedera non ita dudum, cum Justiniano, ejus patruo, transacta pro nihilo habens, Abaros consuetis muneribus privaverat. Adhuc, si cum Longobardis se conjungerent, fore, ut invicti essent, & Gepidis exterminatis, eorum opibus & regione communiter potirentur. Tum in posterum tota Scythia subacta, beatam vitam traducerent. Inde facile illis fore Thraciam occupare, & ex vicinis locis moventes, minimo negotio Romanorum regiones armis percurrere, & Byzantium usque ferri. Dixerunt quoque Longobardorum legati, Abaris expedire Romanos pugna prævenire. Si enim illis res ad voluntatem fluxerint, quoque Abari terrarum constiterint, illos persecuturos, & quacunque ratione deleturos. Bajanus legatos quidem Longobardorum excepit, sed visus est eos parvi facere, ut ea ratione, conditionibus, quæ suis rationibus utiles essent, ad armorum societatem secum contrahendam pelliceret. Et modo se non posse, modo posse*

* *CORIPPUS* de laud. *Justini minor*. Lib. I. where he introduces *Justin* haranguing at the Obsequies of *Justinian*.

En Arabes, Francique truces, Gypidesque, Getaque,
Totque aliæ Gentes, commotis undique signis,
Bella movent. Qua vi tantos superabimus hostes,
Cum virtus Romana jacet !

jactabar,

jaçtabat, sed nolle. Cumque se in omnes partes dicendo versaret, & precantes omni fraudis genere concussisset, magna cum difficultate statuit, eorum petitioni assentiri, sed non alia conditione, quam si decimam partem quadrupedum, quæ tunc temporis apud Longobardos essent, confestim acciperet, si superiores evaderent, dimidium manubiorum, & tota Gepidarum regio ejus juri cederet. Atque hæc cum ita conventa essent, bellum inferre Gepidis deinceps instituerunt. Quæ ubi Cunimundus intellexit, dicitur, timore perculsus, legatos quoque misisse ad Justinum Imperatorem, & eum esse obtestatum, ut, non minus quam antea, in partem periculi veniret. Tum rursus, ut illi Sirmium, & omnem regionem, quæ inter Dravum fluvium est, concederet. Neque pudore afficiebatur, quod contrarium faceret his, quæ jurasset, neque jurejurando stare, & pareret. Ex quo cum Imperator perspiceret, & conjiceret ex his, quæ evenerant, nihil inesse Cunimundo fidei minime illi quidem denegandum auxilium, sed dilatione & procrastinatione, petitionem ejus ducendam existimavit. Respondit enim, per varias provincias dispersos esse Romanorum exercitus. Cum celeritate & studio illos accersiturum, & quam citissime suppetias missurum.

Alboin vanquishes Cunemund. Downfall of the Kingdom of the Gepidæ.

4. THE Battle itself, in which Alboin vanquished Cunemund, is described by Paulus, Lib. I. c. 27. Obiit interea Tarisendus, Rex Gepidorum, cui successit Cunimundus in regno. Qui vindicare veteres Gepidarum injurias cupiens, rupto cum Longobardis foedere, bellum potius, quam pacem elegit. Alboin vero cum Abaribus, qui primum Huni, postea a Regis proprio nomine Abares appellati sunt, foedus perpetuum iniit, dehinc ad præparatum a Gepidis bellum profectus est. Qui cum adversus eum e diverso properarent, Abares ut cum Alboin statuerant, eorum patriam invaserunt. Tristis ad Cunimundum nuncius veniens, invasisse Abares ejus terminos edicit. Qui prostratus animo, & utrinque in angustiis positus, hortatur tamen suos primum cum Longobardis configere: Quos si superare valerent, demum Hunnorum exercitum e patria pellerent. Committitur ergo prælium, pugnatumque est totis viribus. Longobardi victores effecti sunt, tanta in Gepidos ira sævientes, ut eos ad internecionem usque delerent, atque ex copiosa multitudo, vix nuncius superesset. In eo prælio Alboin Cunimundum occidit, caputque illius sublatum, ad bibendum ex eo poculum fecit, quod genus poculi apud eos scala dicitur, lingua vero latina patera vocitatur. Cujus filiam, nomine Rosmundam, cum magna simul multitudo diversi sexus & ætatis, duxit captivam. Quam, quia Clotsuinda obierat, in suam, ut post patuit, perniciem, duxit uxorem.

5. ON Account of the Succours, which *Abari* lent *Alboin*, their *Can* (in *Menander*, p. 130. D.) boasts, that his Nation rooted out the *Gepidæ*: For when he demanded the City of *Sirmium* of the *Romans*, he made Use of the following Argument. *Se jure id facere, quia Gepidarum prius hæc insula fuit, quorum res & urbes justius Abares sibi vindicare possunt, qui eos devicerunt, quam Romani.* And, p. 154. C. *Dicebat enim & omnes Gepidas in suum jus, dominiumque venisse, quia eos vicerat.*

Dispersion of the Gepidæ.

6. IN the Answer, which Emperor *Justin* then gave the *Abari*, we likewise find some Circumstances of the *Gepidæ*; from whence we may conclude, that, after the Overthrow, Part of them submitted to the Emperor, and Part remain'd with the *Abari*, p. 155. C. *Qui enim imperatoriam majestatem ante nos administravit, Gepidas, huc illuc dispersos, in unum congregavit, & illis regionem circa Sirmium, quam incolerent, distribuit. Deinde exorto inter ipsos & Longobardos bello, periculo suorum, ut par erat, participavit, & Romanorum manu & auxilio Gepidæ, qui sine ope nostra servi fuissent effecti, victoriam reportarunt. Deinde mala mente, & malo animo benefactoribus suis graves & molesti fuerunt, & pro beneficiis in eos collatis, insidias, in quo nulla venia digni sunt, nobis struxerunt, Romanis tamen minime visum est, afflictis eorum rebus insultare. Nec enim illis moris est, dignas pœnas peccatis exposcere, sed magis contemnere. Postea accidit, ut ab aliis funditus everterentur. Cum igitur non aliter se res habeant, si nos isto nomine dignos reprehensione censetis, cum eos, qui nostri optimo jure fuerunt, possideatis, a nobis eadem in vos retorquentur. Vos enim *Oudisbadon* *, nos *Gepidas*, & eos, qui ex his reliqui sunt, a vobis repetimus.* That some of the *Gepidæ* likewise march'd with the *Longobards* into *Italy*, we shall see below, by the Testimony of *Agnellus*.

7. IN this Manner the Nation of the *Gepidæ* was dispers'd, and this gives us a fresh Instance, how easy a People, whose State is grounded merely on War, may be overthrown. That Constitution is more perfect and durable, where Religion, Polity, and Commerce induce every individual Person to take a Part in the Welfare of his Country.

* Perhaps this is to be understood of *Asbadus* and his *Gepidæ*, who are mentioned, XIII. 15. not. 3.

XXIII. ANNOTATION.

*Of the LONGOBARDS; of their first Kings; and
the Foundation of their Kingdom in Italy.*

I.

Original of the Longobards.

1. **I** HAVE admitted above, (XI. 49.) that the *Longobards*, who founded a new Kingdom in *Italy*, in the sixth Century, were a Colony of those, which are mentioned by *Tacitus*, *Strabo*, and *Ptolemy*, among the *Swabian* Nations. The Account we find of their Manners, and the Language they brought with them into *Italy*, confirm their being of *German* Extraction.

2. WE might expect a better Account than we have from *Paulus Diaconus*, who was himself of that Nation. He was first Deacon of the Church at *Aquileja*, or rather *Friuli*, and Chancellor of their last King, *Desiderius*; but was taken Prisoner by *Charlemaign*, at the same Time with his Master, and resided some Time at his Court, where he wrote his *Historia Episcoporum Metensium*. He afterwards went into a Monastery at *Casino*, in which he died, about the Year 799. In this Retirement, he compil'd his Treatise *de Gestis Longobardorum*, which we justly allow valid, in those Transactions which approach nearer to his Time.

3. BUT with Regard to the Original of his Country-men, and what happen'd to them before they came into *Italy*, *Paulus* had but poor Intelligence; notwithstanding it is believed, that he had the Use of the *Historia Longobardorum*, written by *Secundus*, who liv'd at *Trent*, soon after the
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the Invasion of the *Longobards* *. In this, however, he deserves our Approbation, that he supposes them to have come out of *Germania Magna* †, the common Country of so many other Nations, who overwhelmed the *Roman Empire*. *Ab hac ergo populosa Germania, sæpe innumerabiles captivorum turmæ deductæ meridianis populis pretio distrabuntur; multæ quoque ex ea, pro eo, quod tantos mortalium germinat, quantos alere vix sufficit, sæpe gentes egressæ sunt, quæ nihilominus & partes Asiæ, sed maxime sibi contiguam Europam, afflixaerunt. Testantur hic ubique urbes erutæ, per totum Illyricum Galliamque. Sed maxime misera Italia, quæ pene omnium illarum gentium est experta sævitiam. Gothi siquidem, Vandalique, Rugi, Heruli, atque Turcilingi, nec non etiam aliæ feroces & barbaræ nationes e Germania prodierunt.*

4. IN the following Chapter, he, in particular, remarks, that they came out of *Scandinavia*. *Pari etiam modo, & Winilorum, hoc est, Longobardorum gens, quæ postea in Italia feliciter regnavit, a Germanorum populis originem ducens, licet & aliæ causæ egressionis eorum asseverentur, ab insula, quæ Scandinavia dicitur adventavit, cujus etiam insulæ Plinius Secundus, in libris, quos de natura rerum composuit, mentionem facit †.*

5. BUT he knows as little what to make of *Scandinavia* ||, as *Fredegarius* *, who mentions this same Extraction. In general, the first Chapters of his Work *de Gestis Longobardorum*, is so full of absurd Fables, that they hardly merit our making great Enquiry into them. I shall leave this to *Mythologists*; and lay the Foundation of our History on those certain *EPOCHS*, from which we can relate their Migrations with Truth.

* MURATORIO says, in his Preface to the new Edition: *Præ oculis etiam habuit Historiam Longobardicam, a Secundo Tridentino eodem seculo scriptam, quo in Italiam Longobardi eruperunt. Paulus himself mentions this Secundus, Lib. III. c. 28, and Lib. IV. c. 28.*

† In ed. LINDENBROG. *Originem ducens e Scandinavia Baltei, seu Baltici maris insula, novarum sedium quærendarum gratia, ob multitudinem profecta est, licet aliæ causæ egressionis ejus asseverentur.*

|| We need but have Recourse to the Description he gives of it: *Hæc ergo insula, sicut retulerunt nobis, qui eam lustraverunt, non tam in mari est posita, quam marinis fluctibus, propter planitiem marginum, terras ambientium circumfusa.*

* FREDEGARIUS, who made Use of the same Intelligences, that Paulus Diaconus had, says, cap. 65. *Longobardorum gens, priusquam hoc nomen adsumeret, exientes de SCHATANAVIA, QUÆ EST INTER DANUBIUM ET MARE OCEANUM, cum uxoribus & liberis, mare transmeant.*

ANNOTAT.

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II.

They approach the Danube. Their King Tato defeats the Heruli.

1. WE have no Certainty in the History of *Paulus Diaconus*, till we come to the 19th Chapter; but from thence other ancient Historians, and particularly *Procopius*, come in to the Assistance of it. From this Time we may give an Account that may be depended on, of the Migrations of the *Longobards*; and, at the same Time, a Series of their Kings †. After *Odoacer*, King of *Italy*, had subdued the *Rugi*, who dwelt on the *Danube*, opposite to *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, the *Longobards* took Possession of their Country, and so became Neighbours to those two Provinces: *Tunc Longobardi de suis regionibus egressi, venerunt in Rugeland, quæ latino eloquio Rugorum patria dicitur, atque in ea, quia erat solo fertilis, aliquantis commorati sunt annis.*

2. HERE they engaged in a War with the *Heruli*. Their King, *Tato*, beat *Rudolphus*, King of the *Heruli*, out of the Field, and carried off his Standard and Helm, as the most noble Part of the Booty*. *Paulus* writes: cap. 20. *Tato vero Rodulfi vexillum, quod BANDUM appellant, ejusque galeam, quam in bello gestare consueverat, abstulit: atque jam ex illo tempore ITA OMNIS HERULORUM VIRTUS CONCIDIT, UT ULTRA SUPER SE REGEM NON HABERENT.* Tho' the total Dispersion of the *Heruli*, which is here boasted of, must not be understood so punctually to the Letter. See XIII. 1, 2.

3. THIS Victory gave fresh Courage to the *Longobards*, as well as a greater Renown to their Arms. *Paulus* goes on: *Jam hinc Longobardi ditiores effecti, aucto de diversis gentibus, quas superaverant, exercitu, ultro cæperunt bella expetere.*

† We find a Series of their Kings, in the Prooemium Legum Longobardorum, which however likewise differs from *Paulus Diaconus*. *Horatius Blancys*, in his new Edition of the History of *Paulus Diaconus*, as also *Christ*, in his *Origines Longobardorum*, have discussed this Matter with great Learning. I shall here leave the most ancient Chiefs of the *Longobards* to the Obscurity of their Times. *Tato*, and his Successors, are the first who have preserved their Memory, by the Concurrence of other ancient Historians, especially *Procopius*; and, at the same Time, some of the most remarkable Occurrences of the Nation, on which we can ground the Chronology.

* *PROCOPIUS* and *Paulus Diaconus* both relate this Battle, but with different Circumstances. According to the former, (XI. 25. n. 1.) we must place it about the 4th Year of the Reign of Emperor *Anastasius*:
Waccho,

III.

Waccho, or Vaces, King of the Longobards. Is succeeded by his Son, Waltharis.

1. *WACCHO*, or as *Procopius* calls him, *Vaces*, the Successor of *Tato*, is somewhat better known. *Paulus Diaconus* says of him, *Lib. I. cap. 21. At vero TATO post hæc de belli triumpho non diu lætatus est. Irruit namque super eum Waccho, filius germani sui, Zuchilonis, & eum ab hac luce privavit. Confluxit quoque adversus Wacchonem Hildechis, filius Tatonis, sed, superante Wacchone devictus, ad Gepidas confugit, ibique profugus ad vitæ finem usque permansit. Quam ob causam Gepidi cum Longobardis ex tunc inimicitias contraxere.* *Hildechis* is the Prince whom *Procopius* sometimes calls *Ildigisal*, and sometimes *Ildisgus*, whose Adventures we have given an Account of XIII. 5, and 8 **.

2. *VACES*, according to *Procopius*, was yet living about the Year 539, and in Alliance with the Emperor *Justinian*. (XII. 17.) In this same Historian, *Audoin* is made King, about the Year 547, which may likewise be reconciled to the Computation given by *Paulus Diaconus*.

3. This latter Author gives us, *loc. cit.* an Account of his Wives and Children: *Habuit autem Waccho uxores tres, hoc est, primam Ranicundam, filiam Regis Turingorum. Deinde duxit Austrigofam, filiam Regis Gepidorum, de qua habuit filias duas. Nomen uni Wisegarda, quam tradidit in matrimonium Theodeberto, Regi Francorum. Secunda autem dicta est Walderada, quæ sociata est Cuswald†, alio Regi Francorum, quam ipse odio*

** *PAULUS* calls him filius Tatonis, *PROCOPIUS* nepos. *Lib. III. cap. 35.* Quo tempore Longobardis Vaces imperabat, nepotem (*fratres filium*) habebat, nomine Risiulfum, quem lex ad regnum vocabat, postquam ex vita Vaces migrasset. Vaces autem id provide curans, ut filio suo principatum relinqueret, Risiulfum criminatus, absque causa, exilio multavit. Statim ille ex patria ad Varnos cum paucis profugit, relictis ibi duobus filiis. Hos barbaros pecunia Vaces ad Risiulfi cædem perpellit. Filiorum Risiulfi alter morbo extinguitur: alter, cui nomen Ildisgus, ad Sclavenos evadit. Haud multo post morbo Vaces obiit, ac Longobardorum principatus Valdalo obvenit, Vaci filio: cui admodum puero tutor adhibitus Auduinus regnum administrabat. Hinc multa auctus potentia, brevi ipse regnum obtinuit, cum puerum repente morbus oppressisset.

† *I have already observed, that, in this Place, Theodebald is to be understood. (XIII. 33.)* *Gregorius Turonensis* mentions this Princess: but not her Father.

habens uni ex suis, qui dicebatur Garipald ††, in conjugium tradidit. Tertiam vero Waccho uxorem habuit, Herulorum Regis filiam, nomine Salin-gam. Ex ipsa natus est filius, quem Waltari appellavit, quique Wacchone, mortuo, super Longobardos jam octavus regnavit. Hi omnes Lithingi fuerunt, sic enim apud eos quædam nobilis prosapia vocabatur.*

4. THE Son of *Waltharis* succeeded him on the Throne, under the Guardianship of *Audoin*. *Paulus Diaconus* says he was seven Years of Age; and with him concludes the first Race of the Kings of the *Longobards*, cap. 22. *Waltari ergo, cum per septem annos regnum tenuisset, ab hac luce subtractus est. Post quem nonus Audoin regnum adeptus est, qui non multo post tempore Longobardos in Pannoniam adduxit.*

IV.

Audoin King of the Longobards.

Justinian gives up one Part of Pannonia to him.

1. *AUDOIN* is in particular memorable, for his having led the *Longobards* into *Pannonia*. *F. Pagius*, who places this Occurrence at the Beginning of *Justinian's* Reign, and expressly in the Year 527, is the less to be credited, as, according to the Words of *Procopius*, *Audoin* was not then King. *Valesius*, who places this Migration, in the Year 548, (XIII. 5.) comes nearer to the Point.

† Lib. 3.
c. 38.

2. *PROCOPIUS* seems to be our surest Guide†, and he says expressly, that the Emperor allowed the *Longobards* to come into *Pannonia*, after he had taken it from the *Ostro-Goths*, that they might protect that Country against the *Gepida*, *Heruli*, and other foreign Nations. *Gepades, qui olim urbem Sirmium, Daciamque omnem obtinuerant, ut primum Justinianus Augustus ditioni Gothicae regionem illam eripuit, agentes ibi Romanos abduxerunt in servitutem, & continenter progressi, vim vastitatemque Imperio Romano attulerunt. Quare Imperator illis in posterum stipendia negavit, quæ jam inde olim a Romanis accipere consueverant. Cum autem urbem Noricum** & Pannonia munitiones, aliaque loca, ac*

†† *Duci Bojoariorum. (Ibid.)*

* *al. Adalingi, Adelingi.*

** *The Greek Text, in Procopius, seems here to be corrupt. We find, in these Times, no City of this Name. Grotius, in his Translation, uses the Words Urbs Norici. Perhaps Procopius meant a whole District of Noricum Ripense.*

pecuniam

pecuniam insuper maximam Justinianus Augustus Longobardis donasset, eam illi ob causam, patriis sedibus relictis, in adversa Istri fluminis ripa confederant, haud procul a Gepædibus. At ipsi quoque Dalmatiam & Illyricum ad limitem usque Epidamni pervagando, prædas abigebant, & captivos: quorum nonnullis fuga elapsis, ac reversis domum, Romanum hi barbari imperium obibant, tanquam Romanis conjuncti fœdere; ibique, si quos eorum, qui evaserant, agnoscerent, perinde ac sua mancipia fugitiva recipiebant, atque abstractos e parentum sinu domum reducebant, nemine repugnante.

3. HENCE we may account for *Audoin's* being so firmly attached to the Emperor *Justinian*. It was he who gave him the *Thuringian* Princess, *Rodelinda*, a Daughter of King *Hermanfrid*, in Marriage. On the other Hand, the *Longobards* were almost continually at War with the *Gepidæ*. The Victory obtained by *Audoin*, in the Year 552, over *Thorisinus*, King of the *Gepidæ*, is particularly memorable. (XIII. 8.) He likewise sent some Auxiliaries to *Narses*, when he was making Preparations to attack the *Ostro-Goths*. (XIII. 15.) But *Narses* soon sent them back out of *Italy*, because of their Want of Discipline. (*Ibid.* 18.)

V.

Alboin overthrows the Kingdom of the Gepidæ, and thereupon marches into Italy.

1. *AUDOIN's* Son and Successor, *Alboin*, makes a new Epoch in the History of this Nation. He vanquished the *Gepidæ*, (XIV. 3.) at the Beginning of *Justin's* Reign, with the Assistance of the *Abari*. He thereupon marched into *Italy*, Ann. 568, (*Ibid.* 6.) and there laid the Foundation of the Kingdom of the *Longobards*.

Of his Murder.

2. *GREGORIUS*, *Marius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and the *Autor Pontificalis Ravennatis*, agree, that he was murdered by the Procuration of his Queen *Rosemund*. They relate it, however, with different Circumstances; I shall therefore quote their several Accounts, one after the other. The Words of *Marius* are: *Albuenus, Rex Longobardorum, a suis, id est, Helmigis, cum reliquis, consentiente uxore sua, Verona interfectus est, & supra scriptus Helmigis cum antedicta uxore ipsius, quam sibi in matrimonium sociaverat, & omni thesauro, tam quod de Pannonia exhibuerat, quam*
quod

quod de Italia congregaverat, cum parte exercitus, Ravennæ se reipublicæ tradidit. GREGORIUS, Lib. IV. c. 35. says: *Mortua autem Chlotosinda, uxore Alboini, alium duxit conjugem: cujus patrem ante paucum tempus interfecerat. Qua de causa mulier in odio virum habens, locum operiebatur, in quo posset injurius patris ulcisci. Unde factum est, ut, unum ex famulis concupiscens, virum veneno necaret.*

3. THE Relation of *Paulus Diaconus*, II. 28, has almost the Appearance of a Romance. *Causa autem interfectionis ejus hæc fuit. Cum in convivio, ultra quam oportuerat, apud Veronam latus resideret, cum poculo, quod de capite Cunimundi Regis, sui soceri, fecerat, Reginae ad bibendum vinum dari præcepit, atque eam, ut cum patre suo letanter biberet, invitavit. Hoc ne cui videatur impossibile, veritatem in Christo loquor, ego hoc poculum vidi in die quodam festo, Ratchis principem, ut illud convivis suis ostentaret, manu tenentem. Igitur Rosemunda, ubi rem animadvertit, altum concipiens in corde dolorem, quem compescere non valens, mox in mariti necem, patris funus vindicatura, exarsit. Consiliumque mox cum Helmichis, qui Regis SCHILPOR, hoc est, collactaneus erat, ut Regem interficeret, inuit. He afterwards relates how Rosemund fled to Ravenna, and was there murder'd; and that the Exarch sent the Princess Albsuinda to Constantinople; cap. 29. Helmichis, extincto Alboin, regnum ejus invadere conatus est; sed minime potuit, quia Longobardi, nimium de morte illius dolentes, eum moliebantur extinguere. Statimque Rosemunda Longino Præfecto Ravennæ mandavit, ut citius navem dirigeret, quæ eos suscipere posset. Longinus tali nuncio latus effectus, festinanter navem direxit, in quam Helmichis cum Rosemunda, jam sua conjuge, noctu fugientes ingressi sunt, auferentesque secum Albsuindam, Regis filiam, & omnem Longobardorum thesaurum, velocius Ravennam pervenerunt, &c.*

4. AGNELUS relates the Murder something different from *Paulus*, and then goes on: *Voluerunt Longobardi hunc interimere homicidam, & Reginam cum eo, sed notum consilium, venit Veronam, donec furor populi conquiesceret. Sed jurgantes fortiter Longobardi contra eam, depopulato palatio, cum multitudine Gevedorum, & Langobardorum, mense Augusto Ravennam venit, & honorifice a Longino præfecto suscepta est, cum omni ope regia. The Queen's Fate is likewise related differently by Agnellus, who then concludes: Tunc Longinus Præfectus abstulit omnes Longobardorum thesauros, & cunctas opes regias, quas Rosemunda de Longobardorum regno attulerat, una cum Rosemunda & Alboini Regis filia ad Justinum Imperatorem Constantinopolim transmisit, & gavisus est Imperator, & auxit Præfecto plurima.* VI.

VI.

Kings of the Longobards, to Alboin.

CLAFFO, see n. II.
Sixth King of the Longobards,
according to Paulus Diaconus.

TATO
approaches the Danube:
defeats the King of the Heruli, n. II.

Ildigisal, or Hildechis
lays Claim to the Kingdom, in
Opposition to Audoin. See n. III.

Zucbilo.

WACCHO al. VACES, see n. III.
Conf. 1) Ranicunda, Daughter of a King
of the Thuringians.
2) Austrigasa, Daughter of a King
of the Gepidæ.
3) Salinga, a Daughter of a King of
the Heruli.

2.
Wisegardis,
Conf. Theodebert, King
of Austrasia.

2.
Waldrada.
betroth'd to Theodebald,
King of Austrasia:
married to Garibald,
Duke of Bavaria.

3.
WALTHARIUS,
King, under the Guardi-
anship of Audoin.

AUDOIN,
King of the Longobards, after the Death of Waltharius.
Justinian allows him one Part of
Pannonia. See n. IV.
Conf. Rodelinda, Daughter of Hermanfrid,
King of the Thuringians. See VI. Ann.

ALBOIN,
march'd into Italy, 563. murder'd, 574.
See n. V.
Conf. 1) Clodovint, Daughter of Clotarius I.
King of the Franks.
2) Rosemunda, Daughter of Cunimund,
the last King of the Gepidæ.

Albwinnda
is carried to Constantinople.

XXIV. ANNOTATION.

Of the Kingdom of the SUEVI, in Spain.

I.

HERMANARIC *founds a particular Kingdom in Spain.*

1. **T**HE *Suevi*, who founded a particular Kingdom in *Spain*, are the very same, who, at the Beginning of the fifth Century, invaded *Gaul*, at the same Time with the *Vandals*, *Alani*, and *Burgundians*. (VIII. 15.) *Jerom* mentions, in particular, the *Quadi*, who perhaps were the most renown'd among them; (VIII. 16. n. 1) and likewise, in all Probability, many of the other *Swabian* Nations, who had extended themselves, far and near in *Germania*, join'd them. It was a Custom among the ancient *German* Nations, when they had no Wars, themselves, for their young Men to follow the Standards of their Neighbours.

2. THE Divisions, of those Times, in the Empire, open'd a Passage, A. 409, for the *Vandals*, *Alani*, and *Swabians*, into *Spain*; where some Troops of the *Marcomanni*, who 'till then had been in the Service of *Honorius*, join'd them, and probably to the *Swabians* in particular, as being their ancient Country-men. (VIII. 30.) From this Year, the Beginning of the *Suevian* Dominion, in *Spain*, is dated.

3. THESE Nations came to an Agreement with the Emperor *Honorius*. The *Suevi*, and Part of the *Vandals*, had *Gallicia* assign'd them, for their Habitation; as the *Alani* had *Lusitania*, and the Territory of *Carthagena* *; and the *Vandali Silingi* the *Provincia Bœtica* (VIII. 33.)

* In the present District of *Valencia*, &c. *Franc. Diago*, in his *Annal. de Reyno de Valencia*, L. V. c. 1 and 2, observes.

4. BUT

4. BUT these Nations did not remain long in Unity. *Hermanaric*, King of the *Suevi*, fell at Variance with *Gundaric*, King of the *Vandals*, and, at Length, oblig'd him to abandon *Gallicia*, (VIII. 47.) and retire to *Bætica*. In the Year 438. *Hermanaric* himself, on Account of his ill State of Health, resign'd his Kingdom to his Son *Rechila*, (IX. 20.) and died three Years afterwards.

5. IT is probable, that the *Swabians* were at first contented with a certain Portion of Land †, and lived as *Foederati*, as other *German* Nations, who had establish'd themselves in the *Roman* Provinces, had done. The ancient Inhabitants retain'd, for their Portion, the Cities, and, at the same Time, their own Constitution. In the same Light, we are to consider the Conventions, which *Hermanaric* frequently made with the ancient Inhabitants of *Gallicia*. After the *Roman* Empire was no longer in a Condition to protect their Dominions, the Provincials were oblig'd to shift for themselves, 'till, at Length, these foreign Guests made themselves Masters of the whole Country.

6. WHETHER these *Swabians* were yet, in general, *Pagans*, as is said of their next King, *Rechila*, or if they had not, in Part, already embraced the *Christian* Religion, is difficult to determine: Tho' the latter, at least with Regard to the *Marcomanni**, is not improbable.

II.

R E C H I L A.

King 441, died 448.

HIS Son *Rechila* extended the Power of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*, after the *Alani* were near exterminated, (VIII. 41.) and the *Vandals* gone over to *Africa*. In the Year 438, he defeated the *Roman* General, *Andevotus*, who offered to withstand him, on the River *Xenil*. In the Year 439, he took *Merida*, in *Lusitania*, and in 441, *Hispalis*, the Capital of *Bætica*; whereupon that District, as well as that of *Carthagera*, were obliged to submit to his Dominion. *Valentinian*, III, made indeed an Attempt, to

† So *Orosius* writes, that they obtained their Habitations, *habita sorte & distributa possessione*. VIII. 33. n. 1.

* I have observed, in the first Volume, VII. 39. n. 1. that the *Marcomanni* were acquainted with Christianity, even in the Time of *Ambrosius*.

recover these Provinces, and sent *Vitus*, *Magister utriusque Militiæ*, in 446, into *Spain*. *Theodoric I*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, likewise furnish'd him some Troops: But *Rechila* overcame the *Romans* and *Goths*, in a successful Battle, and thereby gave his Arms a greater Lustre. (X. 11.) This Victory affected the Inhabitants of *Spain* the more sensibly, as *Rechila* was then a *Pagan*. He died at *Merida*, *An.* 448**.

III.

R E C H I A R I U S.

King A. 448, 'till 456.

HIS Son *Rechiarius* had already embraced the *Catholick* Religion, and married a Daughter of *Theodoric I*. (X. 11.) He continued the Hostilities with the *Romans*, and plundered *Ilerda*, and some other Cities, in *Hispania Tarraconensis*; but, in the Year 450, he made Peace with *Valentinian*, and left the *Romans* in the peaceable Possession of some Provinces, which before had been obliged to truckle to the *Swabian* Arms. The Death of the Emperor, which ensued soon after, occasioned so great Revolutions, that *Rechiarius* thereupon again fell into the Province of *Carthagena*†. On the other Hand, *Theodoric II*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, took the Part of *Avitus*, who had assumed the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*, and made the Campaign, in Person, against the *Suevi*, of which I have taken Notice in the History of the Kings of the *Wisi-Goths*. *Rechiarius* was defeated, *An.* 456, and taken Prisoner in *Port a Port*, just as he was about to escape into *Africa*. *Theodoric* caused him to be miserably put to Death, and obliged one Part of the *Swabians*, to acknowledge himself for their Sovereign.

IV.

Division in the Swabian Kingdom. Remismund re-unites them. He adheres to the Arians.

I. THIS very King, *Theodoric II*, appointed *Agilulf*, of the Nation of the *Varni*, Lieutenant over the *Suevi*, whom he had made subject to

** IDAT. Chron. Rechila, Rex Suevorum, Emeritæ, gentilis moritur, cui mox filius suus Catholicus, Rechiarius, succedit in regnum.

† See the XI. Ann. p. 65. n. 4, and 5.

him. He indeed assumed the Title of King, (X. 12. n. 6.) but was taken Prisoner, and delivered into the Hands of the King of the *Goths*.

2. THE *Suevi* were even at Variance among themselves. Some chose *Frata*, and others *Masdras* for their King. The latter was succeeded by his Son, *Remismund*; but *Fraomarius*, the Son of *Frata*, disputed the Kingdom with him. (X. 24.)

3. BUT *Remismund* re-united the whole Nation of the *Suevi*, about the Year 465, and renewed the former Conventions with the ancient Inhabitants of *Gallicia*. (*Ibid.*) He likewise was reconciled to *Theoderic* *, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, and married a *Gothick* Lady: But this Marriage gave Occasion to his adhering to the *Arian* Sect **. He thereupon extended his Dominions in *Lusitania*. *Idatius*, in particular, mentions the two Cities, *Coimbra* and *Lisbon*, which, at that Time, fell into his Hands. (*Ibid.*)

4. UNDER *Remismund*, the History of the *Swabian* Kingdom falls, as it were, at once into Oblivion; the Chronicle of *Idatius* ceasing about the Year 470. We therefore are ignorant how long he reigned, and who was his Successor; and this Chasm swallows up a whole Century †. In this Time, the *Wisi-Goths* extended their Dominions in *Spain*, of which *Euricus* made the first Beginning: For when he declared against the Emperor *Anthemius*, he passed the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and committed Hostilities as well against the *Suevi*, as against the *Romans* ††.

* IDAT. in Chron. Legatos Remismundus mittit ad Theodericum, qui similiter suos ad Remismundum remittit cum armorum adjectione, vel munerum, directa & conjugæ, quam haberes.

** ISIDOR. Chron. Hujus tempore Alax (†), natione Galata, effectus apostata & Arianus, inter (†) ap IDAT. Suevos, Regis sui auxilio, fidei Catholicæ hostis emerfit: cujus seductione Suevi, a fide Catholica recedentes, in Arianum dogma declinant. Ajax.

† PAGIUS says of this Matter, ad ann. 560. n. 3. Remismundus, Suevorum in Hispania Rex, deceptus ab Atace, Arianus effectus est, & totam gentem Suevorum lethali hac tæbe infecit. Hinc factum, ut successorum Remismundi nomina ab historicis memorata non fuerint. Duos tamen ultimos Arianos Suevorum Reges fuisse Hermenericum, & Recilanum, discimus ex actis S. Martyrum Vincentii Abbatis & Sociorum, qui Legione in Hispania passi sunt, quæ recitantur à Bollando ad d. XI. Martii, quo Legione coluntur. But these Acts are liable to many Doubts.

†† IDAT. Chron. Gothi — Suevos depredantur, pariter & Romanos ipsis in Lusitanæ legionibus fervientes.

V.

Theodemir, King of the Suevi, returns to the Catholick Faith.

THE Kingdom of the *Suevi* rises, as it were, again out of its Obscurity, upon *Ariamir*, or *Theodemir's* returning to the *Catholick Faith*. The Name of this King is handed down to us in two different Manners. By *Isidorus* *, and in the *Acta Concilii* at *Lugo*, of the Year 561 **, he is named *Theodemir*. On the other Hand, in the *Acta Concilii Bracaren-sis* I, of the Year 561, he is named *Ariamir* †. We must therefore suppose, either that both Names belong to one and the same Person, or, according to the *Chronicon Iriense*, published by *Ferreras*, that there were two Kings at the same Time ††. *Gregorius Turonensis*, who lived about this Time, calls him *Chararic* *.

* CHR. SUEV. Post multos deinde Reges regnum Suevorum suscepit Theodemirus, qui fidem Catholicam adeptus, Arianæ impietatis errore destructo, Suevos unitati fidei reddit.

** *Act. Concilii ap. Lucum de An. 569. n. 4.* (in *CARD. D'AGUIRRE Concil. Hispan. T. II. p. 300.*) Tempore Suevorum sub Era 607, die Kal. Jan. THEODOMIRUS, Princeps idem Suevorum, Concilium in civitate Luco fieri præcepit, ad confirmandam fidem catholicam, vel pro diversis Ecclesiæ causis. Postquam peregerunt, quicquid se concilio ingerebat, direxit idem Rex epistolam suam ad Episcopos, qui ibi erant congregati, continentem hæc: Cupio, sanctissimi Patres, ut provida utilitate decernatis in provincia regni nostri: quia in tota Gallæciæ regione spatiosæ satis dioceses a paucis Episcopis tenentur; ita ut aliquantæ ecclesiæ per singulos annos vix possint a suo Episcopo visitari. — Insuper tantæ provinciæ unus tantummodo Metropolitanus Episcopus est, & de extremis quibusque parochiis longum est singulis annis ad Concilium convenire.

† *Act. Concilii Bracaren-sis I, de An. 561. Ibid. p. 292.* Cum Gallæciæ provinciæ Episcopi, Lucretius, Andreas, Martinus, Cottus, Ildaricus, Lucentius, Timotheus, Maliosus, ex præcepto præfati gloriosissimi ARIAMIRI Regis, in Metropolitana ejusdem provinciæ Bracaren-sis Ecclesia convenissent; confidentibus simul Episcopis, præsentibus quoque presbyteris, adstantibusque ministris, vel universo clero, Lucretius memoratæ Metropolitanæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus dixit, &c.

†† Duo Reges dominabantur Gallæciæ, Mirus Lucum, & Ariomerus Rex Bracharam obtinebat: qui Ariomirus post tertium annum defunctus est: & Mirus Bracharam obtinuit, & fecit Concilium Bracharense secundum.

* De Miraculis S. Martini, *Lib. I. c. 2, and Lib. IV. c. 7.*

2. *MARTIN*, Abbot of *Duma*, who was afterwards Archbishop of *Braga*, contributed greatly to the Conversion of *Theodemir*. (XIV. 16.)

3. *PAGIUS*, *ad An. 560. n. 4.*, places the Beginning of *Theodemir's* Reign in 557, or 558. Some Years since, his Tomb was supposed to have been discovered at *Braga*: But without sufficient Conjectures*.

VI.

MIRO, or THEODEMIR. II.

King, from 570, 'till 583.

1. A SON of the former very much promoted the Conversion to the *Catholick* Faith, began by his Father, of which we find Evidences in the *Concilium Bracarense* II, which was held in the Year 572**.

2. WHEN a War broke out, between *Leovigild*, King of the *Wist-Goths*, and his Son, *Hermenegild*, *Miro* took the Party of the Son; but *Leovigild* drove him to such Streights, that he was obliged to abandon it, and acknowledge him his Sovereign. (XIV. 17.) He died about the Year 585. (*Ibid.* 23.)

* The following is an Abstract from the *Amsterdam-Gazet*, of July, 1732, in an Article from *Lisbon*. On apprend de *Braga*, qu'en creusant les fondemens de l'ancienne eglise de *St. Martin de Dume*, qu'on a abbatuë pour en construire une nouvelle, on avoit trouvé les ruines d'un ancien Edifice Romain, qu'on croit être celle d'un temple dédié a *Jupiter*, parce que parmi le grand nombre de colonnes, on y en a trouvé une sur laquelle on voit en Caractere Romain l'Inscription suivante: *Jovi Epulsi Armia Lusinna ex voto posuit*. On ajoute, qu'on y a aussi trouvé un Tombeau de marbre blanc, dans lequel il y avoit les Ossemens d'un Corps humain, qu'on croit être d'un des Rois *Sueves*, qui ont regné en *Portugal*, & qui ont fait leur residence dans cette ville. Bien des gens sont d'opinion, que ce pourroit bien être le Corps du Roi *Theodemir*, parceque ce Prince, qui mourut en 570, a fondé le Couvent de *St. Martin de Dume*. Comme les *Gots*, qui ont envahi ce royaume, ont detruit les Batimens des *Romains*, & que les *Sarrazins*, qui l'ont envahi ensuite, ont detruit ceux des *Gots*, on ne doit pas être surpris, si les ruines des Batimens de l'une & l'autre de ces deux Nations se trouvent confonduës ensemble.

** *Ap. D'AUGUIRR, T. II. p. 316.* Anno secundo Regis Mironis, die Kalenderum Juniarum, cum *Gallæciæ* provinciæ Episcopi, tam ex *Bracarenfi* quam ex *Lucensi* Synodo, cum suis *Metropolitani*, præcepto præfati Regis, simul etiam *Metropolitani Bracarenfis* Episcopi, convenissent.

3. I HAVE

3. I HAVE already observed (XIV. 16.) that *Martin*, Bishop of *Braga*, addressed a Book to this King, which we see in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. *F. Mabillon* has discovered the Dedication, which I shall insert, in this Place, from the *Spicilegium* of *F. D'Achery*, T. X.

Gloriosissimo ac tranquillissimo, & insigni Catholicæ Fidei prædito pietate, MIRONI Regi, MARTINUS humilis Episcopus.

* (dicta.)

Non ignoro, CLEMENTISSIME REX, flagrantissimam animi tui sitim sapientiæ insatiabiliter poculis inhiare, eaque te ardentem, quibus mortalis scientiæ rivuli manant, fluentia requirere. Et ob hoc humilitatem meam sapientius litteris admones, ut dignationi tuæ crebre aliquid per epistolam scribens, aut consolationis aut exhortationis alicujus, & qualiacumque sint adferam dictu. Sed quamvis hoc a me exigat laudabile tuæ pietatis studium, scito tamen tenuitatis meæ insolentem continuo a cautis impingi proterviam, si Regalis reverentiæ gravitatem aut assiduam, aut vilibus, ut libet, dictis adjungam. Et ideo ne aut ego licentia piæ invitationis abuterer loquendo, aut vestro magis desidero obfisterem reticendo, libellum hunc nulla sophismatum ostentatione politum, sed planitiæ puræ simplicitatis excerptum, capacibus fidenter auribus obtuli recitandum. Quem non vestra specialiter instituo potestati, cui naturalis sapientiæ sagacitas præsto est, sed generaliter his conscripsi, quos ministeriis tuis adstantes hæc convenit legere, intelligere & tenere. Titulis autem libelli est FORMULA VITÆ HONESTÆ, quem idcirco tali volui vocabulo superscribi, quia non illa ardua & perfecta, quæ a paucis & peregreis Deicolis patrantur, instituit; sed ea magis commovent, quæ & sine Divinarum Scripturarum præceptis, naturali tantum humane intelligentiæ lege, etiam a laicis, recte honesteque viventibus, valeant adimpleri.*

VII.

End of the Swabian Kingdom. Leovigild, King of the Wisi-Goths, vanquishes the Suevi.

(XIV. 23.)

* al. Andeca.

1. *MIRO* was succeeded by his Son, *Euricus* or *Eburicus*. *Andeca* * rebelled against him, thrust him into a Monastery, and assumed the Royal Dignity himself: But *Leovigild*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, fell upon him, and obliged him, in his Turn, to go into a Monastery likewise. (*An. 585.*)

The

The Nation itself acknowledged the Conqueror for their King. One *Maluricus* * indeed rebelled, but was likewise suppressed. In this Man-^{* f. Amalari-}ner, the Kingdom of the *Suevi* was united with that of the *Goths*, after^{cus.} it had subsisted, (reckoning from the Year 409) 176 Years. (XIV. 23.)

2. THERE remains nothing more, but that I add the Testimony of some Historians, concerning the Downfal of the Kingdom of the *Suevi*. *Gregorius Turonensis*, who on Account of his being cotemporary, more particularly deserves our Notice, says, *Lib. V. c. 48, Patrata quoque victoria, cognovit Mironem Regem contra se cum exercitu residere: Quo circumdato, sacramenta exigit, sibi in posterum fore fidelem. Et sic datis sibi invicem muneribus, unusquisque ad propria est regressus. Sed Miro, postquam in patriam rediit, non multos post dies conversus ad lectulum, obiit: infirmatus enim ab aquis Hispaniæ fuerat malis, aëribusque incommodis. Quo defuncto, filius ejus EURICHUS Leovigildi Regis amicitias expedit: datoque, ut pater fecerat, sacramento, regnum Galliciense suscepit. Hoc vero anno cognatus ejus, AUDICA, qui sororem illius desponsatam habebat, cum exercitu venit: adprehensumque clericum fuit, ac diaconatus sive presbyterii ei imponi honorem jubet: ipse vero accepta soceri sui uxore Galliciense regnum obtinuit.* By this Relation, one would almost conclude, that *Miro*, and his Son *Euricus*, acknowledged *Leovigild* for their Sovereign.

3. ISIDORUS, in *Chr. Suev. Post Theudemirum Miro Suevorum Princeps efficitur, & regnavit annis XIII. Hic bellum secundo Regni sui anno contra Roccones intulit: deinde in auxilium Liuvigildi, Gothorum regis, adversus rebellum filium ad expugnandam Hispalim pergit, ibique victa terminum clausit. Cui Eburicus, filius, in regnum succedit: quem adolescentem Audica, assumpta tyrannide, regno privat, & monachum factum in monasterio damnat, pro quo non dilata est sententia. Mox enim Liuvigildus, Gothorum rex, Suevis bellum inferens, obtento eodem regno Audicam dejecit, atque detonso eo, post regni honorem presbyterii officio consecravit. Sic enim oportuit, ut, quod regi suo fecerat, rursus idem ab alio congrua meriti vicissitudine pateretur. Regnum autem Suevorum deletum in Gothos transfertur, quod mansit annis centum septuaginta sex.*

4. JO. BICLARIENSES, who lived at this Time, ad An. II. Mauricii (*Chr. 583.*) *His diebus Audica in Galletia, Suevorum regnum cum tyrannide assumit, & Siseguntiam, relictam Mironis Regis, in conjugium accepit. Eboricum regno privat: & monachum facit. And in the following Year: Leovigildus Rex Galletias vastat. Audecam Regem*
com-

comprehensum regno privat: Suevorum gentem, thesaurum, & patriam, suam in potestatem redegit, & Gothorum provinciam facit. As likewise farther: Andeca vero regno privatus tondetur, & honore Presbyteri post regnum honoratur. Non dubium, quod in Eborico Regis filio, Rege suo fecerat, patitur, & exilio Pacensi urbe relegatur. Maluricus in Galletia tyrannidem assumens, quasi regnare vult, qui statim a ducibus Leovegildi oppressus, comprehenditur, & Leovegildo vincetus presentatur.

5. THE Name of the *Suevi* does indeed appear sometime after this. In the *Acta Concilii Toletani III*, under *Recaredus*, they are yet particularly mentioned. (XIV. 23. n. 4.) *Enico* left the Country of the *Suevi* to his Son *Witza*. (XV. 26. n. 1.) At length, the Ravages of the *Saracens* put the *Goths* and *Suevi* entirely upon an Equality.



XXV. ANNOTATION.

Of the Devastation of the Kingdom of the WISI-GOTHS, by the SARACENS.

I.

The Imperfection of History, in the Period of the Wisi-Goths.

1. **T**HE Revolution, which the *Saracens* occasion'd in *Spain*, is memorable in all its Circumstances. The *Goths* came out of the North, and, after many Vicissitudes of Fortune, had established a mighty Kingdom, when another Nation, from the South, approaches to destroy it: Just as when two Storms arise in the Air, one opposite to the other, and one disperses the other. The *Goths* had, at last, established good Laws and Polity in *Spain*, and the Church flourish'd under the Protection of their Kings; and now the *Saracens* introduce a foreign Religion, Language, and Manners.

2. BUT this great Revolution has not hitherto been set in a true Light; and the whole *Gothick* Period, in the *Spanish* History, is very imperfect; because there are so few Writers and Records thereof remaining. Next to *Idatius*, the *Chronicon Gothorum, Suevorum & Vandalorum* of *Isidorus*, Archbishop of *Seville* *, is the most considerable. *Johannis, Abbatis Biclariensis*, *Chronicon* goes to the fourth Year of King *Reccaredus*, (Chr. 589.) in whose Reign he lived. *Julian*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, is of Service for the History of King *Wamba*. *Isidorus*, Bishop of *Beja* †, † *Pacensis*, continued the History of the former *Isidorus* to the Year 754, at which Time he likewise lived. Some, and even Cardinal *d'Aguirre*, mention

* Fellicerius questions whether the *Chronicon Gothorum, Vandalorum & Suevorum* was actually written by *Isidorus*. Antonius, in *Bibl. Hisp. Vet.* p. 256, n. 117.

a certain Chronicle, with the Title of *Vulsa Gothorum Regum Chronicon*: But *Nicolaus Antonius*, in his *Bibl. Hispan. Vet. Part II.* 272, observes, that this Name arose from a Mistake, by a wrong reading of the Title, *Wisi-Gothorum Regum Chronicon*.

† *Tudensis.*

3. THESE Authors, and more particularly *Isidorus Pacensis* have been made Use of by those, who have attempted any Thing of this Nature, in more modern Times, in *Spain*; of which Number are the Author of the *Chronicon Alphonsi Regis*, and *Rodericus Ximenes*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, who lived about the Middle of the thirteenth Century; as likewise *Lucas*, Bishop of *Tuy* †, who, pretty near about the same Time, compiled a History of *Spain*, at the Desire of Queen *Barengaria* of *Leon*, Consort of *Alphonsus IX*.

4. THE *Concilia Hispaniæ* are of a general Use to illustrate Circumstances. The last we have, was held *An.* 694. But there are so many Things foisted in, or corrupted, in the *Spanish* History, that we cannot be too cautious, even in those which are suppos'd to be good *.

5. THE more modern *Spanish* Historians have not sufficiently supplied the Defects of their Predecessors, in this Point. As for *Julianus Castil*, who proposed to write a particular History of the Kings of the *Wisi-Goths*, we have little to boast of, but his Intention. *Savedra* is more deserving of our Thanks, tho' he is not quite divested of the ancient Prejudices. The work of *Peter de Alcazer* was never publish'd, and is only known by *Antonius's Bibliotheca Hispana*.

6. MANY have been deceived by the supposed History of King *Roderic*, publish'd by *Michael de Luna* **; with the Pretence that it was compiled by an *Arabian*, who was present in the Expeditions of the *Saracens*: But,

* So *F. Pagius* himself says of *Rodericus Toletanus*, ad *An.* 711. n. 8. Hujus Præfulis Historiam Arabum, sicut nonnulla alia in ejusdem operibus, ab imperitis & iniquis emendatoribus corrupta fuisse, dubium non est.

** The Title is: *La Verdadera Historia del Rey Don Rodrigo, en laqual se trata la causa principal de la perdida de Espanna, y la conquista, que della hizo Miramamolin Almançor: compuesta por el Sabio Alcayde Abulcacim Tarif Aben Tarique, de nation Arabe, y natural de la Arabia Petria. Traduida pour MIGUEL DE LUNA, vizino de Granada, interprete del Rey Don Phelippe, Saragoça 1603-4, and at Valenza 1606. It is pretended, that the first Volume was written at Bucara, An. Hegiræ. 140. (Chr. 761.) and the other An. Heg. 142. It is likewise translated into French, with the Title: Histoire de la Conquête d'Espagne par les Maures.*

in

in Reality, it is a *Romance*, as *Antonius*, in *Bibl. Hisp. vet. T. II. p. 237.* has already shewn, and even the *Arabian* Original is no where to be found.

II.

Why the Account of Rodericus Toletanus, and Lucas Tudenfis, is follow'd.

1. THE History of the two last Kings, *Witiza* and *Roderic*, is the most uncertain. Some pretend that *Roderic* was not elected King 'till after *Witiza's* Death; others, that he dethron'd him, and caus'd his Eyes to be put out. *F. Pagius*, ad *An. 710. n. 4.* does not himself pretend to have made any certain Discovery.

2. THE less Reason we have to wonder, that more modern Historians relate the Invasion of the *Saracens* in so different a Manner. However, as to the principal Circumstances, I have followed the *Chronicon Alphonsi Regis*, *Rodericus Toletanus*, and *Lucas Tudenfis*, the rather, as *F. Pagius* assures us, that they agree with the Accounts he has found in some of the *Arabian* Writers. These Historians agree in this, that the Sons of *Witiza*, tempted the *Saracens* to come to *Spain*. The two latter likewise mention a certain Count *Julian*, as the chief Instrument of this Treachery. I shall, however, only add here the Passages concerning the Overthrow of King *Roderic*. *Lucas Tudenfis* gives us an Account of it, *Lib. III. p. 70.* but acknowledges, that he himself did not know all the Circumstances: *Porro rex Rodericus more solito praelio intentus cœpit acriter instare, ac propensius in hostes ferire. Tandem vero instantibus barbaris Hispani milites cœperunt deficere, atque per longitudinem belli defatigati, quisque locum hosti dare. Terribiliter Gothi, qui erant ex parte Comitum, Juliani, irruebant super Hispanos, & ad praeliandum barbaros animabant. Rodericus autem, ubi se a suis vidit destitui, per aliquot dies terga præbens paulatim pugnando, ut credimus, occubuit; sed non scimus certum interitum ejus. Regnavit annis septem, mensibus sex. Rudis tamen postea in civitate, Viseo, inventa est lapidea sepultura, in qua epitaphium est subscriptum, scilicet: hic requiescit Rodericus, Rex Gothorum.*

3. *RODERIC* of *Toledo* relates this Overthrow, *cap 20.* *Rex autem Rodericus, audita strage suorum, & provinciæ vastatione, Gothis omnibus congregatis, adventui Arabum se objecit, & ad incursum eorum, strenue properavit. Cumque venissent ad fluvium, qui Gaudalete dicitur, prope Assidonam quæ nunc Xerez dicitur, ex alia parte sedit exercitus Africanus. Rex autem, Rodericus, cum corona aurea & vestibus deauratis,*

† S. Isid.

tis, a duobus mulis in lecto eburneo ferebatur, ut Gothorum Regum dignitas exigebat. Et per octo dies continuos a Dominica in Dominicam dimicarunt, ita ut de Taric exercitu fere decem & sex millia ceciderunt. Sed Juliano comite & Gothis, qui secum aderant, dure instantibus, franguntur acies Christianorum, qui longa pace & abundantia desides, imbelles & ignavi certaminis sunt inventi, & objicibus terga dantes. Die Dominica, quinto idus mensis Xarel †, anno Arabum XCIII æra DCCLII. Rex Rodericus, & Christianus exercitus vincitur & fuga inutili perierunt. He says farther: Dum hoc agitur, quid de Rege Roderico acciderit ignoratur. Tamen corona, vestes, & insignia, & calciamenta auro & lapidibus adornata, & equus, qui Orelia dicebatur, in loco tremulo juxta fluvium sine corpore sunt inventa. Quid autem de corpore fuerit factum, penitus ignoratur, nisi quod modernis temporibus apud Viseum, civitatem Portugallie, inscriptus tumulus, invenitur: Hic jacet Rodericus, ultimus Rex Gothorum. And, cap. 22, he says: Rodericus a Juliano, ut creditur, interfectus. F. Pagius, ad An. 711. n. 10, observes, that, according to the Arabian Accounts, which he had consulted, Roderic was drowned in the River Guadalete.

4. THE *Chronicon Alphonsi Regis*, which is elder than the two former, agrees with them in this, that the Sons of Witiza enticed the Saracens to come to Spain; but without any Mention of the treacherous Julian: n. 9. *Vitizane defuncto, Rudericus a Gothis eligitur in Regem. Iste vero in peccatis Wittizani ambulavit, & non solum zelo justitiæ armatus, huic sceleri finem non imposuit, sed magis ampliavit. Filii vero Wittizani invidia ducti, eo, quod Rudericus regnum patris eorum acceperat, callide cogitantes, nuntios ad Africam mittunt, Saracenos in auxilium petunt, eosque navibus advectos, Hispaniam intromittunt. Sed ipsi, qui patriæ excidium intulerunt, simul cum gente Saracenorum gladio perierunt. Itaque cum Rudericus ingressum eorum cognovisset, cum omni agmine Gothorum eis præliaturus occurrit; sed dicente scriptura: In vanum currit, quem iniquitas præcedit. Sacerdotes vero vel suorum peccatorum mole oppressi, vel filiorum Witizani fraude detecti cum omni agmine Gothorum in fugam sunt versi, & gladio deleti. De Ruderico vero Rege nulli cognita manet causa interitus ejus. Rude namque nostris temporibus, cum Viseo civitas, & suburbana ejus a nobis populata essent, in quadam Basilica monumentum est inventum, ubi desuper epitaphium sculptum sic dicitur: Hic requiescit Rudericus, ultimus Rex Gothorum.*

III.

False and suspicious Circumstances in the Vulgar Relation.

I. MOREOVER *Roderic*, and *Lucas* himself, allow, that they were not fully inform'd of the Matter; and it is perceptible enough, tho' they had not own'd it. They intermix Circumstances that are notoriously false, and contradict themselves. An Instance of this is the Story of King *Roderic's* having deflower'd Count *Julian's* Daughter, and thereby exasperated her Father to such a Degree, that he cultivated an Intelligence with the *Saracens*; tho' the former is at a Loss to say, whether it was his Daughter or his Wife. *Michael de Luna*, even gives us the Letter, in which the abus'd *Cava* complains to her Father of the Injury done her; upon which *Marina* and *F. Orleans* improve. No Vouchers are requir'd of *Livy*, when he paints *Virginia*, with her Bridegroom and Father, in so lively Colours †. But in modern History, † *Lib. IV. 48.* the finest Strokes of Eloquence lose their Lustre, if they have not Truth for their Foundation.

2. THE Story of King *Roderic's* Tomb, at *Viseo*, in *Portugal*, has as little Grounds: As has likewise the Pretext which the two Historians make Use of, for the *Saracens* having so easily conquer'd *Spain*, that King *Witiza* razed the Walls of all the Cities, excepting *Toledo*, *Leon* and *Astorga* *: For, according to their own Relation, *Cordua*, *Merida*, *Hispalis*, *Oreola* †, *Leon*, *Saragossa*, and several other Cities were besieg'd † *Oribuela*. by the *Saracens* **. The Circumstance, that the *Goths* suffer'd greatly, from the *Franks*, in *Gaul*, at the same Time that the *Saracens* played the Masters ||, does not agree with the History of the *Franks*.

IV.

That the Saracens did not first come into Spain, in the Reign of Roderic:

I. I HAVE already shewn, in its proper Place, (XV. 26.) that the *Saracens*, in *Africa*, may, of themselves, have grown desirous to try their Fortune, in *Spain*; and we have hardly Occasion to mention either the

* *RODERICUS*, cap. 16. Cum pro his iniquitatibus timeret expelli, muros præcepit dirui civitatum cunctarum præter paucos. Add. *LUCAS TUDENSIS*, p. 69.

** Among the more modern Spanish Historians, *PISA*, in *Antiqued. di Toledo*, Lib. II. cap. 31: has already observ'd the Perplexity of this Relation.

|| *LUC. TUD.* p. 70. Verum etiam Francorum armis ex parte Galliarum consumti sunt.

Ambition

Ambition of the Sons of *Witiza*, or the Disaster of *Julian's* Daughter. In the *Chronicon Moissiacense*, we besides find, that the *Saracens* invaded *Spain*, even in the Time of *Witiza*, *An. 715*. *His temporibus in Spania super Gothos regnabat Witicha, qui regnavit annis VII. & menses III. Iste deditus feminis, exemplo suo sacerdotes ac populum luxuriose vivere docuit, irritans furorem Domini. Sarraceni tunc in Spania ingrediuntur. Gothi super se Rudericum Regem constituunt. Rudericus Rex cum magno exercitu Gothorum Sarracenis obviam it in prælio; sed inito prælio Gothi debellati sunt a Saracenis. Sicque regnum Gothorum in Spania finitur. Et infra duos annos Sarraceni pene totam Spaniam subjiciunt.* However, the Credit of this Chronicle is not always preferred before the vulgar Tradition of the *Spaniards*.

2. So much, in the mean Time, is certain, that it was not in *Roderic's* Reign, that the *Saracens* came the first Time into *Spain*. *Lucas Tudensis* observes, *p. 68*, that they were for trying their Fortune there, in the Time of King *Wamba*. In the Reign of King *Flavius Egica*, they were again apprehensive of them. The *Jews*, in *Spain*, were accused of holding a Correspondence with their Brethren in *Africa*, to the Prejudice of the Kingdom. The King himself complains of this, in the *Act. Concil. Toletani XVII.* which was held *An. 694.* ap, *CARD. D'AGUIRRE, T. II. p. 753.* *Pro nefandis denique Judæis intra fines regni nostri degentibus ita præmittimus, Sc. nuper manifestis confessionibus indubie pervenimus, hos in transmarinis partibus Hebræos alios consuluisse, ut unanimiter contra genus Christianum agerent Sc.* And the *Patres Concilii* say of them, (*p. 757.*) *per alia sua scelera non solum statum Ecclesiæ perturbare maluerunt, verum etiam ausu tyrannico inferre conati sunt ruinam patriæ, ac populo universo, Sc.*

V.

That the Kingdom of the Wisi-Goths was not totally overthrown.

I HAVE likewise observed, in its proper Place, that neither the Nation nor the Name of the *Goths*, were fully extirpated by the *Saracens*. Some modern Writers have formed a very confused Idea of this, as well as of the *Goths* themselves: *Alphonfus Sanctius*, in *Anacephalæosi Rer. Hispanic. Lib. VII. cap. 5.* says, that, in his Time, a Remnant of these *Goths*, of whom no one had 'till then the least Knowledge, were casually discovered, at some Miles Distance from *Salamanca*, between unpassable Mountains: But the whole Story is so absurd, and the Description given of this, as it were, conjur'd up Community, is so little consistent with

with the Goths, that it would be unnecessary to spend a Moment in the Refutation of them.

VI.

Alvarus Gomez's Poetical Account of the Destruction of the Kingdom of the Goths.

As Historians have succeeded so badly in their Accounts of the Invasion of the Saracens, I shall subjoin a Passage from a Poet, who, in his Delivery, at least, appears with a better Grace. Alvarez Gomez, Professor Rhetorices & Græcæ Linguae, at Toledo, has attempted it, in a Poem, in the following Manner*.

*Non sine singultu, & lachrimis urbs alma Toletum
Commemorare valet, quæ quondam ingentia facta
Magnanimi gessere duces, gens inclyta Gotthi
Dira manus, metuenda Diis, metuenda profundo:
Ut Geticis olim descendunt mentibus: utque
Romulidæ ut victi, capta & capitoliæ, quamvis
Nullum regnandi finem cecinere Sybillæ.
Utque his perfectis Hispanas visere terra:
Instituunt, sedesque suas hic figere curant:
Hic, ubi læta micat florenti gramine tellus,
Et munita Tagi cinguntur mœnia flexu,
Parva olim, remeans hac cum Gerione perempto.
Transiit Alcides, & prima exordia muris
Signavit, sed nunc Hispana industria tantum
Non æquat cœlo, sic Di volvere potentes.*

*Utque ubi Gothorum se gloria sustulit, & jam
Clara magis nituit (sunt ut mortalia cuncta)
Deciderit, pressæque suo sub pondere vires
Corruerint: Nam stare diu concedere nulli
Fata volunt: quoniam si se meminere caduca,
Officiumque tenent, æquo & moderamine durant:*

*Utque Rodericus sumens Hispanica regna
Sorte gravi, insanus, turpique libidine captus
Ardet amore Caba, lucemque, & numera regni
Contemnit forma si non potiatur amata:*

* This Passage is to be found in FRANC: DE PISA Histor. di Toledo, Lib. II. cap. 37.

Atque

XXV. Annotation. Of the Devastaion, &c.

*Atque hæc ipsa negat, donec vim passa, parenti
Cuncta suo exponit: (dirum depromere nomen
Tartarei monstri, † Musæ vetuere dolentes)
Percitus hic ira, rumoreque tactus amaro
Patrati sceleris, vindictam pectore toto
Cogitat, & patriam convellere sedibus imis
Vix satis esse sibi (quanti est injuria) credit.*

*Ergo dum poenas amenti a Principe sumat
Non fas atque fidem curat, non numina Divum
In mentem redeunt, patriæ nec pignora charæ
Sed ferus, Hesperia cladem sub corde volutans,
(Heu scelus) audaces Afros induxit Iberis
Proditor: huic vultur, nec non immania saxi
Pondera, & ardentes actæ per viscera tedæ,
Et crista erectus serpens, atque ore trifulco
Horrendum infrendens crispata fronte Chelidrus,
Exigua poena, majora intendite Erynnes!*

*Utque Afri ingressi vastarunt maxima regna,
Gens contempta prius, nullo nec in ordine pugnae
Consiliivæ loco dignanda: utque aspera fata
Hos dominos dederint per longum tempus Iberis.
Ut nostri interea paulatim assumere vires
Et revocare gradus, rursusque per oppida quondam
Rapta sibi tentasse vias: & gloria rursus
Perdita Gothorum prisca ad monumenta revixit.*

*Cum desperatis rebus Deus optimus adsit,
Princeps Pelagius, divino numine tactus,
Ortus Toleti, Gotthorumque incluta proles,
Impiger accurrit patriæ succurrere lapsæ.
Cœlitus exhibitum credas, ad prælia natum,
Unus homo, qui nil cunctando restituit rem.
Sicque per ætates Hispanis gloria crevit,
Donec sub Carolo, nec non utroque Philippo
Summa tenet, non visa prius, fastigia rerum.*

XXVI. ANNOTATION.

Of the Establishment of the Kingdom of the Wisigoths: Of their Laws: Of the Officium Gothicum: Of their Coins and Letters, &c.

Ad XV. 29.

I.

Of the Kingdom of the WISI-GOTHS, in general.

I HAVE already, as the Course of this History has required, touched on many Things, relating to the Growth and Establishment of the Kingdom of the *Wisigoths*, and shall add some Evidences to confirm what I have before said, especially with Regard to their Constitution and Church, of which the Laws of the *Wisigoths*, and the *Officium Gothicum* are two remarkable Monuments. The Coins which are remaining of them, or are falsely attributed to them, likewise deserve a more narrow Enquiry into, as do also the Remains of their Language, and the vulgar Tradition of their Letters.

I. THERE have been great Debates, concerning the Antiquity and Power of the Kingdom of the *Wisigoths*, especially, in the foregoing Century, on Occasion of the warm Dispute between *France* and *Spain*, in Point of Precedency, and principally between *Chiflet* and *Blondel* *. The *Spaniards* pretended to ground the Preference of their Kingdom, on the Antiquity and Power of that of the *Goths*.

2. SOME Writers pretend to give us the *Wisigothick* Arms. *Beuterus* divides it into 4 Quarters; the two Uppermost of which are charged with three *Chevrons* and a Crown, and the two Lowermost with two Lions. (VIII. 39. II.) But, not to mention, that Heraldry is not so ancient,

* BLONDEL treats of this Matter at large, in the *Affertio Geneal. Francicae* cap. 12. p. 382. seq. under the Title: *Regnum a Gothis in Hispania fundatum Francico antiquius dici non meretur*, and cap. 13. p. 393. where it is said: *Gothici regni Francico robur par non fuit.*

as far as regards the *Goths*, in particular, *Morales*, *Lib. XIII. cap. 5.* observes, that neither *Pelagius*, nor his Successors, had any Arms till *Ferdinand*, King of *Leon*. *Chislet* revived the Story of the Lions, in the *Wisi-Gothick* Arms; but is refuted by *Blondel*, *l. c. p. 361.*

3. I HAVE already, in a proper Place, (*XV. 29. 4.*) given a just *Encomium* of *Peter Pantinus's* Treatise, *de dignitatibus atq. officiis Regni ac Domus Regiæ Gothorum*; which is to be met with in *Hispan. Illustr. T. II. p. 195.* I shall here only repeat the Names of the Offices, which he there illustrates.

GOTHICARUM DIGNITATUM OFFICIORUMQUE INDEX.

Dux.	Comes Spathariorum.	Centenarii.
Comes.	Comes Cubiculi.	Decani.
Præpositus Comitum.	Comes Stabuli.	Exercitus Compulsores
Vicarius Principis.	Comes Exercitus.	Annonarii.
Comes Scanciarum.	Procer.	Defensores.
Thesaurorum Comes.	Gardingus.	Pacis Assertores.
Comes Patrimonii.	Thiuphadus.	Numerarii & Villici.
Comes Civitatis Toletanæ.	Millenarii.	Saio.
Comes Notariorum.	Quingentenarii.	Servus Fiscalis.

II.

Of the Laws of the WISI-GOTHS.

1. THERE is a Collection of the Laws of the *Wisi-Goths* extant, of which I have often made Mention above. These Laws were binding as well to the *Provincials* as the *Goths*; and the *Roman* Laws were thereby fully suppress'd. *Lib. II. Tit. I. 9. Alienæ gentis legibus ad exercitium utilitatis imbui & permittimus & optamus: ad negotiorum vero discussionem & resultamus & prohibemus. Quamvis enim eloquiis polleant, tamen difficultatibus hærent: adeo cum sufficiat ad justitiæ plenitudinem, & præscrutatio rationum, & competentium ordo verborum, quæ codicis hujus series agnoscitur continere, nolumus sive Romanis legibus, sive alienis institutionibus, a modo amplius convexari.*

2. AFTER the Inundation of the *Saracens*, these Laws, together with the Remainder of the *Christians*, lay conceal'd in the Mountains; and with them they came to Light again. The most ancient Collection of the *Spanish* Laws, known by the Name of *Forum Judicum*, is collected from these

these Gothick Laws. A famous Spanish Lawyer † gives such an *Encomium* of them, that the Spanish Jurisprudence need not be ashamed of being derived from this Original.

3. MARIANA says, indeed, *Lib. IX. c. 5.* that the ancient Gothick Laws were abolished, in *Catalonia*, in the Year 1060. *Hugo, a Pontifice Romano in Hispaniam legatus, Barcinone in Episcoporum & procerum conventu, Raymundi Barcinonensis Comitis voluntate, Gothicas leges, quibus antequam Catalauni, abrogavit, novasque sanxit, unde jura populis ad nostram ætatem dantur.* But *Ant. Olibanus*, an experienc'd Lawyer, and Senator *Regius* at *Barcelona*, in his Treatise de *Jure Fisci*, cap. I. n. 8. assures us, that these very New Laws, are taken from the Gothick Laws, with some few Additions only here and there. *Cum autem Usatici Barcinonenses, de quibus agimus, sint sumti ex legibus Gothicis, quæ in Curiis Comitis Barcinonæ, & aliis Curiis totius provinciæ observabantur &c. hinc efficitur, multa esse disposita & sancita jure Usaticorum, vel Gothico, contra dispositionem juris Romani.* He had before shew'd the Reasons that induced Count *Berengarius* to make these new Laws. *Quod scilicet leges Gothicæ, quæ cum reliquiis Christianorum in montibus & locis asperis fuerunt asservatæ, ex illa infelici Saracenorum invasione, & totius Hispaniæ occupatione, & usque ad tempora huius Berengarii, in judiciis & curiis receptæ, non poterant in omnibus causis commode observari, & quod plura occurrerent negotia, quæ non erant in legibus Gothicis decisa.*

Whether the SPANISH FIEFS have their Rise from the GOTHS.

4. AMONG other Subjects, of which the Gothick Laws consist, what I have said of their *Militia* (XV. 29. n. 8. 9.) is particularly memorable. It seems very evident, that the Chiefs of the Nation held certain Lands, in Consideration of which they were oblig'd to serve in the Wars; and that they, as well as the Kings themselves, laid the same Obligation on other Persons capable of going to the Wars, by a Grant of Lands, or certain Advantages †. Under the succeeding Spanish Kings, we find more particular Mention of Vassals and Feodal Services §: Whence, therefore, it is not improbable, that they were originally derived from the GOTHS.

† GREGOR. LOPEZ MADERA in his *Excelencias de la Monarquia de Espanna* pag. 61.

‡ Of the Vassals to the Kings, we likewise find some Footsteps in the *Concil. Tolet. V.* which was held Anno. 636. under King *Chintila*. The Contents of the 6th Canon are: *Ut Regum fideles a successoribus Regni, a rerum jure non fraudentur, pro servitutis mercede.* Add. Conc. Tolet. VI. Can. 14.

§ IN particular, *Luis de Salazar*, in his *Advert. Histor. &c.* p. 32. seq. and p. 262. takes Notice of several remarkable Things, which regard the Ancient Spanish Feodal Tenures.

III.

State of the Church, under the WISI-GOTHS.

I. THE Church in *Spain*, under the Protection of the Kings of the *Goths*, after they had embraced the *Catholic* Communion, was brought into excellent Order, of which, as well as of the Doctrine and Discipline of it, we find Tokens even in the Councils. Those two excellent Men, *Garsias de Loaysa*, Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, and Cardinal *d' Aguirre*, have greatly illustrated them, with their learned Observations. A learned *Englishman* || has made particular Remarks on this Subject, which may give an Opportunity to new Enquiries.

2. As for their Form of Worship, we may have an Idea of it from the *Officium Gothicum*. The *Concilium Toletanum*, IV. which was held, Anno. 633. under King *Sisenandus*, decreed, that a Conformity of Worship ought to be observ'd in all the Churches †; and this produc'd the Form or Office call'd *Officium Gothicum*, and likewise *B. Isidori* ‡, probably, because this Prelat, who presided at that Council, had, perhaps, the Revision of it. It is, in itself the more remarkable, as it contains many Customs and Forms, which had been in Use, in the *Spanish* Church, from the most early Times of *Christianity*. See a farther Account in Cardinal *Bona Rer. Liturgic*: Lib. I. likewise in Cardinal *d' Aguirre*, T. III. *Concil. Hispan.* p. 258. But more circumstantially from *Eugenius de Robles*, who himself officiated in a Chapple where these Rites were observed, as also from *Alvarez Gomez*, in the Life of Cardinal *Ximenes*. This famous Cardinal himself, preserved the most lasting Monument of the *Officium Gothicum*, in causing the *Missal* and *Breviary* to be printed §: But the En-

|| MICHAEL GEDDES Miscellaneous Tracts. Vol. II. diff. 1. and Vol. III. diff. 1.

† Cau. 2. *Post rectæ fidei confessionem, quæ in Sancta Dei Ecclesia prædicatur, placuit, ut omnes sacerdotes, qui Catholicæ fidei unitate complectimur, nihil ultra diversum aut dissonum in Ecclesiasticis Sacramentis agamus; ne quælibet nostra diversitas apud ignotos, seu carnales, schismatis errorem videatur ostendere, & multis existat in scandalum varietas ecclesiarum. Unus igitur ordo orandi atque psallendi nobis per omnem Hispaniam atque Galliam conservetur, unus modus in Missarum solennitatibus, unus in Vespertinis Matutinisque officiis: nec diversa sit ultra in nobis Ecclesiastica consuetudo, qui in una fide continemur & regno.*

‡ But it is likewise call'd *Officium S. Juliani* or *S. Ildephonsi*, of which see ANTONIUS *Bibl. Hisp. Vet.* P. I. p. 269.

§ The *Missal* was printed in the Year 1500. and the *Breviary* in 1502. at *Toledo*. *F. Mabillon* has likewise printed a *Gothick Missal: de Liturg. Gallican.* Lib. III. But it is according to the *Gallick* Form.

gliff Author I mention'd above doubts, whether it be faithfully handed down to us, juft as it was contained in the moft ancient Manuscripts*.

When the OFFICIUM GOTHICUM was abolish'd in Arragon?

3. THE Revolutions, which befel the *Gothick* Kingdom, affected likewise the *Officium Gothicum*. The *Roman* Popes endeavour'd to introduce the *Roman* Rites in the Room of it. An Attempt was made even in the XI. Century, at the Council of *Jacca*, under King *Ramirus*, I. Anno. 1060. *Mariana* fays of it, Lib. IX. p. 463 *Sacrorum ritus, qui temporum injuria depravati erant, restituti. Sacerdotum mores novis institutis exculti, iisque mandatum, ne alio more, quam Romano, precarentur.* In *Catalonia*, the same Attempt proved abortive: For when Cardinal *Hugo*, who was sent by Pope *Alexander II.* to *Spain*, in the Year, 1064. insisted on it, in an Assembly of the States, at *Barcelona*; the Bishops declin'd it, and rather chose to send a Deputation to the Council of *Mantua*, to justify the Liturgy they had till then made Use of. *Mariana* fays of it, loc. cit. *Is legatus, ut Gothica precandi ratio abrogaretur, quamvis magno conatu obtinere non potuit. Missi contra Mantuam in Gallia Cisalpina, ubi de schismate conventus Episcoporum habiti sunt, Episcopi tres, Munio Calagurritanus, Eximius Aucensis, Fortunius Alavensis, Gothicos libros, quos secum detulere, Pontifici & Patribus probarunt, quasi orthodoxos, nullaue vitiosos parte.*

As also in CASTILLE and LEON.

4. IN *Castille*, Difficulties likewise arose, when *Alphonfus VI.* King of *Castille* and *Leon*, attempted to introduce the *Roman* Rites. The Circumstances, which I mentioned of it, XV. 30. are grounded on the following Account of *Rodericus Toletanus*: Lib. VI. cap. 25. *Et quia adhuc littera Gothica & translatio Psalterii, & Officium Missæ institutum ab Isidoro & Leandro, Pontificibus, quod cum translatione & littera dicitur Toletanum, per totam Hispaniam servabantur, ad instantiam uxoris suæ, Reginæ Constantiæ, quæ erat de partibus Galliarum, misit Romam ad Gregorium Pa-*

* *GEDDES* Miscellaneous Tracts &c. Vol. III. p. 32. *In the beginning of the sixteenth Century, the Mozarabic Liturgy was printed by the Cardinal Zimenes. But as we are certain of that Cardinals having made some Alterations in it, so there is great cause to suspect him of having made more, and that among the rest, he might change the forementioned form of consecration for the Roman. And the thing that makes this more probable, is, the Copy which he had of the Mozarabic Liturgy being destroyed, and with it all the rest, if there were any more at that time: there not being, that I can hear of, after much Enquiry, a Manuscript Copy of the Mozarabic Liturgy any where to be met with.*

pam septimum, ut in Hispaniis, omisso Toletano, Romanum, seu Gallicanum officium, servaretur. He gives an Account, in the following Chapter, 26. how Pope Gregory, VII. sent Richard, Abbot of *St. Victor*, at *Marseilles*, as his Legat to *Castille*, to insist on the *Roman Rites* being received, and how, when the People would not relinquish their ancient *Ceremonies*, the Decision of it was referr'd to the Combat, and the Trial by Fire. These seem, indeed, to be in themselves unusual Methods: But the Ignorance of the Times had more than once introduced these Trials *, they thinking that they thereby submitted the Matters in Debate to the Judgment of God. Now, tho' the Knight who defeated the *Officium Gothicum* overthrew his Adversary, and the Book is said to have sprung out of the Fire, yet the King forced the *Roman Rites* upon the People; as *Rodericus* farther informs us. *Verum, ante revocationem, clerus & populus totius Hispaniæ turbatur, eo quod Gallicanum officium suscipere a legato & Principe cogebantur, & statuto die, Rege, primate, legato, cleri & populi maxima multitudo congregatis, fuit diutius altercatum, clero, militia & populo firmiter resistentibus, ne officium mutaretur, Rege a Regina suaso contrarium minis & terroribus intonante. Ad hoc ultimo res pervenit, militari pertinacia decernente, ut hæc dissensio duelli certamine sedaretur. Cumque duo milites fuissent electi, unus a Rege, qui pro officio Gallicano, alter a militia & populis, qui pro Toletano pariter decertarent, miles Regis ilico victus fuit, populis exultantibus, quod victor erat miles officii Toletani. Sed Rex adeo fuit a Regina Constantia stimulatus, quod a proposito non discessit, duellum, indicans, jus non esse. Miles autem, qui pugnaverat pro officio Toletano, fuit de domo Matantia prope Pisoricam, cujus hodie genus exstat. Cumque super hoc magna seditio in militia & populo oriretur, demum placuit, ut liber officii Toletani, & liber officii Gallicani in magna ignis congerie ponerentur. Et indicto omnibus jejuniis a primate, legato & clero, & oratione ab omnibus devote peracta, igne consumitur liber officii Gallicani, & profiliit super omnes flammam incendii, cunctis videntibus & dominum laudantibus, liber officii Toletani illæsus omnino, a combustionem incendii alienus. Sed cum Rex esset magnanimus, & suæ voluntatis pertinax executor, nec miraculo territus, nec supplicatione suusus, voluit inclinari, sed, mortis supplicia & direptionem minitans resistentibus, præcepit, ut Gallicanum officium in omnibus regni sui finibus servaretur. Et tunc, cunctis flentibus & dolentibus, implevit proverbium: Quo volunt Reges, vadunt leges. Et ex tunc Gallicanum officium*

* Cardinal Bona is almost angry at the Relation of *Rodericus*, that the *Officium Romanum* twice miscarried, and is inclined to believe it a Fable.

tam in Psalterio, quam in aliis nunquam ante susceptum, fuit in Hispaniis observatum, licet in aliquibus monasteriis fuerit aliquanto tempore: custoditum, & etiam translatio Psalterii in pluribus ecclesiis cathedralibus, & monasteriis adhuc recitatur.

5. I AM uncertain whether Mariana had any Accounts besides that of Rodericus. He mentions this Incident likewise, but with somewhat different Circumstances, and, at least, takes Care to deliver the Roman Rites from the Flames. p. 481. *Cum primum Toletum applicuit, priusquam legatus potestate se abdicasset communi consensu de Gothica precum ratione antiquanda actum: qua Hispani vulgo utebantur ab antiquissimis temporibus, præterea ex Isidori, Ildefonsi & Juliani, quos in cælitum numero habent, coluntque, auctoritate. Tentatum id quidem aliquoties erat, neque tamen successerat, quod vulgo homines, sed & primores gentis antiquis stari mallerent: nihilque tenacius inhæret, quam quod religionis specie defenditur. Hoc tempore tanta a Primate & legato adhibita contentio est, ut, cum Regina eorum conatibus enixe faveret, tandem pervicerint. Singulari certamine homines militares, & in armis nutriti rem tantam dijudicari voluerunt. Die dicta duo milites, ab utraque parte delecti, in arenam descenderunt. Vicit, qui antiquum Hispanorum morem, & vetustissimam precandi rationem retinendam esse tutabatur, Joannes Ruizius, ex familia Matancia, quæ ad Pisoricam fluvium habitabat. & cujus posterii ad nostram ætatem ejus certaminis memoria illustres manent. Verum adversæ partis studia cum nihil eo casu remitterent, neque victa vincerentur, visum est controversiam ignis judicio permittere: sic ejus seculi mores erant, rudes & agrestes, neque satis expensi ad Christianæ pietatis regulam. Rogo in platea accenso, liber uterque, Romanus & Gothicus, in ignem projecti, & Romanus quidem continuo ex igne prosiluit. Id populus victoriam interpretabatur: nam liber alter sub igne & flammis diu permanens illæsus inventus est. Rege arbitro populo nihilominus persuasum, utramque precandi rationem superis placere: quando uterque liber ex incendio evasisset incolumis: quodam temperamento eam controversiam componendam videri: in antiquis urbis templis, quæ Mozarabum vulgo dicebantur, vetus precandi ratio retineretur. Quod hoc etiam tempore, statis anni diebus, iis in templis factitari videmus. Præterea in templo maximo sacellum extat, ubi ex Gothica precandi ratione, Francisci Ximenii, Cardinalis, impensis, (ne tantæ rei memoriam vetustas obrueret) sacerdotes constituti sacris dant operam. In reliquis templis, quæ denuo Toleti sacrata erant, constitutum, ut ex Romano ritu rem divinam procurarent, & divinas laudes statis diei temporibus decantarent.*

6. ACCORDING to the Relation of *Mariana*, Lib IX. cap. 18. the Introduction of the *Roman Service* was established at the Council of *Leon*, Anno. 1091. in that Kingdom likewise. *Neque catenus Bernardi conatus substiterunt, sed Regem secutus in ulteriorem Castellam, Legionem, urbe primaria, novum Episcoporum Concilium habet, anno ejus seculi nonagesimo primo, ut Lucas Tudensis est autor. Affuit Raynerius, ex Cluniacensi monacho presbyter Cardinalis, ab Urbano Pontifice in Richardi, Abbatis Massiliensis, locum, ad Regem legatus. Utroque annitente, tum alia decreta promulgata disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ in mores revocandæ causa, quæ injuria temporum nimium laxata erat, tum illud constitutum: Gothicis litterarum characteribus, quas Ulfilas, Gothorum Episcopus, priusquam venerint in Hispaniam, excogitarat, & invenerat primus, ne amplius usus esset in publicis tabulis, sed pro iis Gallicos characteres substitui.* This Relation is the more probable, if we consider the Zeal of King *Alphonfus*, and of *Bernardus* Arch-bishop of *Toledo*. The Acts of this Synod are lost: *Rodericus* indeed, mentions them; but without taking Notice of the *Officium Romanum*, in particular. Lib. VI. cap. 30. *Interfuit etiam Renerius legatus, & Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, ibidemque celebrato Concilio, cum Bernardo Toletano primate, multa de officiis ecclesiæ statuerunt, & etiam de cætero, ut omnes Scriptores, omiſſa littera Toletana, quam Gulfilas, Gothorum Episcopus, adinvenit, Gallicis litteris uterentur.* *LUCAS TUDENSIS* is of a quite different Opinion; for he says, that at this Synod, the Church was directed to the Use of the *Officium B. Isidori*. p. 101. *In prædicta vero synodo almi sacerdotes de fide Catholica colloquentes statuerunt, ut secundum regulam B. Isidori, Hispalensis Archiepiscopi, ecclesiastica officia in Hispania regerentur. Statuerunt etiam, ut Scriptores de cætero Gallicam litteram scriberent, & prætermitterent Toletanam in officiis ecclesiasticis, ut nulla esset divisio inter ministros ecclesiæ Dei.*

Whence it had the Name of MOZARABICUM?

7. As therefore the *Christians* in *Spain*, who had their own Kings, by degrees, conformed to the *Roman Rites*, and those who lived among the *Saracens*, and were call'd *Mozarabes*, adher'd firmly to the *Officium Gothicum*, it was likewise thence call'd *Mozarabicum*; in the same Manner, as in more modern Times, it was call'd *Toletanum*, because the Use of it was preserved longest in that City.

IV.

Of the Coins of the WISI-GOTHS.

1. THE most compleat Collection of the Coins of the *Wisi-Gothick* Kings, are owing to the Care of *Mabudel*. He begins with King *Theudis*, the Successor of *Amalaric*, and goes as far as *Roderic*.

2. WE have, however, more ancient Accounts, that the Kings of the *Wisi-Goths* caused Pieces of Gold to be coin'd: For *Avitus Viennensis* lays it to the Charge of *Alaric*, II. as a Scandal, that he diminish'd the Standard of them. (See the XI. Annotation, n. 4.) A certain Man of Learning pretends to have seen a Coin of the first *Alaric*, who sack'd *Rome*, but we need only read the Description of it, to be convinced that it was spurious *.

Of the Spanish Coins, which are generally attributed to the WISI-GOTHS.

3. THERE are certain ancient Coins in *Spain*, with uncommon Letters, (whereof we find many Instances in *Lastanosa*,) which have given Occasion to the Lovers of Antiquity, to form various Conjectures. Some, and principally *Antonius Augustinus*, are of Opinion, that they were coin'd in *Spain*, partly under the Dominion of the *Romans*, but in Part, perhaps sooner; and the Letters found upon them were then in Use, in that Country. Others, and particularly *Olaus Wormius*, believe them to be *Gothick* Letters, and fancy they discover the same *Runen* in them, as they meet with in the Antiquities of *Denmark* and *Sweden*. This Enquiry deserves the rather to find Place here, as it may serve to illustrate what we have mention'd above, of the Manner of Writing among the *Wisi-Goths*.

* PERINGSKIOLD. in not. ad Vit. Theoderici p. 263. Porro felicibus auspiciis Italiam administrante Alarico, in honorem Gothici sui Regis nummum flari feriri curarunt Romani cives, qui parte anteriore Regis imaginem referebat, cum hac epigrapha:

ALAREICO GOTHORUM MAXUMO.

Parte vero averfa Regem, pugilis instar depictum, adstantemque ipsi leonem, sublimius se attollentem, quem in insignibus suis gerebat Alaricus, adposito Yemmate:

HERCULEI ROMANO.

Id adeo genus nummos, reduces illa tempestate in patriam suam Gothi, veluti insignia cimelia secum onusti reportabant, quæ deinde pro itineris memoria, edoæque sub Regis hujus auspiciis militiæ, ex collo suspensas circumgestare, quin & tumulo secum inferre volebant. Hujusmodi nummum urnæ, una cum ossium reliquiis, inclusum, ante hos septendecim annos repererunt operarii quidam, dum in suburbio Holmensi boreali collem sepulcralem acquando horti cujusdam pomœria dilataturi erant.

Baron SPANHEIM'S Opinion of them.

4. EZ. SPANHEIM, in some Measure, approves of both. He attributes some of these Coins to the *Ancient Spaniards*, and others to the *Goths*. His Words, *de usu & præstant. Numism. T. I. p. 112.* where he treats at large, *de Gothicis, aut Hispanicis nummis*, are: *Accedit, quæ de priscis Gothorum aut Hispanorum litteris, non inutilis, aut injucunda sese offert disquisitione. Quum enim plurimi nummi cum ænei, tum argentei, rudioris alias operis & ignotis ut plurimum litteris signati, occurrant, & in Hispania vel maxime; hinc non una de iis exstat Antiquariorum sententia. Antonius Augustinus, præter Runicos & Gothicos Hispanicæ nummos, aliquot ex iis veteri patriæ linguæ charactere exaratos credidit. Olaus Wormius diversam sententiam amplexus, eosdem a Gothis in Hispania signatos, & clara litteraturæ Gothicæ vel Runicæ argumenta præferre existimat. At rursus viri docti, qui non ita pridem in illustrandis Nummis patriis versati, Antonii Augustini prementes vestigia, omnes id genus peregrinis aut barbaris litteris insculptos, priscis Hispanicis adnumerant. Unde quum apud Livium argenti Oscensis, & signati Oscensis ab Osca, antiqua urbe Hispanicæ, denominati, mentionem non semel injectam reperissent; Nummos illos argenteos in Hispania obvios, in quibus passim eques cum jaculo decurrens cernitur, pro illo præso signato Oscensi protulere. Rationes vero, quibus nituntur, petitæ aut numero, & multitudine nummorum, qui in Hispania effodiuntur; aut e characteribus ignotis; aut e communi illo in iis symbolo equitis decurrentis. Hæc autem, ut ingenue fatear, percussos quidem in Hispania nummos id genus, sed non ab Oscensibus magis, quam a Gothis, Hispanicæ per tot annos incolis, suadere mihi & evincere videntur. Potior illa auctoritas aliquanto, meo judicio, quam ex Oscæ nummis, sub Augusto & Tiberio signatis, & ex Hispanico familiæ Afraniæ apud Fulvium Ursinum numismate ostentant, cum eadem capitis imberbis, & decurrentis equitis in altera parte, effigie, & ignotarum in iisdem, seu Punicarum litterarum figura. Quod ipsum firmare videntur, quæ de non una litterarum forma apud Hispanos veteres præso auctores tradidere; ex quorum numero Strabo, illos nec uno scribendi genere, nec una lingua usos iam olim adseruit. Si tamen meum qualecunque judicium liceat hic obiter interponere, aliquos ex iis ad Punicos veteris Hispanicæ nummos; plerosque autem rudiores ad Gothicos ejusdem tractus referre consultius existimarem. Neque enim soli Gaditani, aut vicini tractus nummi, Punicis accensendi, ut statuerunt viri docti, quasi Pænorum in Hispania imperium, & lingua non ulterius sese diffuderit. Utriusque vero vestigia non in Bætica solum, sed Tarraco-*

nensis

nensi etiam provincia observarunt eruditi, & vel una Cartago nova, Pami Amilcaris in eadem opus, abunde comprobant. Gotthis vero adscribendos plerisque illos argenteos cum equite decurrente, aut geminis symbolis, potius quam antiquis Oscensibus, multa suadere mihi videntur. Talia nempe, diuturna Gotthorum in Hispania sedes, quæ litteras eorum & linguam in eandem, eamque nummorum id genus in illo tractu copiam, invexit, tum cum Gothicis aliis nummis Gallicæ aut Italicæ consensus; plurimarum denique litterarum cum Runicis aut Gothicis adfinitas. Nec ob stare debet haud dissimilis figuræ cum priscis aliquot Hispanicæ nummis contemplatio, cum pateat ad instar bigatorum & denariorum veterum, aliorumque id genus priorum temporum, aureos & argenteos Gotthorum nummos passim percussos.

Why they are rather to be attributed to the SPANIARDS?

5. BUT Mabudel, who has examin'd, with great Diligence, as well these Coins, as those, which beyond all Doubt are of Gothick Original, leans wholly on the Spanish Side of the Question. His Words are, in the Dissertation Historique sur les Monnoyes antiques d'Espagne p. 121. *A l'égard du sentiment d' Olaus Wormius, pour lequel Mr. Spanheim semble se declarer, qui est, que se trouvant parmi les caractères de ces monnoyes, que je qualifie Espagnoles, des lettres tout-à-fait semblables à celles, qui sont dans les Alphabets Runiques & Gotiques, publiez par Ulfila, & par Edouard Bernard, il faut conclure, qu'elles ont été frappées en Espagne par les Gots; ce sentiment, dis-je, ne me paroît pas plus fondé, que les autres, non-seulement par les raisons, que toutes celles de ces pieces, qui sont d'argent, étant de même aloi, de même poids, de même fabrique, & avec des têtes, & des caractères semblables à celles de deux deniers Consulaires, l'un de la famille Domitia, & l'autre de l'Afrania; elles indiquent un tems antérieur à la venue des Gots en Espagne; mais encore parce que la fabrique de leurs especes, où du moins de celles, qu'on suppose, qu'ils ont frappées dans les autres pays, est tout-à-fait différente, & par le volume, & par le goût du dessin, & de la graveure, qui est beaucoup plus grossier. Comment d'ailleurs accorder avec cette opinion la quantité de ces pieces, qui se trouvent en cuivre dans le pays, en plus grande abondance, que d'aucune autre sorte, chargées de figures, que les Colonies Romaines établies en Espagne ont employées sur leurs propres monnoyes, sous les trois premiers Empereurs? Dira-t'on que dans le petit espace de tems, que les Gots auroient commencé à s'introduire dans cette province, ils y auroient plus laissés de leurs monumens, que les autres nations pendant cinq à six siècles entiers? Je dis dans un petit espace de tems, parceque leur monarchie n'y a pas plutôt eu*

pris une forme, que ces Rois y ont fait battre des monnoyes en or, & en argent, avec leurs portraits, & leurs noms en caractères Latins, d'un volume & d'un gout bien differens de celles, dont il s'agit ; auroient-ils eu dans un même état deux sortes d'especes, avec des differences si notables ? où auroient-ils en si peu de tems changé totalement leurs caractères ? Mabudel himself has given such an Illustration of these Coins, that we have not the least Occasion to have Recourse to the Times of the Goths for them.

IV.

Remains of the GOTHICK LANGUAGE, in the SPANISH.

I HAVE already shewn, in a proper Place, (XV. 29.) that the *Wisi-Goths* and *Swabians*, after they had settled in the *Roman Provinces*, by Degrees, took to the Language of the Country ; in the same Manner, as the *Burgundians*, and one Part of the *Franks*, had done in *Gaul*, and the *Longobards* in *Italy* : And this probably became more general, in the Time of *Reccaredus*, after the Difference of Religion ceas'd, and they were allowed to intermarry. (XV. 29. n. 6.) All public Acts, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, and particularly the Laws, were in the *Latin Tongue*; and, at Length, the Language of the Country, probably got the better in common Use : We are not therefore to wonder, if we find but small Remains of the *German Dialect*. A *Spanish Lawyer*, *Andreas Posa*, has made a Collection of them, in his Treatise, *de la antigua lingua*, &c. As incoherent as his Conceits are, they may not be altogether disagreeable to the Reader. He himself calls them *Paradoxon de prisca Hispanorum lingua*, and says, p. 59. *Quædam superest de Gotthica nunc dicamus lingua, cum de Romana, qua hodie per universam utimur Hispaniam, non est cur agamus pluribus. Dum illud interim admoneamus, vocabula, lancea, si credimus Varroni, de lingua Latina : coscolion, nos gorgojo, si Plinio fidem habemus, gurdus, nos gordo, ut asserit Quintil. lib. I. Instit. Orat. de Hispanica (tu dic Cantabrica) esse farina.*

Gotthica igitur, quæ est Cimbrica lingua, quia una de 72. illis Babilonicæ confusionis, vocabulis suis (sicut & Cantrabrica) rerum arcana complectitur, unde fit, ut illa quidem sententiosa : natio vero infælici prognata solo ac cælo plane sit barbara, & superbe stupida, cujusmodi cum nos aliquem infimulare volumus, jam ab illorum denominatione vocamus Tocho, a vocabulo Duytsch.

DE Istius nationis vocibus adhuc nobis supersunt, quæ sequuntur, Rico, baluarte, estropear, blanco, botiller, escudilla, bordar, ganfo, vander, bando, enpacar, pacar, escote, estandarte, quartago, flauta, franco, guardar, bala, Mastil, rasparraton, albergar, esgremir, guerra, escanciar, laud, boto, bosque, roscin, carro, boya, bogar, caxa, quebrar, & quæ alia superiori libello recensuimus.

RAMIRUS, nomen Cimbricum, significat principem bene consultum, Veremundus, eloquentem. Fredericus pacis amatorem. Alonsus, unde nos Alfonsus, Augusti principis est omen, alons quasi omnia sint sua. Rodericus a vocabulo rotric, equitatu ac peditatu pollentem. Ferdinandus, neque enim nos duplex u scribimus, wernand, manum tutelarem exprimit. Thorismunus, digna lingua, aut os, quod audias. Wallia, aggerem, nemus, strenuum, insinuat.

HENRICUS, principem indicat, qui jungit pariter, viribus ingenium, nos in nostra vulgari exprimeremus mannos, Cimbri hendich, behendich.

GUEVARA, comitum de Oniate stemma illustre, boni patris, seu maris compatris (quem nos compadre) officium pollicetur.

ALVAREZ, multiplicem habet significationem, tum quod sit veridicus, quod procul a natali solo, quod capillitii albicantis. Manricus, Guzmanus, illud divitis, hoc probi viri indolem repræsentat. Dassa olim magnatum stemma, nunc fere antiquatum, nutriam, amphibii generis animal, significat.

QUAS VOCE S, neque multo plures, ut reor, Cimbricæ linguæ, mihi bene in illa versato, annotaveris.

SED quis hoc crediderit, linguam Græcam, Latinæ matricem, (si Fabio Quintiliano credimus lib 10.) Cimbricæ istius, de qua verba facimus, in permultis admodum vocabulis esse filiam. Patir, mitir, oionon, pir, thur, unde Romani, a quibus nos, pater mater, vinum, &c. Pater, vater, muta in liquidam pro more commutata, satis emphatice insinuat arbitrum, aut si mavis domitium vasis, & receptaculi materni, Mutter, quod semper in amore sit anxie sollicita, maternam exprimit charitatem. Oionon, quia Græci & Latini non scribunt (ut diximus) duplex upsilon, Cimbris conduplicatum, liquoris hujus beneficium anteponeit, quasi dicas medicinam sanctam, quæ &
noxiū

noxium quoque eradicet ac evellat humorem, wien per jota, wein per diphthongum epsilon jota, utrumque tibi sincopatum, win, unde nos vinum, describit. Quæ concisa de plusquam ducentis vocabulis, de industria brevitatis causa omissis, dispunximus. Scio enim, doctiores illud facile admissuros, quod vocabula de illa potissimum sunt lingua, in qua rei suæ arcanum, cur ita dicantur, complectuntur: ut Socrates apud Platonem disserit.



XXVII. ANNOTATION.

Of the Celtick Letters.

1. **I**T may be worth Enquiry, whether the *Ancient Celtæ* had not their own particular Letters, which were likewise in Use in *Gaul* and *Germania*: And whether the Ancient Letters, or as they were call'd *Runen*, of the *Franks* and *Anglo-Saxons*, had not their Rise from them? That the *Celtick* Inhabitants of *Spain* had such Letters, we may conclude from *Strabo* *, and is made the more probable by the Illustrations *Mabudel* has given us of the ancient *Spanish* Coins, as I mentioned above.

2. WE likewise find in *Italy*, some ancient Pieces, the Letters of which are unknown, particularly in *Sertorius Ursatus*, in *Monument. Patav. f. 65. 131. 171. and 211.* We likewise find some such, among those that are call'd *Etruscan Monuments*, and pass, among others, for Monuments of the ancient Inhabitants of *Toscana*.

3. FRANCISCUS FABER, whom *Sertorius Ursatus* consulted on that Head, has, with great Probability, conjectured, that these Fragments are Remains of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, and that the Inscriptions are *Celtick* Letters. The Subject, of it self, deserves, indeed, a farther Enquiry into: In the mean time, however, I will here insert the Letter at large, as we find it in his *Epistles*, p. 112.

SERTORIO ORSATO, Patricio Patavino, Divi Marci Equiti nobilissimo,
FRANCISCUS FABER BREMONDANUS

* L. III. p. 204. Hi (Turdetani) omnium Hispanorum doctissimi judicantur; utunturque Grammatica, & antiquitatis monumenta habent conscripta, ac poemata, & metris inclusas leges, a sex millibus, ut aiunt, annorum. Utuntur & reliqui Hispani Grammatica, non unius omnes generis: quippe ne eodem quidem sermone.

S. P. D.

“ Librum tuum (Eques Illustrissime) munus, quo me Patavii nuper
 “ totum devinxisti, totum avidissimi lustravi. Deus bone! quo studio,
 “ qua pietatæ, & eruditione memoriæ tuæ Patriæ consulis! Quæ via ad
 “ Immortalitatem rectior, quam a temporis edacitate tot illustria Monu-
 “ menta, Immortalitati vindicare! At quam attente Commentaria tua
 “ (queis vel Oedipus invideat) de illis perpenderim, ex eo scias, licet, quod
 “ quid de lapidibus, ignotis characteribus signatis, (quibus ideo nihil an-
 “ notasti) sententiam tibi aperire non reformidem, acrique judicio tuo ex-
 “ ponere. Hos igitur antiquissimorum Gallorum esse conjecto, qui Gal-
 “ liæ Cisalpinæ nomen dedere. Et huc Biga barbaris notis circumscripta,
 “ quam mihi dedisti, advehor, Diodoro Siculo annuente, ubi hæc de Gal-
 “ lis: In profectionibus, & pugnis Bigarum illis usus, quæ aurigam, & ef-
 “ sedarium militem gestant, & occurrentes in bello Equitibus Saunio (bar-
 “ baricum teli genus est) hostem petunt, tum ad gladii conflictum descen-
 “ dunt. Verum enimvero illa tuæ Bigæ inservire, constanter exinde cen-
 “ seo, nec illam ullius aliarum Nationum esse, quæ rerum Provinciæ tuæ,
 “ immo totius Italiæ, unquam potitæ sint, quod earum nullius sint notæ
 “ inscriptionis monumenti. Sed maxime non esse latinas nec puras, nec
 “ corruptas, (& hoc pace doctissimi viri, quem de monumento ovato con-
 “ suluisti) mihi facile persuasit miles, qui cum auriga currui assidet: cum
 “ nusquam in Latina Historia, genus illud vecturæ, apud Romanos, ad ali-
 “ um usum adhibitum, quam ad Circenses ludos repererim, & tunc solius
 “ aurigæ ductu. Nec eruditissimum Panvinium, in suo de illis spectaculis
 “ absolutissimo opere, inde dissentire certum habeo. Reliquum est, ut
 “ pro brevitate Epistolæ, proque tuo ingenio, omnium copacissimo, aliquid
 “ compendiosius addam de notis, quas Gallicas, vel potius Celticas (cujus
 “ vastissimi nominis Gallia, Germania, Hispania, Britannia & Illyricum
 “ sunt amplissimæ partes) me conjectare asserui. Taciti enim figmentum
 “ de Germanis, Gallorum Germanis, eadem lingua sacrisque utentibus,
 “ quos literarum expertos refert, a Clarissimo Viro, Olao Wormio, explo-
 “ sum non te latet, sicut & barbaros Patavinorum monumentorum charac-
 “ teres haud multum ab antiquissimis Danicis absimiles. Nec me Julii
 “ Cæsaris fugit auctoritas, quem Græcis Gallos scripsisse notis, immo &
 “ vocibus testem habeo: quod equidem Cindonaëtis probat monumentum,
 “ cujus Janus Gruterus (licet mendose) meminit, & Divioduni, apud quod
 “ effossum, adhuc studiose adservari dicunt. Id etiam non obscure confir-
 “ mant Inscriptiones antiquissimæ, quæ, Bonaventura Castilionæo referente,
 “ jam

“ jam tum ævo suo in Monte Sempronii visebantur, iisdem litteris exaratæ,
 “ vocesque barbaras exprimentes *. Verum Gallos antequam Phocenses
 “ ad Massiliæ oram appellerent, Græcisque Institutis illos imbuerent, gra-
 “ phica arte caruisse, vix crediderit, qui volumen Numismatum Incogni-
 “ torum nuper in Hispania typis excusum viderit. Hæc enim in Celtibe-
 “ ricus Oppidis, (quæ Gallorum Celtarum Coloniae fuere, priusquam vel
 “ Punica, vel Romana ambitio illuc penetraret) pleraque effossa, multaue
 “ litteris perquam similibus, illis de quibus sermo, signata visuntur. Adde
 “ (quod, & forsan majoris ponderis,) in Oppido Gessati, cui a Gessatis Gal-
 “ lis appellatio, inter antiquissima rudera, laterem effossum iisdemmet cha-
 “ racteribus notum, quem C. V. Marcus Cremosanus, antiquitatis cultor
 “ eximius, cæmentario, ne pars novi parietis esset e manibus eripuit, ac in
 “ suo instructissimo Musæo locavit. Hæc ad te de Biga, deque cæteris
 “ Monumentis iisdem litteris, quibus illa, notatis, scribere visum fuit, cujus
 “ quidem meæ sententiæ fundos tibi Auctores gravissimos dedi. An vero
 “ in tantis tenebris Antiquitatis certi aliquid conjecerim in ea re, quæ ba-
 “ riolum potius, & Evandri Matrem desiderat, quam Rhetorem & Gram-
 “ matici crism, tua erit existimatio. Sed de his hætenus. Vale, Eques
 “ Illustrissime, Patriæ tuæ decus, atque a me † Sororium tuum Illustrissi-
 “ mum, præclarum Musarum alumnum, salvere jube. Mediolani 16.
 “ Maii MDCLV.

* The Words of BONAV. CASTILIONEUS, to which the Author refers, are in his Treatise, *de Gallorum Insubrum antiquis sedibus*, (in *Ihes. It. T. I. p. 183.*) *Redeo in Veterem Vallem, in qua, prop- ter itineris angustias, plurima ex parte mons operariorum manu incisus visitur, maximum omnino Cæsaria- nœ munificentiae testimonium, nisi in montis excisi fornice insculptæ saxo literæ, notis quidem Græcis, sed quæ tamen in hanc usque diem intelligi nequeant, Gallorum (ut reor) vel Germanorum opus esse indicarent. Quicquid ibi contineatur, quando insipientibus non sit obvium, barbarum arbitror, fortasseque Burgundio- num idiomate confectum.* And farther, p. 184. *Si qui sunt, qui minus credant, gentes istas Græcis cha- racteribus usas fuisse, conserant se ad Commentaria Cæsar. Libro. I. & ibi aspicient tabulas in castris Helvetiorum repertas, notis Græcænicis scriptas: quos tamen constabat, idiomate Græco non locutos, sed, quo & hodie utuntur, Celtico, aliqui Caio Cæsari, qui Græcam æque ut Latinam linguam noverat, cum Hel- vetiis & Germanis opus interprete non fuisset.*

† Carolum de Doctõribus.

XXVIII. ANNOTATION

Of the Anglo-Saxon Letters.

1. **A**S I have taken it for granted, (XIV. 33.) that the *Anglo-Saxons* had their Letters (or *Runæ*) before they went over to *Britain*, it may be worth our while, to enquire more circumstantially into that Matter, in this Place. When we consider the Letters of the *Anglo-Saxons* and *Goths*, we may easily conceive, that other *German Nations* had also something of that Nature.

The Testimony of HUMPHREY WANLEY.

2. Mr. HUMPHREY WANLEY's Testimony of the *Anglo-Saxon Letters*, is of the more Importance, as he had the greatest Experience in these Antiquities. He writes, in *præf. ad Catalogum librorum Veterum Septentr. qui in Bibliothec. Angl. reperiuntur*. " Majores nostros Jutas, " Anglo-Saxonesque, cum in Britanniam advenirent, literarum prorsus " rudes, quod aliqui putant, fuisse, adeo non credo, ut illos secum Runas " (i. Gothicas litteras) attulisse, mihi persuasum est, tum quod in anti- " quis temporibus Septentrionales populi cis & ultra Mare Balticum " Runis usi sunt; tum etiam quod in antiquissimis nostris Codicibus non- " nullæ Runæ Romanis literis commistæ cernuntur; tum denique quod " *Thorn & Wen*, quæ Romanas literas amplexi, Anglo-Saxones retinue- " runt, Nomine, Figura, & Potestate, puræ putæ Runæ sunt. Quinimo " tantum abest, ut Majores nostri Septentrionales, cum in Britanniam pro- " ficiscerentur, Literarum rudes essent; ut, me judice, probabile potius sit, " Romanarum literarum illos, pariter ac barbaras alias gentes, jam tum no- " titiam habuisse. Pariter, inquam, ac barbaras alias gentes, scilicet Fran- " cos, Germanos, Lombardos, Vandalos, cæterosque Gothorum populos, " qui cum Romanis bello paceque res gesserunt, ac in scribendo Romanis " literis usi sunt. Valde igitur allucinati esse videntur, qui Saxones nostros " Romanarum literarum cognitionem ab Hibernis cepisse dicunt, quemad- " modum vir ille doctus, Rodericus O Flaharty, in *Ogygia sua*. Neque " minus

“ minus falluntur, qui illos a Britannis Romanorum literas didicisse con-
 “ tendunt, quæ aliquorum Cambro-Britannorum, qui docte scripserunt,
 “ sententia est. Cum contra vero maxime simile sit, omnes tam Anglo-
 “ Saxones, quam Britannos, & Hibernos, Romanorum literas a Romanis
 “ ipsis pariter accepisse. Verum hac de re ut aliis liberum iudicium relin-
 “ quam, citra controversiam est, cum fide Christiana Majores nostros Ro-
 “ manarum literarum scientiam & usum accepisse. Augustinus, dictus
 “ Anglorum Apostolus, qui Evangelium apud eos prædicabat, multos (ut
 “ probabile est) secum attulit libros latine scriptos, speciatim Gregorii Magni
 “ Papæ, qui illum in Angliam misit, Pastorale, quemadmodum videre est
 “ in Catalogi nostri pag. 70. Idem Gregorius ad illum etiam misit mag-
 “ nam librorum copiam, quorum duo, me iudice, in Bibliothecis Bodleia-
 “ na, & C. C. C. C. * hodie supersunt. Ab adventu igitur Augustini sen-
 “ sim inolescere apud Anglo-Saxones cœpit Romanarum literarum, & lite-
 “ raturæ usus; adeo ut fere, quicquid ab iis Latinis Characteribus scrip-
 “ tum, aut sculptum vidi, ab illo tempore scriptum sculptumque esse con-
 “ stat. Etenim Clerus Anglicanus Romanæ literaturæ diligenter studebat,
 “ clerique solius industriæ præcipue debetur, quod non tantum religio
 “ Christiana, sed humaniores literæ & scriptura ipsa ab Augustini tempo-
 “ ribus ad introitum Danorum florerent, & deinde quod ad Ælfredum
 “ Regem, Danis omnia vastantibus, penitus non perirent. In iis temporibus
 “ sensim exolescere cœpit Runarum in scribendo usus &c.

And of ANDREW FOUNTAIN.

3. Sir ANDREW FOUNTAIN, in *Diss. epistolar. de Numis Anglo-Saxo-*
nics, p. 163. has given us a more exact Account of the two-fold Manner
 of Writing among the *Anglo-Saxons*. “ Verum & aliis multis nominibus
 “ magnus est veterum nostrorum numismatum usus, propter quem docti
 “ non tantum non aspernari illa, sed in pretio habere debent. Etenim
 “ primo inscriptionibus suis, quæ antiquas literas ex Alphabeto Runico de-
 “ sumtas ostendunt, ad dignoscendam Codicum in Anglia scriptorum ante
 “ nongentos annos antiquitatem quam maxime conducunt. Nam ante id
 “ tempus pristinae illæ literæ, tam in scribendis libris, quam in signandis
 “ numis majoribus nostris in usu erant, & Alphabeti illius antiqui, sed mi-
 “ nus elegantis, pars fuerunt, quod, (ut scribit Ingulphus) Rex Ælfredus
 “ in novam & elegantiorē scribendi formam convertit, quæ, exeunte
 nono

* f. Collegii Corporis Christi Cantabrig'ensi.

“ nono seculo, cum Rex ille principatum obtineret, Romanis literis in vestustarum loco substitutis, inolescere apud Anglos cœpit.

4. OF this more modern *Anglo-Saxon* Character, we find diverse *Codices* in *Germany*, for which we are indebted to several Teachers of it, and in particular, to *Boniface* himself, who came out of *England*, and made Use of these *Codices*.

HARDUIN'S *singular Opinion of the ANGLO-SAXON Letters.*

5. F. HARDUIN, as it is customary with him, has a very odd Notion, (which could have entered into no Man's Brain but his own,) of the *Anglo-Saxon* Letters, of the Language itself, and of the Writings we have it. He will have it, in *Chronol. Veter Test.* p. 34, and 35. to be all Invention: But *Hickes*, in the Preface to his *Thesaurus*, p. 23. seq. has answered him at large.



XXIX. ANNOTATION.

Whether the Picts were of German Extrac- tion ?

I. **I** TOOK Notice (XIV. 32.) of the *Picts*, whose Original some will pretend to derive from the *Germans*. They were called *Picti*, because it was a Custom with them to paint their Bodies. *Julius Cæsar* says the same of the *Britons*, in general *: But of the *Picts* we find, in particular, that they imprinted all Manner of Figures on their Skins. Thus *Ausonius* says of them; Mosel. 67. - *Viridem distinguit glarea muscum
Nota Caledoniis talis pictura Britannis.*

And CLAUDIAN :

- - - *Ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.*

ISIDORUS shews us their very Manner of performing it †. When the Southern Part of Britain came under the Dominion of the Romans, the North-Britons retained this Custom, even to the 8th Century; when, upon the Introduction of Christianity, the Councils expressed their Zeal against it ‡.

* CAESAR de Bel. Gall. V. 14. *Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horribiliore sunt in pugna adpectu.* MELA Lib. III. cap. 6. says of them : *Incertum ob decorem, an quid aliud, ultro (fortasse, vitro) corpora inficiunt.*

† ISIDORUS Origin. IX. 2. *Scoti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore, eo, quod aculeis ferreis, cum atramento, variarum figurarum stigmatibus annotentur.*

‡ IN Synodo, A. 787. Calcutæ celebr. Can. 19. (Conc. LABB. T. VI. p. 1872. *those who painted themselves are censured* : “ Annexuimus, ut unusquisque fidelis Christianus a catholicis juris. exemplum accipiat : et si quid ex ritu paganorum remansit, avellatur, contemnatur, abjiciatur. Deus enim formavit hominem pulchrum in decore et specie ; pagani vero diabolico instinctu cicatrices teterrimas superinduxerunt, dicente Prudentio : Finxit et innocuam maculis fordentibus humum. Domino enim videtur facere injuriam, qui creaturam fœdat et deturpat. Certe si pro Deo aliquis hanc tincturæ injuriam sustineret, magnam inde remunerationem acciperet. Sed quisquis ex superstitione gentilium id agit, non ei proficit ad salutem.”

2. OF these *Picts*, Bede says, *Hist. Eccles. Anglor. Lib. I. cap. I.* that they came originally from *Scythia* into *Ireland*. *Et cum plurimam insulæ partem (incipientes ab Austro) possedissent, contigit, gentem Pictorum de Scythia (ut perhibent) longis navibus non multis Oceanum ingressam, circumagente flatu ventorum, extra fines omnes Britannicæ Hiberniam pervenisse.* And cap. 12. writing of *Britain*, he makes a Distinction between the Languages of the *Britons* and *Picts*. *Hæc in præsentia, juxta numerum librorum, quibus lex divina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis, unam eandemque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur; Anglorum videlicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum et Latinorum, quæ meditatione scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis.*

3. BEDE'S Opinion has met with the Approbation of several Men of Learning in *England*; and the more as *Tacitus*, in his Time, likewise conjectured, that the *Caledonians* came out of *Germany* *. *Stillingfleet*, in *Origin. Brit.* p. 446. pretends to bring the *Caledonians* from *Scandinavia*: And *Camden*, himself, who in another Place, will not wholly agree with *Bede*, p. 1468. says, the Language of the *Picts* was a Daughter of the *German*.

4. As a farther Proof of this, it will be proper to enquire, whether any of the *Northern* People, who are included in the general Name of *Scyths*, had likewise this Custom. The *Agathyrsi* were principally noted for it, of whom *Virgil* says:

——— *Pictique Agathyrsi.*

SOLINUS tells us, that they did it with a Sort of blue Stain: *Genolis Agathyrsi collimitantur cæruleo picti.* *TACITUS* says, cap. 43. of the *Arii*: *Cæterum Arii super vires, quibus enumeratos paullo populos antecedunt, truces, insitæ feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur. Nigra scuta, tineta corpora, atras ad prælia noctes legunt. Ipsaque formidine atque umbra ferilis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum, ac velut infernum aspectum †.*

5.

* *VIT. Agricola. 11.* Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ, an adveſti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta. Nam rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant.

† Add. *USER.* Antiquit. Eccles. Brit. cap. 15.

* Of the *Mossyni*, a Nation of *Cappadocia*, *PLIN.* says, *Hist. nat. VI. 4.* *Mossyni, notis signantes corpora.* Which *Mela*, *Lib. I. cap. 19.* has likewise observed. Not to mention, that in more modern

5. CAMBDEN is greatly of Opinion, that the *Picts* were one and the same Nation with the rest of the *Britons*. A modern Author (Mr. *Thomas Innes*) † has undertaken to prove this more amply, and affirms, that the *Picts* were the same pristine Inhabitants of *North-Britain*, whom we in particular meet with, in more ancient Writers, by the Name of *Caledonii* and *Victuriones*; as likewise, that their Language was a Dialect of the *British*, which as well as the *Irish* is deriv'd from the *Celtick*.

dern Times, the *Tangusi*, a *Pagan* Nation in *Siberia*, had likewise some Remains of this Custom, as *Ysbrand* tells us, in his Voyages,

† CRITICAL Essay on the ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of *Britain*, &c. T. I. cap. 3. p. 42. sq.



XXX. ANNOTATION.

Of the Sarmatians in general.

I.

THE Name of *Sarmatia* and *Sarmatians*, occur so often in the History of the *Germans*, that a farther Illustration of it, may give a particular Light to that History; and that in more latter Times, when we find so many Countries possess'd by *Sarmatian* Nations. However, what we find of this Nation, in Antiquity, is so obscure and uncertain, that I must be contented with barely hinting at some Particulars, which may be reduced to some greater Certainty than others.

I. ACCORDING to *Herodotus*, the *Sauromatæ* first dwelt in *Asia*, between the *Caucasus* and the *Tanais*. After they had passed this River, which the Ancients made the Confines of *Europe* and *Asia*, they established themselves in that Country, which was inhabited by the *Scythians*, properly so called. Hence it is, that they themselves are comprehended under the Name of *Scythians*, and are distinguished by Geographers, by the Appellations of *European* and *Asiatick Sarmatians*. By Degrees, they extended themselves in *Europe*, till, at Length, all the Countries, from the *Tanais* to the *Vistula*, was known by the Name of *Sarmatia Europæa*, which Confines *Mela*, and, after him, *Ptolemy* take Notice of.

The different Nations in Sarmatia-Europæa. Scythians, Sarmatians, Germans: And likewise Greek Colonies.

BUT we are not therefore to suppose, that all the Inhabitants of *Sarmatia-Europæa*, were *Sarmatians*. Some Nations remained there, who belonged to the *Scythians*, properly so called. Several *German* Nations dwelt among the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*. In particular, the *Goths* were very busy there, and brought the greater Part of the Inhabitants under their Dominion, insomuch, that the principal Seat of the *Gothick* Power, in the fourth Century, was in these Parts. Even some *Grecian* Colonies stood their Ground,

Grouud, in the Midst of these Savage Neighbours. The City of *Borysthenes*, or *Olbia*, at the Mouth of the River of that Name, the Inhabitants of which are, by *Miletus*, accounted *Greeks*, was particularly famous *. *Dion Chrysostomus*, a famous Orator, in the Time of *Trajan*, mentions his Journey thither, and gives us the Oration, which he held there in the Temple of *Jupiter*. Who would believe that *Homer* and *Plato* were then read on the *Nieper*? We see, by the Oration I just mentioned, that this Colony had preserved the Bent of the Nation, from which they were descended, even in this Point.

3. IT is, however, difficult to trace out exactly the Habitations of these Nations. Ancient Geographers were not themselves perfectly acquainted with this extensive Tract of Land. As far as it reached, on the *Pontus Euxinus*, they give a pretty just Account of the Rivers, and the People who dwelt on the Banks of them: But they have the less Knowledge of the Inhabitants of the inward and Northern Parts; and, without any Scruple, describe them to be *Monoculi*, *Cannibals*, and whatever an Imagination prone to Fables could invent. To this, we may add, that most of the *Sarmatian* Nations, in Conformity to their Manner of Life, had no certain or constant Habitation; they chose rather to wander from Country to Country: And besides, they were often at War with one another; and the Vanquished knew how to throw off their Yoke, with as much Ease as it was laid upon them.

II.

Account of the SARMATIANS from HERODOTUS.

I. UNDER this Obscurity and Incertitude, it will be necessary for us to distinguish the Times. We must first consider *Sarmatia* as described by *Herodotus*. I remember, indeed, that *Strabo* complains of him, and owns he would rather rely on *Homer* and *Hesiod*, tho' Poets, than on *Herodotus* †.

ANNOT.

E e e e

His

* FROM DION CHRYSOSTOMUS, we may learn the Situation of this City (in which Geographers vary) with the greatest Certainty. In his *OS BORYSTHEN*, p. 437. he says: *Civitas nomen quidem accepit a Borysthenes, propter fluminis pulchritudinem, magnitudinemque; adjacet autem Hypani.*

† THE Words of *Strabo* are the more deserving of a Place here, as they shew us, at the same Time, how the Countries about the *Tanais*, became, by degrees, known. He says, *Lib. IX. p. 508.* “ *Veteres Græcorum scriptores universas gentes Septentrionales Scytharum et Celtae Scytharum nomine assecerunt. Iis autem antiquiores ita diviserunt eas, ut, qui sunt præ Euxinum, Istrum et Adriam incolerent,*

His Relations have, however, the Preference of Antiquity. A proper Enquiry must distinguish Fables from History, and Certainty from Probability.

2. HERODOTUS, Lib. IV. *cap.* 17. & *seq.* gives us the following Description of *Sarmatia Europæa*. “ Verum nos, quoad longissime rem
“ investigare potuimus, omnem referemus. Ab emporio Borysthenarum
“ (hoc enim ex maritimis totius Scythiæ est maxime medium) primi incolunt Callipidæ, qui sunt Græcoscythæ, *id est, e Græcis facti Scythæ* :
“ super hos aliud genus eorum, qui vocantur HALIZONES. Horum utri-
“ que cum in cæteris servant ritum Scytharum, tum in serendo, atque ves-
“ cendo cæpe, allio, lente, milio. Supra HALIZONES autem incolunt Scy-
“ thæ aratores, qui non ad panem conficiendum serunt triticum, sed ad il-
“ lum torrendum. Supra hos incolunt NEURI : quorum tractus, qui ad
“ aquilonem vergit, quantum nos scimus, desertus est. Atque hæ quidem
“ nationes juxta flumen HYPANIN colunt, ac occidentalem partem Bo-
“ rysthenis. Verum, transmissio Borysthene, a mari prima est Hylæa : de-
“ hinc habitant Scythæ agricolæ, quos Græci, qui sub Hypane incolunt,
“ Borysthenitas appellant, ipsi vero se Olbiopolitas. Hi igitur agricolæ
“ Scythæ colunt eum quidem tractum, qui vergit ad auroram, trium die-
“ rum itinere, pertinentes ad flumen, nomine PANTICAPEM : eum vero,
“ qui ad ventum aquilonem, undecim dierum navigatione, Borysthenem
“ versus. Tractus autem qui ulterior est, in multum sane spatii desertus
“ est. Ultra quam solitudinem habitant Androphagi, *id est, virorum car-*
“ *ne vefcentes*, separata natio, ac nequaquam Scythica. At supra hos de-
“ ferta jam procul dubio omnia, nec ulla gens, quantum nos scimus. At
“ horum Scytharum, qui agricolæ sunt, plagam, quæ ad auroram vergit,
“ transmissio flumine Panticape, Scythæ NOMADES, *id est, pecuarii*, inco-

“ colerent, eos omnes Hyperboreos, Sauromatas, et Arimaspos appellarent : qui trans mare Hyrcanum, Sacas et Massagetas. Neque vero de iis quicquam potuerunt accurate scribere, quantum vis
“ Cyri adversus Massagetas bellum narrarent. Sed neque de his quisquam veritatem exacte perhibuit, neque de priscis Persarum, Medorum, Syrorum rebus, fidem admodum magnam invenerunt
“ scriptores : idque ob ipsorum simplicitatem, et fabulas edendi studium. Cum enim viderent, in
“ honore esse eos, qui e professo fabulas scriberent, existimaverunt, suam quoque scriptionem lectoribus
“ jucundam fore, si sub narrationis veræ specie ea dicerent, quæ neque vidissent neque audivissent, saltem ex iis, quibus cognita ista essent, id unum spectantes, ut auditio amœna fieret atque admirabilis. Equidem facilius Hesiodo et Homero aliquis fidem adhibuerit, cum de heroibus verba
“ faciunt, itemque tragicis poetis : quam Ctesia, Herodoto, Hellanico, et eorum similibus. Plerisque etiam eorum, qui de Alexandro scripserunt, credere non est satis tutum. Nam et isti facile
“ verba dant, cum ob Alexandri gloriam, tum quod expeditio procul a nobis in extremos Asiæ fines facta fuit. Difficulus autem redarguuntur, quæ de longe diffitis narrantur. Romanorum et Parthorum imperium magis aperuit rerum istarum cognitionem, quam ante tradita. Qui enim ista descripserunt, cum gentes, cum res gestas fidelius descripserunt, quam priores : plenius enim perspe-

“ lunt,

“ lunt, neque ferentes quicquam, neque arantes. Nuda autem est arbori-
 “ bus omnis hæc plaga, præter Hylæum. NOMADES autem isti incolunt
 “ tractum quatuordecim dierum longitudinis, auroram versus, ad GER-
 “ RHUM usque flumen. Trans Gerrhum autem sunt ea, quæ vocantur
 “ regia, et Scythæ optimi pariter et plurimi, et qui suos servos esse cæteros
 “ Scythas arbitrantur: a meridie quidem ad TAURICAM regionem pertin-
 “ gentes: ab aurora vero ad fossam quam dixerunt, isti, qui a cæcis geniti
 “ fuerunt, Oryxam: et ad emporium paludis Mæotidis, quod vocatur
 “ CREMNI, id est, prærupta: quorum pars ad flumen Tanaim porrigitur.
 “ At quæ superiora sunt, ad ventum aquilonem, Scythiis regiis, ea incolunt
 “ MELANCHLAENI, alia gens non Scythica. Et supra Melanchlænos pa-
 “ ludes sunt, et deserta hominibus regio, quantum noscimus. Trans flu-
 “ men autem Tanaim non est regio Scythica, sed prima LAXIORUM SAU-
 “ ROMATARUM, qui a recessu Mæotidos paludis incipientes, incolunt
 “ tractum, qui spectat aquilonem, itinere dierum quindecim, vacuum
 “ prorsus arboribus tam agrestibus quam fructiferis. Supra hos habitant
 “ (quæ secunda portio est) BUDINI, terram colentes totam omni arborum
 “ genere abundantem.” By this Passage we see, that in the Time of *He-
 rodotus*, the Country afterwards called *Sarmatia Europæa*, was not inhabit-
 ed by *Sarmatians*, but by the *Scythians*, properly so called; and that they
 “ were two different Nations. The *Sarmatians* therefore extended them-
 “ selves in *Europe* after his Time; and, in Consequence thereof, the Name
 of *Scythians* was obliged to give Way to theirs.

3. FOR the second Period of the Situation of *Sarmatia*, we are in-
 debted to *Ptolemy's* Description, of which, as far as regards *Sarmatia Eu-
 ropæa*, see above VI. 43. n. 3. Tho' the Nations there mentioned, did
 not constantly remain in the Habitations they then possessed; but were
 subject to great Revolutions, occasioned first by the *Goths*, and afterwards
 by the *Hunns*. Whence *Sarmatia*, in the sixth Century, and chiefly in
 the Reign of *Justinian*, differed greatly from what it was in *Ptolemy's*
 Time.

III.

*The Sarmatians are descended from the Medes, and are different from the
 Scythians.*

1. As to the Original of the *Sarmatians*, *Pliny* calls them *Medorum So-
 boles*, and *Mela*, habitu armisque *Parthis proximi*. Their Manners likewise
 shew

shew us, in Reality, some Signs, that render this Tradition of their Original the more probable. The Ancients indeed comprehend them under the Name of *Scythians*; but *Pliny*, at the same Time, observes, in express Terms, that they were a different People from the *Scythians* properly so called *, which is likewise evident from *Herodotus*. These Writers have not, however, described the *Sarmatians* so amply, that we can, from them, always distinguish, what Nations are to be accounted of their Race, and what not.

AMAZONES SARMATIDÆ.

2. ANTIQUITIES, at so great a Distance of Time, may easily give Occasion to bold Conjectures. *Herodotus* gives us even an Account how the *Amazons* passed the *Tanais*, settled themselves in *Asia* among the *Sarmatians*, and, at Length, married with them †. But *Hercules* may have found it an easier Task, to rob their Queen of her Girdle, than it would be, in this Point, for History to separate the Truth from Fable.

IV.

The Mention that is made of the Sarmatians, in the Histories of the Kings of Pontus, and the Parthians.

1. THE most ancient Account we find of the *Saracens* in *Asia*, that can be depended on, is in the History of their Neighbours, and first in that of the Kings of *Pontus*. The *Sarmatians* are mentioned among those Nations, which King *Mitridates* drew over to his Party ‡.

2. TACITUS mentions them, in his Account of the War between *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*, and *Pharasmanes* King of *Iberia*, in *Tiberius's* Reign. The *Sarmatian* Nations were divided, some taking the Part of the *Parthians*, and others that of the King of *Iberia*. *Ann. VI. 33.*
 “ Contra, *Pharasmanes* adjungere *Albanos*, accipere *Sarmatas*; quorum
 “ *Sceptuchi* utrimque donis acceptis, more gentico diversa induere. Sed
 “ *Iberi* locorum potentes, *Caspia* via *Sarmatam* in *Armenios* raptim effun-
 “ dunt. At qui *Parthis* adventabant, facile arcebantur: cum alios inces-
 “ sus hostis clausisset; unum reliquum, mare inter et extremos *Albanorum*

* *PLIN. IV. 25* *Scytharum nomen usquequaque transit in Sarmatas atque Germanos. Nec alius prisca illa duravit appellatio, quam qui extremi gentium harum, ignoti prope ceteris mortalibus degunt.*

† *HEROD. IV. 110. 113. 114.* *STRABO* likewise mentions the *Amazons* among the *Sarmatians*. *Lib. 3. cap. 5.* *Intus sunt ad Caspium sinum Caspii, et Amazones, sed quas Sauromatides appellant.*

‡ *JUSTIN. Lib. XXXVIII. cap. 3.*

montes,

“ montes æstas impediret ; quia flatibus etesiarum implentur vada ; hi-
 “ bernus Aufster revolvit fluctus, pulsoque introrsus freto, brevia litorum
 “ nudantur”. In the following 34. *Chapter*, he gives an Account of the
 Battle which was fought between the two Kings. That Passage contains,
 at the same Time, some Circumstances of the *Sarmatian* Manner of fight-
 ing. “ Ceterum directæ utrimque acie, Parthus imperium Orientis, clari-
 “ tudinem Arfacidarum, contraque ignobilem Iberum mercenario milite,
 “ differebat : Pharasmanes, integros semet a Parthico dominatu ; quanto
 “ majora peterent, plus decoris victores, aut si terga darent, flagitii atque
 “ periculi laturos, simul horridam suorum aciem, picta auro Medorum ag-
 “ mina ; hinc viros, inde prædam ostendere. Enimvero apud Sarmatas
 “ non una vox ducis : se quisque stimulant, ne pugnam per sagittas inirent,
 “ impetu et cominus præveniendum. Variæ hinc bellantium species, cum
 “ Parthus sequi vel fugere pari arte fuetus, distraheret turmas, spatium icti-
 “ bus quæreret : Sarmatæ omisso arcu, quo brevius valent, contis gladiis-
 “ que ruerent : modo equestris prælii more, frontis et tergi vices, aliquan-
 “ do, ut conferta acies, corporibus et pulsu armorum pellerent, pellerentur”.

3. *PLINY* likewise mentions them, on Occasion of *Mithridates*, King
 of *Iberia*, who fled to them for Refuge, in the Reign of *Claudius*. He
 says, *Lib. VI. 5.* where he mentions the People of *Colchis* : “ A tergo ejus
 “ Epageritæ, Sarmatarum populus, in Caucaſi jugis : post quem Sauro-
 “ matæ. Ad hos confugerat Mithridates, Claudio Principe &c.

V.

Coins of some of the Kings of the SARMATIANS.

THERE are some Coins remaining of Kings, who bore the Name of
Sauromates *, which were coined in the Reigns of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and
Septimius Severus. The Heads of the *Roman* Emperors, which are on
 one Side of them, sufficiently prove, that these Princes acknowledged
 their Supremacy. *Ezech. Spanheim* supposes them to have been Kings
 of *Bosphorus* † ; and in this I have followed him, *Vol. I. V. 10. n. 10.*

* THAT *Sauromates* was a proper Name, is plain from these Coins. *Ammianus Marcellinus* men-
 tions a *Sauromates*, King of *Iberia*. We likewise meet with the same Name, here and there, in the
Themata Constantini Porphyrogeniti.

† *SPANHEIM* treats of these Coins, *T. I. p. 489. seq.* and *T. II. p. 576.* As does likewise
Hoym, in *Theſ. Britan. Vol. II. p. 51.* The latter even attempts to give us a Succession of these
 Kings.

But

But *Vaillant* has examined this Matter more accurately. He imagines them to be Kings of a particular *Sarmatian* Nation; and distinguishes their Kingdom from that of *Bosphorus* so clearly, that he even observes the different *Epochs* of both *.

VI.

Of the Bosphorus Cimmerius; where the Sarmatians ruled for a Time.

1. ON this Occasion, I may properly speak more amply of the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, than I have hitherto done. I have, indeed, sometimes mentioned it in the *Gothick History*, particularly XIII. 7. but in the History of the *Asiatick Sarmatians*, it is of more Importance: *Bosphorus Cimmerius* is the *Streight*, thro' which the *Mæotick Lake* flows into the *Pontus Euxinus*, and is now called the *Streight of Caffa*, from the Haven of that Name. The adjacent Coast of *Asia* was comprehended under the same Name, whence arose a particular Kingdom, in which two Cities were especially famous; *Panticapæa*, in the *Peninsula* itself, and *Phanagora* in *Asia*. *Strabo* assures us, that the Kings of this *Bosphorus*, sometimes extended their Dominion as far as the *Tanais*, Lib. IX. p. 495. *Sæpe Bosphorani Reguli usque ad Tanaim omnia obtinuerunt.*

2. THE most ancient Kings are famous in the History of the *Greeks*. *Monfieur de Boze* has carried on their History till the Time when *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, made himself likewise Master of the *Bosphorus* †. This Kingdom had afterwards its own Kings again, of whom *Vaillant* has given us a Succession. These acknowledged, in some Measure, the Supremacy of the *Roman Emperors*, till the great Revolution ensued, in the Reign of *Valerian*, whence these Nations united with the *Goths* against the *Romans*. (V. 37. n. 1.)

3. IN succeeding Times, the *Sarmatians* ruled in the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*. *Constant. Porphyrogenitus*, Them. P. II. cap. 53. relates the Differences, which the Kings of *Sarmatia*, who were likewise Masters of this *Bosphorus*, had with the Inhabitants of the *Chersonesus Taurica*, (the pre-

* VAILLANT in Hist. Reg. Parthor. T. II. p. 276. sq.

† MEMOIR. de LITERAT. T. VI. p. 549. Is *Casaubon* treated on this Subject before him, in Not. ad *Strab.* p. 310.

sent (*Crim-Tartary*), in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, or of his Son *Constantius*, and concludes, *p. 150.* with these Words. *Atque ab eo tempore in posterum Sauromatæ Bospori imperium amiserunt.*

VII.

Illustration of the Sarmatian Histories, from those of the Romans, and Germans.

SINCE we cannot bring the *Sarmatian History* into any Connexion, it is of some Use, however, to set certain single Circumstances, of which we find many in the Course of the *Roman* and *German Histories*, on a sure Footing: I shall * take Notice of some, in this Place, in which as well the *Sarmatians* in general, as some *Sarmatian Nations*, in particular, are mentioned.

THE Wars in *Pontus* first gave the *Romans* a Knowledge of the *Sarmatians* in *Asia*. Those of *Europe* became known to them from their Neighbourhood with *Illyricum*, and the *German Nations*. The most ancient Notice we have is in *Florus*, Lib. III. cap. 4. *Appius ad Sarmatas usque pervenit.* In the History of *Augustus*, the *Sarmatians* are several Times mentioned. *FLORUS* Lib. IV. cap. 12. *Sarmatæ patentibus campis inequitant: et hos per eundem Lentulum prohibere Danubio satis fuit.* *DIO CASSIUS* lib. 54. p. 534. *Post eum C. Lucius eadem de causa contra Sauromatas bellum gerens, victos trans Istrum repulit.*

AMONG the Coins of *Domitian*, is one with the Reverse, *Victoria Sarmatica*. This refers to what I have hinted, *V. 1. n. 2.* of his Enterprize against the *Sarmatians*. *Suetonius* says of it: *Expeditiones partim sponte suscepit, partim necessario. Sponte in Catts, necessario unam in Sarmatas, legione cum legato simul cæsa.* And farther: *De Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Jovi retulit.*

TRAJAN had several Concerns with the *Sarmatians*, not only in *Pannonia*, and when he reduced *Dacia* into a *Roman Province*; (*V. 9.*) but likewise in *Asia*, on Occasion of the *Parthian War*. He took a *Sarmatian King* into the Protection of the *Romans* (*V. 9. n. 9.*) who was proba-

* *OPITIUS* made the same Attempt: *Var. Lect. c. 18.*

bly the same mentioned by *Pliny*, the younger, *Lib. X. ep. 15.* where he writes to the Emperor: *Rex Sauromates scripsit mihi, esse quædam, quæ deberes quam maturissime scire.*

M. AURELIUS had likewise, during the *Marcomann War*, Quarrels with some *Sarmatian Nations*. (*V. 13. seq.*) Whence his Coins bear the Title *de Sarmatis*, as he himself did that of *Sarmaticus*. (*Ibid. 21. n. 2. 3.*)

MAXIMINUS is likewise big with the same Titles. (*V. 30.*)

GORDIANUS *Junior* is also extolled by *Capitolinus* as *Victor Sarmatarum* (*V. 31. n. 1.*)

CARUS valiantly repelled the *Sarmatians*, who invaded *Pannonia*, and threatned a Visit to *Italy* it self: Whence probably his Son, *Carinus*, took Occasion to establish the *Ludi Sarmatici*. To what I have observed of these Games, (*V. 59. n. 2*) we may add another Passage from *Vopiscus*: *Memorable maxime et Carini, et Numeriani hoc habuit imperium, quod ludos Romanos novis ornatos spectaculis dederunt.* Those Games which had their Names from certain Nations, as the *Ludi Dacici*, *Gothici*, &c. consisted of such Exercises as each Nation was famous for beyond others. The Conjecture of *Salmasius* *, that the *Ludi Sarmatici* were chiefly esteemed for a particular Dexterity in vaulting from one Horse to another, seems to me very probable: This Kind of Horsemen were called by the Ancients, *Amphippi*. The *Sarmatians* were remarkably active at this Exercise, as is observed (*Vol. I. VI. 55. n. 2.*) from *Amm. Marcellinus*. We may, therefore, the sooner believe what *Ælianus*, in *Tacticis*, *cap. 37.* says of them. *Ufus hujus formæ maximus est adversus BARBAROS AD ISTRUM, quos et AMPHIPPOS dixere, ut qui ab aliis equis in alios transilire assueti sint.* The like Games are described by *MANILIUS Lib. V.*

*Nec non alterno desultor fidere dorso
Quadrupedum, et stabiles poterit defigere plantas,
Per quos vadit equos.*

DIOCLETIAN is called, in ancient Inscriptions, *Sarmaticus Maximus* (*VI. 10. n. 4.*) He is partly indebted, for these Sur-names, to the Wars

* Ad VOPISC. p. 505.

Of the Sarmatians in general.

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which his Armies waged against the *Sarmatians* in *Asia*, of which *CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROG.* Them. P. II. cap. 53. makes Mention.

CONSTANTINE, the *GREAT*, took up Arms against the *Sarmatians*, who crossed the *Danube*, Anno. 319. which War lasted three Years. *Zosimus* calls them *Sarmatæ*, *ad Mæotidem Paludem habitantes*, and their King *Raufimodus*: Whence the Title of *Sarmaticus*, which is given him in some ancient Inscriptions, as also the Coins with the Reverse: *Victoria Sarmatica*; and perhaps, likewise, the *Ludi Sarmatici*, which are mentioned in an ancient *Roman Calendar*, made about the Middle of the fourth Century. (VI. 25)

Their Quarrels with Valentiniano I. are hinted at VII. 10. and 12.

UNDER *Valens*, as well the *Sarmatians* as the *Goths* were probably in Motion; whence they are mentioned in *Gratian's History*. Of this I have quoted some Passages, (VII. 27. n. 2. and 28. n. 3.) to which we may add the following from the *Panegyrick* of *Ausonius*: *Voca Germanicum dediti-one gentilium: Alemannicum traductione captorum: VINCENDO ET IGNOSCENDO SARMATICUM.*

THAT *Theodosius* was successful against the *Sarmatians*, is evident from the following Passage in *Symmachus*. Lib. X. epist. 68. *Dudum fando acceperat P. R. cæſorum funera Sarmatarum. At nunc confirmata est nuntiorum lætitia, ſpectaculo triumphali. Jam minores non ſumus vetuſtis exemplis. Vidimus, quæ acta miramur, catenatum agmen victæ gentis induci, illoſque jam pridem truces vultus miſero pallore mutatos. Stetit arenæ medio ſubjecta voluptati, quæ fuit ante formidini, aſſuetæ armis gentilibus manus gladiatoria inſtrumenta tenuerunt.*

AFTER the *Goths* extended their Dominion in *Sarmatia*, the *Sarmatians* are frequently mentioned in their History, and perhaps they had their Part in the great Revolution, when, in the Reign of *Valens*, the *Hunns* almost overthrew the *Gothick* Empire. After this, Mention is made of *Sarmatian* Nations among others, who were in the Service of *Attila*, (IX. 25. n. 3.) whose Power had besides its chief Seat, in *Sarmatia* and *Dacia*.

BUT, after *Attila's* Death, they shook off the Yoke again. (X. 7.) And to this the two *Sarmatian* Kings, *Benga* and *Babai*, who, soon after *Attila's* ANNOT.

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la's Death, had to do with the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Pannonia*, probably contributed. (X. II. n. 3.)

VIII.

Of some single Sarmatian Nations.

ANCIENT Geographers take Notice of many single *Sarmatian Nations*, most of whom have appeared in the Course of the *German History*. I will here only revive the Memory of those, of whom we have the most Authentic Testimonies. At the same Time, it will appear, that some Nations are reckoned among the *Sarmatians*, who do not properly belong to them.

Sarmatæ Jazyges.

1. THE *Sarmatæ Jazyges* are the most renowned in *Roman History*. They dwelt at first on the *Mæotic Lake* *. A Colony of them fought their Way thro' the *Getæ*, and gained a sure Footing between the *Danube* and the *Theis*. These are the same who were called *Jazyges Metanastæ*. Their Situation gave Occasion to their being often engaged in Quarrels with the neighbouring *Germans*, and to their frequently ravaging the *Roman Provinces*, on the other Side of the *Danube*. In the Reign of *Tiberius*, they took Part with King *Vannius* (IV. 31.) When the *Roman Army* in *Pannonia* and *Moesia* declared for *Vespasian*, they drew the Chiefs of the *Jazygi* over to their Party. TACIT. Hist. III. 5. *Ne inermes provinciæ barbaris nationibus exponerentur, principes Sarmatarum Jazygum, penes quos civitatis regimen, in commilitium asciti. Plebem quoque et vim equitum, qua sola valent, offerebant.* They had a Share in the *Marcoman War*, (V. 13.) and their King, *Zanticus*, made a separate Peace with the Emperor, *M. Antoninus*. (Ib. 20.) Their Name likewise appears again in the *Polish History*, when they were vanquished by that Nation.

Sarmatæ liberi, and limigantes.

2. THE *Sarmatæ liberi* † dwelt, in the Time of *Constantine*, the Great, between the *Theis* and the *Maros*, to the *Danube*. They were expelled

* PROLEM, Et per totum Mæotidos latus Jazyges.

† EUSEBIUS calls them *Sarmatæ Arcaragantes* in Chron. ad An. 2350. *Sarmatæ limigantes domos suas, qui nunc Arcaragantes vocantur, facta manu, in Romanum solum expulerunt.*

their

their Country by their own Servants, who were the *Sarmatæ limigantes*. (VI. 28. n. 6.) The Emperor *Constantius* restored them to their Country, and ordained one *Zizais* to be their King, on Condition that he should acknowledge the Supremacy of the Empire. (VI. 55.) Whence he himself is stiled *Secundo-Sarmaticus*. (Ib. 56.) These *Sarmatæ liberi* are the very same, who, in the Time of *Valentinian*, went over the *Danube*; but were valiantly repelled by *Theodosius*, then *Dux Mœsiæ*. (VII. 19.)

3. THE *Sarmatæ limigantes* had, indeed, another Habitation assigned them by *Constantius*; but, in the Year 359. rebelled against him likewise: whereupon they were defeated and totally dispersed. (VI. 57.)

ROXOLANI.

4. THE *Roxolani* dwelt, in the Time of *Strabo*, between the *Tanais* and the *Borysthenes*, p. 306. *Roxolani maxime Septentrionales, qui campos inter Tanaim et Borysthenem incolunt.* - - *An super Roxolanos habitet aliquis, nescimus. Roxolani etiam contra Mithridatis Eupatoris legatos pugnaverunt.* He there gives the following Account of their Arms: *Utuntur galeis de crudis boum tergoribus, ac thoracibus, peltas gerunt cratibus contextas: arma iis hasta, gladius, arcus.* *Tacitus* gives us a better Account thereof, when he relates their Invasion of *Mœsiæ*, in the Time of *Otho*, and the Overthrow they suffered. *Hist. I. 79.* “ *Eo audentius Roxolani,*
“ *Sarmatica gens, priore hieme cæsis duabus cohortibus, magna spe ad*
“ *Mœsiam irruperant, novem millia equitum, ex ferocia et successu, præ-*
“ *dæ magis, quam pugnæ intenta. Igitur vagos et incuriosos, tertia legio,*
“ *adjunctis auxiliis, repente invasit. Apud Romanos omnia prælio apta:*
“ *Sarmatæ dispersi, aut cupidine prædæ graves onere sarcinarum, et lubrico*
“ *itinerum ademta equorum pernicitate, velut vincti cædebantur. Nam-*
“ *que mirum dictu, ut si omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos, nihil*
“ *ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum; ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla*
“ *acies obstiterit. Sed tum humido die, et soluto gelu, neque conti, ne-*
“ *que gladii, quos prælongos utraque manu regunt, usui, lapsantibus equis,*
“ *et cataphractarum pondere. Id principibus et nobilissimo cuique teg-*
“ *men, ferreis laminis, aut præduro corio confertum; ut adversus ictus im-*
“ *penetrabile; ita impetu hostium provolutis inhabile ad resurgendum.*
“ *Simul altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. Romanus miles facili*
“ *lorica, et missili pilo, aut lanceis assaultans; ubi res posceret levi gladio in-*
“ *ermem Sarmatam (neque enim defendi scuto mos est) cominus fodiebat;*

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“ donec

“donec pauci, qui prælio superfuerant, paludibus abderentur.” They are more than once mentioned in the *Roman History*, e. g. under *Adrian*, (V. 10.) in the *Marcoman War*, (V. 13.) in the *History of the Goths*, &c.

Alani Sarmatæ.

5. SOME Authors, and in particular, *Marcianus Heracleotes*, will have the *Alani*, by *Amm. Marcellinus* supposed to be the *Massagetæ* of the Ancients, to be likewise *Sarmatians*. As they came from the *Caucasus*, and are therefore called *Caucasigenæ*; this Opinion seems to have some Grounds. Their Manner of Life, as described by *Amm. Marcellinus*, agrees likewise with the Ideas given us of the *Sarmatians*. (VII. 13. n. 2.) There were many Nations comprehended under this Name, as well in *Asia* as in *Europe*, as I have already shewn. (VII. 13.) The *Alani Europæi*, according to the Testimony of *Marcianus*, dwelt in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Alanus*, where the *Borysthenes* has its Source. I have mentioned them several times in the first Volume, and chiefly (VII. 13.) At that time, the *Alani* and *Goths* passed the *Danube*, into the *Roman Territories*. (Ib. 23. and 27.) Of these Latter, those seem to have been who invaded *Gaul*, (VIII. 15.) and, in Part, advanced farther into *Spain*, where they joined the *Vandals*.

The Daci and Getæ are different from the Sarmatians.

6. SOME have reckoned the *Daci* and *Getæ*, who were originally one Nation, likewise to the *Sarmatians* *. But *Tacitus* shews us the Difference †; as *Ptolemy* does yet more amply. How far Ancient *Dacia* extended, before *Trajan* reduced it to a Province, *Steph. Zamofius*, in *Analect. Antiquitatum Daciæ*, cap. 2. has shewn us. The *Getæ* and *Sarmatians* were, however, intermixed. Thus *Ovid* got acquainted with both Nations, and their Language, while he was in Exile, in the City of *Tomis*, in the *Pontus*, as he himself bears Testimony:

Nam didici Getice, Sarmaticeque loqui.

* PARTICULARLY PASTORIUS in Orig. Sarm. p. 54.

† Germ. I. *A Sarmatis, Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separantur.* Add. OPITIUS Var. Lett. c. 4.

Whether the Bastarnæ and Carpi are to be reckoned Sarmatians.

7. THE *Bastarnæ* are likewise accounted by some to be *Sarmatians* *. Their Habitations border'd on the *Carpathian* Mountains, which therefore had the Name of *Alpes Bastarnicæ*: But *Strabo* distinguishes these two Nations, and says, p. 306. *In mediterraneis Bastarnæ sunt Tyrigetis ac Germanis confines, ac fere ipsi quoque Germanici generis, in plures divisi populos. Nam Atmoni nominantur alii, alii Sidones: Peucini, qui insulam Istri Peucen occuparunt. Tacitus* reckons them among the Germans. Germ. 46. *Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt. Pliny* makes them one of the five principal Tribes of the German Nations (*l. 2. n. 4.*) and *Lib. IV. cap. 13.* he says: *Aversa Bastarnæ tenent, aliique inde Germani.* They are mentioned in the History of *Perseus*, King of *Macedon*, who made Use of their Assistance against the Romans. *PLUTARCHUS* in *Vit. Pauli Aemilii*: *Veniebant ei roganti Bastarnæ, decem millia equitum, par numerus peditum, qui prolapsorum equitum vacuos capiebant equos; omnes mercenarii homines, qui nec agriculturam, nec naviculariam nossent, nec pecore pascendo vitam tolerare: verum unum opus, unam meditarentur artem, perpetuo præliari et vincere acie hostem, proceris corporibus viri, mirabili exercitatione, grandiloqui, et mirifice adversus hostes loquaces.* *Appian* mentions them, *Lib. de bellis Mithridaticis*, p. 365. among the Nations, who came to the Assistance of King *Mithridates*. They had a Share in the *Marcoman* War. (*V. 13. n. 1*) *Probus* vanquished them, and transported them into *Thrace*. (*V. 55. n. 3.*) Whence, in succeeding Times, their Name, by Degrees, became obliterated. Probably the Remainder of them united with the *Goths*; and, if any of them did remain in their native Country, they lay concealed under the Name of *Piecinigi*, or *Patzinacæ*, which we find as well in the *Byzantine*, as the *Polish* History.

8. The *Carpi*, who dwelt on the *Carpathian* Mountains, as their Name seems to imply, have as little Title to be reckoned among the *Sarmatians*. *Eutropius* distinguishes the *Carpi*, *Bastarnæ*, and *Sarmatians*, when he writes of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*: *Varia deinceps et simul et viritim bella gesserunt, Carpis et Bastarnis subactis, Sarmatis victis; quarum nationum ingentes captivorum copias in Romani finibus locaverunt.* In the Year 295. they submitted entirely to the Romans; and were dispersed, by *Diocletian*, throughout all *Pannonia*. (*VI. 9.*)

† PASTORIUS loc. cit. p. 49.

Whether

Whether the Lazi are to be reckoned among the Sarmatians?

9. THE Sarmatian Nations in *Asia*, are not easy to be distinguished by Name. *Pastorius* in *Origin. Sarmat.* p. 61. reckons among others the *Lazi*, a People in the Territory of *Colchis*, who were particularly famous under the Reign of *Justin* and *Justinian*: But this requires a farther Proof*.

IX.

The Manners of the Sarmatians: Their Language.

1 GREEK and Roman Writers speak of the *Sarmatians*, as of a distinct Nation, who were quite different from the *Germans*, both in Language and Manners. *Tacitus* says, *Germ.* 46. of the *Venedi*: *Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt, et scuta gestant, et pedum usu ac pernecitate gaudent, quæ omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus.* As likewise of the *Bastarnæ*: *Peucinatorum, Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam, dubito: quanquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt.* And farther: *Procerum connubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum sædantur.*

2. THEY do not, however, point out the *Sarmatians* so accurately that we can from thence form a distinct *Idea*, what Nations are to be accounted of this Race. The Language of Nations is otherwise an almost incontestable Evidence, where their Original and Affinity are in Question: But we have hardly any Account of the *Sarmatian* Tongue. A Passage concerning it, in *Herodotus*, IV. 117. gives us little Light: *Sauromatæ putantur lingua Scythica solæcizare, quod eam ab initio non probe didicerint Amazones.*

* There is, indeed a Passage in *Herodotus*, Lib. IV. p. 144. *Trans flumen autem Tanaim non est regio Scythica, sed prima Laxiorum Sauromatarum.* But it is very uncertain, whether the *Laxii* were the *Lazii* in *Colchis*: *Ptolemy* distinguishes the *Colchi* and *Sarmatæ*, tho' *Sarmatians* may have dwelt in *Colchis*, of whom *Lucan* is to be understood. III. 270.

- - - *Sævisque adfinis Sarmata Moschis
Colchorum qua rura fecat ditissima Phasis.*

3. BESIDES this, ancient Writers give us sufficiently to understand, that likewise those Nations whom they comprehended under the common Name of *Sarmatians*, differed as much in their Language as in their Manners. What *Strabo* says of the City of *Dioscurias*, in *Colchis*, may serve as an Instance. An incredible Number of Nations are mentioned, who were wont to trade thither, and had their different Languages; and yet they were chiefly *Sarmatians* *. *Amm. Marcellinus*, *Lib. XXII. cap. 8.* says of the *European Sarmatians*, *Circa hæc stagna ultima, extimaque, plures habitant gentes; SERMONE, INSTITUTORUMQUE VARIETATE DISPARILES: Faxamatæ, et Mæotæ, et Jazyges, Roxolanique et Alani, et Melanchlenæ, et cum Gelonis Agathyrsi.*

POMP. MELA'S Description of the Sarmatians.

4. To trace, however, as far as possible those Footsteps, by which we may distinguish the *Sarmatians*, I shall quote the principal Passages which we find in ancient Authors, of their Manners. *Mela* gives this Description of them, in general; *Lib. III. c. 4.* *Sarmatia, intus, quam ad mare, latior, ab iis, quæ sequuntur, Visula amne discreta, qua retro abit, usque ad Istrum flumen immittitur. Gens habitu armisque Parthicæ proxima: verum ut cæli asperioris, ita ingenii. Non se urbibus tenet, et ne statis quidem sedibus. Ut invitavere pabula, ut cedens et sequens hostis exigit, ita res opesque secum trahens, semper castra habitat; bellatrix, libera, indomita, et usque eo immanis atque atrox, ut feminæ etiam cum viris bella ineant. Atque ut habiles sint, natis statim dextra aduritur mamma. Inde expedita in ictus manus, quæ exseritur, virile fit pectus. Arcus tendere, equitare, venari, puellaria pensa sunt: ferire hostem, adultarum stipendium est: adeo ut non percussisse pro flagitio habeatur, sitque eis poenæ virginitas.*

* He says, *Lib. XI. p. 498.* *Eadem Dioscurias etiam initium est Isthmi, Euxino et Caspio mari interiecti, commune emporium gentium supra et in vicinia habitantium: aiunt quidam, eo convenire LXX; nonnulli etiam CCC gentes, quibus nulla rerum cura fit, omnes diversarum linguarum: quia sparsim et sine commerciis visitant ob insolentiam et feritatem. SARMATÆ SUNT PLERIQUE, et OMNES CAUCASII etiam. Pliny says the same, *Lib. VI. cap. 5.* *Reliqua litora feræ nationes tenent, Melanchlenæ, Coraxi urbe Colchorum Dioscuriade, juxta fluvium Anthemunta, nunc deserta: quondam adeo clara, ut Timotheus in eam CCC nationes, dissimilibus linguis, descendere prodiderit. Et postea a nostris CXXX interpretibus negotia ibi gesta.**

Of their Manner of Life.

5. All the Accounts we have of *Sarmatian Nations* agree in this, that they had no great Regard to Polity. Some of them had their Kings, of whom several are named in History: Others lived in an equal and free Community. They did not chuse to live in Cities; where ever they went, they carried their Families about with them, together with a few Stores in Wag-gons *. *Justin* says the same of the *Scythians*, in general. *Lib. II. cap. 2. Uxores liberosque secum in plaustis vehunt; quibus coriis imbrum, hiemisque causa tectis, pro domibus utuntur.* So likewise *Horace*, *Lib. III. Od. 24.*

*Campestres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trabunt domos.*

For this Reason the *Sarmatians* were called *Hamaxobii*, as *Strabo*, who places them on the River *Bog*, says: *Lib. II. 1. Hujus flexum Buces am-nis secat, Agathyrsi et Sauromatæ ambiunt; quia pro sedibus plaustra ha-bent, dicti Hamaxobii.*

Of their Garb. *Sarmatæ picti.*

6. *Tacitus* observes of the *Sarmatians* in general, that, with Regard to their Cloathing and Manner of Dress, they differed entirely from the *Ger-mans*, and rather agreed with the *Parthians*. *Germ. 17. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatæ et Parthi, sed stricta, et singu-los artus exprimente:* Which likewise agrees with *Mela's* Description, who calls them *habitu Parthis proximi*: And, of the *Parthians*, we know that they wore long Garments. *Justin* says of them, *Lib. XII. Vestis olim sui moris; postea quam accessere opes, ut Medis, perlucida ac fluida †.* They let their Hair and Beards grow, without trimming or shaving. *Ovid Trist. V. el. 8.* says.

Non coma, non ulla barba resecta manu.

And the Severity of the Weather taught them to wrap themselves up in Skins. *OVIDIUS Trist. III. el. 10.*

*Pellibus et sutis arcent mala frigora braccis,
Oraque de toto corpore sola patent.*

* *TACIT.* See above, Num. 1.

† We may form some Idea of the Garb of the *Parthians*, from some of *Augustus's* Coins.

THE *Alani* had something peculiar in the Ornaments of their Heads. *Isidorus* says of them: *Persæ brachia ac crura lineamentis, caput tiara tegunt: Eminent apicibus fastigiatis Alani.* *Pliny* says indeed, likewise of the *Sarmatians*, that they were accustomed to paint their Bodies with all Manner of Figures, Lib. XXII. cap. 1. *Equidem et formæ gratia ritusque perpetui, in corporibus suis aliquas exterarum gentium uti herbis quibusdam, adverto animum. Illinunt certe aliis aliæ faciem in populis Barbarorum femine, maresque etiam apud Dacos, et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribunt:* But this is hardly to be understood of them all in general, but rather chiefly of the *Agathyrsi*, a Nation that dwelt in *Sarmatia* *.

Their D I E T.

THEIR Diet was mean, and Millet their most dainty Food. They likewise eat the Milk of Mares, and even the Blood of Horses. *Pliny*, Lib. XVIII. cap. 24. *Milio Campania præcipue gaudet, pultemque candidam ex eo facit. Fit et panis prædulcis. Sarmatarum quoque gentes hac pulte aluntur, et cruda etiam farina, equino lacte, vel sanguine e cruris venis admixto.* *MARTIAL* therefore says, Lib. I. Spectac. Epigr. 3.

Venit et epoto Sarmata pastus equo †.

Manner of breeding up their Children. Warlike Disposition of the Sarmatian Women.

8. AN ancient Greek Poet says, of the *Scythians* in general, that they nursed their Children with Mare's Milk ‡. Nothing could be so Savage, as the Manner of their breeding up their Daughters. They were not suffered to marry till they had killed an Enemy in the Field. So *Nic. Damascenus*

* SEE the foregoing XXIX Annotation.

† Add. *LUCAN.* III. 282. *Longaque Sarmatici solvens jejunia belli Massagetes, quo fugit, equo.*

‡ *ANTIPHANES* ap. *ATHEN.* Deipnos. Lib. VI. p. 226.

*Nonne putas, apprime sapientes esse Scythas?
Qui st atim natis infantibus
Equorum lac præbent atque boum:
Nec fascinatrices per Jovem nutrices adhibent,
Nec ullos liberis Pædagogos suis.
Præstantiores quidem ii sunt et circulatoribus,
Et iis, qui falsis mensuris merces vendunt suas.*

tells us, in Exc. p. 516. *Sauromatæ uxoribus in omnibus obtemperant tanquam dominabas. Virginem non prius locant ad nuptias, quam hostem occiderit.* And likewise HERODOTUS IV. 117. *Quod ad conjugia pertinet, ita ab eis est institutum. Nulla virgo nubit, priusquam aliquem hostium interemerit: ideoque nonnullæ earum decedunt jam vetulæ, antequam nubant, quod legi satisfacere nequeant.* MELA Lib. III. cap. 4. *Ferire hostem adularum stipendium est, adeo ut non percussisse pro flagitio habeatur, sitque eis poena virginitas.* Such an Education may indeed be proper enough for Women, who are said to be descended from *Amazons*, and were as arrant Soldiers as the Men; which latter, *Clemens Alexandrinus* says of the *Sarmatian Women*. Strom. Lib. IV. c. 8. p. 591. *Audito, mulieres quoque Sauromatidas non minus belligerare, quam viros; et alias Sacidas, quæ a tergo sagittant simulantes fugere, æque ac viri.*

Of their Warfare Arms, &c.

9. WE have the best Account of their Warfare, and indeed it is very natural of a Nation, which were hardly acquainted with the Blessings of Peace *. They were in general reckoned good Horsemen. TACITUS Hist. I. 79. *Namque mirum dictu, ut si omnis Sarmatarum vis velut extra ipsos, nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum, ubi per turmas advenere vix ulle acies obstiterit.* Their Horses were likewise fam'd for their being hardy and swift. Pliny says of them: Lib. VIII. cap. 65. *Sarmatæ longinqua itinera acturi inedia præparant eos, potum exiguum impertientes: atque ita per centena millia et quinquaginta continuo cursu euntibus insident.* AMM. MARCELLINUS is something more circumstantial: (VI. 55. n. 1.) *Per spatia discurrunt amplissima, sequentes alios, vel ipsi terga vertentes, insidendo velocibus equis, et morigeris, trabentesque singulos, interdum et binos, uti permutatio vires foveat jumentorum, vigorque otio integretur alterno.* This Swiftness procured them a particular Nick-Name with the Poets, as in LUCAN, III. 93.

*Di melius, quod non Latias Eous in oras
Nunc furor incubuit; nec juncto SARMATA VELOX
Pannonio, Dacisque Getes admixtus.*

* FLORUS de Sarmatis III. 12. *Tanta barbaries est, ut pacem non intelligant.*

WE find Accounts of various Arms which they made Use of. *Plin. Lib. VI. cap. 65.* mentions, in particular, the Bow *, the common Weapon of so many Nations. *Ovid* likewise mentions the same. *Trist. V. el. 7.*

*Sarmaticæ major Geticæque frequentia gentis
Per medias in equis itque reditque vias.
In quibus est nemo, qui non coryton et arcum,
Telaque vipereo lurida felle gerat.*

We likewise find, among the *Romans*, a particular Kind of Bows, called *Arcus Sarmatici* †. From the before mentioned Passages of *Tacitus* ‡, we have a better Knowledge, as well of their Manner of fighting, as their Arms; and particularly the Custom of their Cavalry, that they went to the Battle in compleat Curasses, as we find them represented in the *Columna Trajani*.

10. I have already observed, (*Vol. I. VI. 55. n. 1.*) from *Amm. Marcellinus*, that the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi* prepared their Armour in a singular Manner. This appears more plainly from a Passage of *Pausanias, Lib. I. p. 49. seq.* where he describes the Curiosities of the Temple of *Æsculapius*, at *Athens*. “ *Ibidem et alia complura, et Sarmatica dicata est lorica,*
“ *quam qui intuetur, nihilo quam Græcos ad artes excolendas barbaros mi-*
“ *nus solertes putabit. Nam Sarmatis nulla sunt ferri metalla, neque ad*
“ *eos aliunde ferrum importatur. Sunt enim hi præ cunctis earum regi-*
“ *onum barbaris ab hominum commerciis alienissimi. Ob eam igitur*
“ *ferri penuriam, vimineis hastarum cuspidibus uti pro ferreis excogita-*
“ *runt. Arcus et sagittas ex cornu habent, et earum item vimineas cuspi-*
“ *des. Catenas vero in quemcunque affecuti fuerint, hostium injicientes,*
“ *aversis a cursu equis, laqueis implicatos subvertunt. Loricas hoc ferme*
“ *modo faciunt: magna equorum armenta habent. Neque enim in par-*
“ *tes terra descripta privatorum usibus servit, aut quicquam præter agref-*
“ *tem siluam fert. Compascua igitur tota regio est, et incolæ Nomadæ*
“ *appellantur. Equis non solum ad belli munia utuntur, sed ex eodem*
“ *pecore et hostias Diis suis cædunt, et sibi cibum comparant. Ungulas*
“ *ubi legerint perpurgatas ac dissectas, ad similitudinem squamarum draco-*
“ *nis expoliunt. Quod si quis draconem non viderit, haud errarit, si opus*

* De arcus Scythici forma *PLIN. IV. 24. et 26. Add. supr. p. 53. Ann. IX. 5.*

† *CLAUDIUS Imp. ap. TREBELL. Arcus Sarmaticos, et duo saga ad me velim mittas.*

‡ SEE above, IV. and VIII.

“ illud ungulis confertum, pineæ nucis adhuc viridis torulis fimile esse putarit. Has itaque squamulas perforant, et equinis vel bubulis nervulis consuunt. Inde sibi loricas concinnant, quæ neque elegantia, neque firmitate, loricis Græcorum inferiores sunt. Eæ namque tum cominus, tum ominus percussæ, ictus sustinent. Nam linteæ lorice hæc haudquaquam pugnantibus utiles, quod ferro vehementius immisso perviæ sunt, sed venatoribus certo præsidio sunt. In illis namque leonum et pardorum dentes retunduntur.”

II. IF we take a View of all that is said, by the Ancients, concerning the Arms used by the *Sarmatian* Nations, we see plainly, that, likewise in this Point, they did not altogether agree. *Tacitus* observes it as a Singularity in them, that they used no Shields *; but *Sidonius* extols their particular Expertness, in the Management of that defensive Weapon, in the Battle. *Carm. VII.*

*functus tibi vincitur illic
Cursu Herulus, Chunus jaculis, Francusque natatu
Sauromates clypeo, Salius pede, falce Gelonus.*

The Use of S L I N G S.

12. IT is likewise observed, as peculiar in them, that they used the *Sling* against their Enemies, as *Pausanias* relates of them in the foregoing Passage. What this Author ascribes to the *Sarmatians* in general, *Josephus de Bel. Iud. L. V. c. 7.* mentions in particular of the *Alani* †: Tho' other Nations had this very Custom. *Suidas* observes it of the *Parthians* †, who were therefore surnamed *Loriferi*; *Sozomenus*, Lib. VII. cap. 26. of the *Hunns*.

* Hist. I. Levi gladio inermem Sarmatam, (neque enim defendi scuto mos est) cominus fodiebat. Add inf. Ann. XXXI. num. 1.

† Magna ergo facilitate, et sine pugna rapinas exercentes, usque ad Armeniam vastantes omnia profere. Ejus autem Teridates rex erat, qui cum illis obviam ivisset pugnamque commisset, parum aberat, quin vivus in illo conflictu caperetur. Procul enim quidam, misso in eum laqueo, circumdatum tracturus erat, nisi celeriter gladio abscidisset funem, et fugere occupasset.

X.

The Religion of the Sarmatians.

1. WHAT we find of their Religion and Deities, is just as obscure. And, in this Point likewise, Things are sometimes attributed to the *Sarmatians*, which either belonged to the *Scythians*, properly so called, or were common to other Nations; who, as well as the *Sarmatians*, were included under the general Name of *Scythians*.

2. WHAT most deserves our Notice, are the Words of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, where he attributes to them the Worship of Fire, a very consistent Custom for a Nation descended from the *Medes*. Coh. ad Gent. c. 5. p. 56. *Persarum autem magi, multique ex his, qui Asiam incolunt, et præterea Macedones, prout Diogenes in primo Persicorum scribit, igni divinos honores tribuunt. Quid Sauromatas referam, quos Nymphodorus, in moribus barbarorum, narrat ignem venerari?*

3. THIS same Father says likewise, that they worshipped a *Scymeter*. Ib. *Sauromatas autem, Scythiæ gentem, acinacem colere, refert Icesius, in opere de Mysteriis.* Others says the same of the *Scythians* *, and the other Inhabitants of *Scythia Europæa*, in general. MELA Lib. II. cap. 1. *Mars omnium Deus. Ei pro simulacris enses et tinctoria dedicant, hominesque pro victimis feriunt. Solinus mentions it of the Neuri, a Scythian Nation, that dwelt on the Borysthenes: Populis istis Deus Mars est: pro simulacris enses colunt. Arnobius even distinguishes, in this Point, the Scythians and Sarmatians, Lib. VI. adv. gentes, where, at the same time, he touches on their Sacrifices. Ridetis, temporibus priscis Persas fluvium coluisse, memorabilia ut indicant scripta, informem Arabas lapidem, acinacem Scythiæ nationes, Sarmatas Diis patriis equos immolasse.* And to this, perhaps, we may apply the consecrated Sword of the Kings of the *Scyths*, of which *Attila* boasts, (IX. 23. n. 12.)

Whether Diana was worshipped by the Sarmatians?

4. A LEARNED Writer, who endeavours to do great Honour to the *Sarmatian Antiquity* †, reckons the *Diana Taurica*, among the *Sarma-*

* THERE is a Passage De Diis Scytharum, in HERODOTUS IV. 59 which, however, favours too much of the Fable.

† PASTORIUS in Origin. Sarmat. p. 24.

tian Deities : But the *Tauro-Scythæ*, and the *Sarmatæ* were different People.

Or VENUS?

5. WITH as little Reason, he attributes the famous Temple of *Venus*, at *Phanagoria*, the Capital of *Bosphorus*, in *Asia*, to the *Sarmatians*. The Goddess there worshipped is known, among the most ancient of the *Græcian* Fables, by the Name of the *Deceitful*, and was not so famous for her Beauty, as her good Conduct in the War with the Giants *. Such a *Venus* would indeed have been a proper Goddess for the *Sarmatians*, whose Daughters had their Thoughts more employed on the Bow and Arrow, than on Beauty and Manners.

Or CASTOR and POLLUX?

6. ACCORDING to him, *Castor* and *Pollux*, who had their Temple at *Dioscurias*, a famous City in *Colchis*, were likewise to be reckoned among their Deities : But there were so many Inhabitants, of different Nations, in this City †, that we do not so certainly know, whether the *Sarmatians* had any Share in this Worship.

Christianity preached among the Sarmatians. St. Andrew the Apostle of the Scythians.

7. WE find some Marks of *Christianity* having been early known among the *Saracens*. Ecclesiastical History mentions, of *St. Andrew*, that *Scythia* fell to his Lot, and that he preached the Gospel about the Territories of the *Pontus Euxinus* ‡. Some of the ancient Fathers likewise take Notice of this People among the *Christians*. *Tertullian* § mentions

* STRABO writes of the templum Veneris at Phanagoria, Lib. XI. p. 495. *Habet Phanagoria templum VENERIS APATURI insigne. Nomen Deæ, a fabula sumta occasione, a dolo deducunt. Ibi locorum Venerem, cum eam gigantes adorirentur, Herculem accivisse, inque spelunca quadam abscondidisse, deinde singulos gigantes excepisse, ei Herculi unum post alium per fraudem necandum præbuisse*

† SEE above, in this Ann. VIII. 9. not. †.

‡ NICEPH. II. 39. *Sorte quoque ei provincia ea obtigit, ut ad gentes mitteretur: in Cappadociam scilicet, Galatiam et Bithyniam, quibus ille peragratis ad eam quoque accessit, quæ Antropophagorum dicitur, et ad Scytharum felitudines, ad utrumque Pontum Euxinum &c.*

§ TERTULL. adv. Judæos: *Romani et incolæ, tunc et in Hierusalem Judæi, et cæteræ gentes: ut jam Getulorum varietates, et Maurorum multi fines, Hispaniarum omnes termini, et Galliarum diversæ nationes*

tions the *Sarmatians*, and *Prudentius* || the *Scythians* in general; and in particular the *Geloni*. But if some Seeds of the *Christian Doctrine* were actually scattered among the *Sarmatians*, in all Appearance they were soon stifled again. At least, the Fruits of it, did not afterwards appear among the *Sclavonian Nations*. However, *Czar, Peter, I.* when he instituted a famous Order of Knight-hood, renewed at the same Time, the Memory of this Apostle.

nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita; et SARMATARUM, et Dacorum, et Germanorum, et Scytharum, et abditarum multarum gentium, et provinciarum et insularum multarum nobis ignotarum, et quæ enumerare minus possumus. In quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen, qui jam venit, regnat.

|| SEE VII. 39. n. II.



XXXI. ANNOTATION.

Of the Slavonian Nations.

IV.

THE foregoing Annotation I set apart for an Account of the *Sarmatians* in general; and, on that Occasion, considered the Inhabitants of *Sarmatia Europæa*, according to their different Periods; that is, first, the *Scythians* properly so called, and afterwards the *Sarmatians*. In the sixth Century, and chiefly in the Reign of *Justinian*, the Scene changed again. The *Venedi*, *Sclaveni* and *Antæ*, became so famous, by their Expeditions, and the Establishment of New Kingdoms, that the Name of *Sarmatians* was thereupon almost extinct.

Venedi, Wenden.

I. THE Name of *Venedi*, *Winidæ* or *Wenden*, includes many single Nations, and therefore the *Venedi* are reckoned among the principal Nations of *Sarmatia*. What *Tacitus*, Germ. 46. says of them, I may properly lay down here as a *Basis*: *Peucinatorum, VENDORUMQUE, et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam, dubito: quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede, ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor. Procerum connubiis mixtis, nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum fœdantur. VENEDI multum ex moribus traxerunt. Nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniiis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domus figunt, et scuta gestant, et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent, quæ omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt, in plauastro equoque viventibus. Ptolemy* says likewise of them: *Incolunt Sarmatiam maximæ gentes: VENEDÆ apud omnem Venedicum Sinum* *. Indeed when *Tacitus* reckons the *Venedi* among

* *PTOLEMY* does not make the *Sinus Venedicus* signify the whole East Sea. *Cluverus*, *Germ. Antiq. Lib. III. cap. 37. fin.* makes it very probable, that the Coasts between the *Vistula* and the *Narva*, are to be thereby understood.

among the *Germans*, their very Language, which has no Manner of Affinity with the *German*, is a Contradiction to him. But whence it comes, that many confound the *Venedi* with the *Vandals*, I have shewn above, *Ann. VII. V. 3.*

The VENETI are a quite different People from them.

2. THE *Veneti* or *Heneti*, in *Paphlagonia*, of whom we find Mention so early as in *Homer* and *Herodotus*, have no Affinity with the *Venedi*. There is likewise an ancient, tho' a very uncertain Tradition *, that the former marched into *Italy*, after the Destruction of *Troy*, under the Conduct of *Antenor*.

As are likewise the HENIOCHI.

3. THE *Heniochi* †, a People of *Colchis*, who, besides, are famous in the Fable of the *Argonauts*, have just as little Pretence to be reckoned among the *Venedi*.

The Sclaveni and Antæ both belong to the principal Race of the Venedi.

4. THE Names of *Sclaveni* and *Antæ* are first mentioned by *Jornandes* and *Procopius*. The former leads us into the right Way, when he says, that they are both descended from the *Venedi* ‡: And indeed, the Description given us of them, by *Procopius*, approaches nearer to the *Venedi* of *Tacitus*, than to what we otherwise find mentioned in ancient Writers, of the *Sarmatians* properly so called. So likewise, in Aftertimes, the Names of *Venedi* and *Sclaveni*, are promiscuously used for one and the same People, whose Language alone sufficiently shews that they were of one Extraction.

* STRABO himself makes this very doubtful. p 212. *De Venetis duplex fertur sententia. Quidam enim eos quoque Gallos faciunt, Gallorum Vinetorum, qui ad Oceanum habitant, gentiles: Alii e bello Trojano cum Antenore eo locorum evasisse tradunt Venetorum Paphlagonum quosdam.*

† PASTORIUS says, Orig. Sarm. p. 25. *Heniochi, qui an nomine iidem cum Henetis, non affirmem, genere utique non alios fuisse haud ambigo. STRABO and PROLEMY treat of them as two different Nations.*

‡ JORNANDES says, cap. 23. of the *Venedi*: *Ab una stirpe exorti tria nunc nomina reddidere, i. e. Veneti, Antæ, Sclavi* (VI. 43. n. 1.) He had before said, cap. 5. *Introrsus illi Dacia est ad coronæ speciem arduis Alpibus emunita: juxta quarum sinistrum latus, quod in Aquilonem vergit, et ab ortu Vistulæ fluminis, per immensa spatia venit, WINIDARUM natio populosa consedit. Quorum nomina licet nunc per varias familias et loca mutantur, principaliter tamen Sclavini et Antæ nominantur.*

II.

Habitation of the Sclavi and Antæ, in Sarmatia.

I. PROCOPIUS Lib. IV. de bell. Goth. c. 4. p. 573. gives us this Account of their Habitation: *Palus (sc. Mæotis) autem in Ponti Euxini litus evoluitur. Qui illic habitant, CIMMERII dicti olim, jam vocantur Uturguri. Ulteriora ad Septentrionem habent Antarum populi infiniti.* This agrees very well for a Nation of the *Venedi*, to whom *Tacitus* allots almost the whole inner Parts of *Sarmatia*, between the *Fenni* and the *Peucini*. By another Passage from *Procopius*, we see, p. 377. that some Colonies of them then drew nearer to the *Dannbe*. *Diebus vero post viginti, quam Portum Urbemque cognominem obtinuerunt, advenere Martinus et Valerianus cum MDC. equitibus, quorum plerique Hunni erant, Sclaveni et Antæ, qui trans fluvium Istrum, non procul a ripa, sedes patrias habebant.* This Migration gave Occasion to the Wars with the Romans, which I shall just mention in the Sequel.

Their History: They are vanquished by the Goths.

2. THE first Mention we find of them in History, is interspersed in that of the *Goths*, where they are reckoned among those Nations who were conquered by *Hermanaric*, King of the *Goths*. (VI. 43. n. 4.)

Their Wars with Justinian: Inroads into Illyricum.

3. IN the History of *Justinian*, the *Sclaveni* and *Antæ* became more known; by their frequently crossing the *Danube*, and plundering the Territories of *Illyricum*, as the *Sarmatians*, *Daci*, and *Goths* had, in more ancient Times, done. (XIII. 9. et seq.) *Justinian*, indeed, vanquished the *Antæ*, and thence obtained the Name of *Anticus*. (*Ibid.*)

4. BUT the *Sclaveni* continued to infest *Illyricum* *. The Circumstances and various Success of the War, which *Justinian* waged with the *Goths*, and the then State of the Provinces of *Illyricum*, furnished them with Opportunities. The *Gepidæ*, in particular, lived in a good Intelligence with them, and suffered them from Time to Time, to cross the *Da-*

* Besides the Ravages mentioned XIII. 10 *Procopius* mentions another, Lib. IV. cap. 28. p. 367. This happened in the 17. Year of the *Gothick* War, which ended in the Spring of the Year 552.
nube

nube in their Territories. (XIII. 4.) After the Kingdom of the *Gepidae* was destroyed, and the *Longobards* had abandoned *Pannonia*, to go into *Italy*, the *Abari* extended themselves in *Pannonia*, and, on that Occasion, had frequent Quarrels with the *Sclaveni*.

5. HOWEVER, the *Sclaveni* had then no firm Establishment in *Illyricum*; but preserved their Habitation, on the other Side of the *Danube*; as we may conclude by a Passage from *Menander*, p. 126. where he relates, that, in the Time of the Emperor *Tiberius*, the *Can* of the *Abari*, who then dwelt in *Pannonia*, made a Shew of passing the *Danube*, to visit the *Sclaveni*. His Words are the more deserving of a Place here, as they illustrate the State of the Provinces of *Illyricum*, at that Time, in general.

“ At barbarus, etsi nulla ei præbita esset occasio aut causa, ne falsam quidem accusationem in Romanos comminisci dignatus, impudentissime, qui barbarorum mos est, foedera, quæ cum Tiberio, initio ejus imperii, fecerat, rupit; et cum omni exercitu movens, inter Sirmium oppidum, (hoc ex insidiis capere cogitabat,) et Singidonem castra ponit, et fluvium ponte jungere fuscipit. Cum autem timeret, ne a Romanis impediretur, qui, ut urbem custodirent, in præsidiis erant, et illi in suspicionem veniebant, propterea quod multum usum, vel scientiam navium fluminis habebant, aliquandiu fallere noluit: sed postremo eo decidit, ut rem aperte exequeretur, et multa vectoria, graviaque navigia in Istro, per superiorem Pannoniam coëgit, ex quibus quæcunque nancisci potuit, non quidem ad artis navium ædificandarum rationem, tamen naves ea magnitudine, ut ad bellum aptæ essent, extruxit, et eas hominibus armatis, et remigibus instruxit. Hi barbarum in morem, inconditis ictibus aquam verberantes, crebros sulcos in flumine excitabant; ita cum omnibus Abarorum copiis, per Sirmianam insulam cursum tenuit, et ad Saum pervenit. Hoc conspecto apparatu Romani, qui in urbibus in ea parte sitis habitabant, cum suis rebus a proditione timerent, vehementer sunt perturbati. Erat Sethus Singidone præfectus. Is ad Chaganum misit, qui ex ipso quæreret, quoniam pax et amicitia illi cum Romanis esset, quid sibi vellet, quod ad Saum venisset, quem, si ponte jungere inconsulto Imperatore tentaret, non negligeret. Ille non ut quicquam mali Romanis machinaretur, pontem struere ait, sed ut contra Sclavinos expeditionem susciperet. Se, transmissis Sao, Romam iturum, inde sibi in animo esse, multis ad trajectionem ab Imperatore Romanorum impetratis navibus, rursus Istrum trajicere. Ille quidem antea in gratiam Romanorum Imperatoris hæc fecerat, et multa Romanorum millia, qui servitutem apud

H h h h 2

“ Sclavinos

"Sclavinos serviebant, libertate donata, Romanis restituerat. Nunc vero dicebat, se a Sclavinis injuria affectum, quia nollent tributum quotannis conventum, et per eas partes indictum sibi solvi, tum etiam, quia Abarorum legatos, a se missos, sustulissent, et eam esse causam, cur ad Saum confedisset. Itaque Sethum excipere jussit legatos, quos ad Imperatorem mittebat, qui peterent," ut, sibi in Sclavinos trajecturo, naves per Istrum præpararet.

Inroads of the Sclaveni, in the Time of Mauritius.

6. AND in this Condition, likewise, Matters remained, in the Reign of *Mauritius*, as is evident by the History which *Theophylactus Simocatta* has left us of them. The *Sclaveni* ventured, from Time to Time, over the *Danube*, and even went again as far as the *Murilongi* *. The Emperor, on the other Hand, sent an Army over the *Danube*, to visit them in their own Territories †. And as this was the very Country, in which the *Getae* had, in former Times, dwelt, the *Greek Historian* makes Use of their Name likewise for the *Sclaveni*. As far as his History regards the Inroads of the *Sclaveni*, we may supply the Defects of it, from two Letters of Pope Gregory, the Great; from which it is evident, that some Parties of them made Incursions as far as *Dalmatia*, and that *Italy* begun to be under Apprehensions, on their Account. *Callinicus* had given the Pope an Account of some Advantages, which he had obtained over the *Sclaveni*: To which he answered; Lib. IX. ep. 9. *Inter hæc, quod mihi de Sclavis victorias nuntiastis, magna me lætitia relevatum esse cognoscite.* And Lib. IX. ep. 36. GREGORY writes to *Maximus*, Bishop of *Salona*: *Et quidem de Sclavorum gente, quæ vobis valde imminet, et affligor vehementer et conturbor. Affligor in his, quæ jam in vobis patior, conturbor, quia per Histriæ aditum jam ad Italiam intrare cæperunt.*

Heraclius admits the Servii and Croati into Dalmatia.

7. THE Emperor *Heraclius* is the most memorable in this History ‡. He gave up a Part of *Dalmatia*, which the *Abari* had laid totally waste, to the *Servii* and *Croati*, two *Sclavonian* Nations, on Condition that they should acknowledge the Supremacy of the *Roman Empire*, and embrace the *Christian Faith*. *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus* therefore makes a Dis-

* THEOPHYL. SIMOCATTA. Lib. I. cap. 7.

† Id. Lib. 6.

‡ It is, indeed, not altogether out of Doubt, whether this is to be understood of *Heraclius*, I. or of one of his Successors, of the *Heraclian Family*. See below, the Note to V. 2.

inction between the *Servii* and *Croati*, who were baptized, and the *Pagan* Inhabitants who remained behind, in *Croatia Magna*. The History of the *Slavonian* Nations, therefore divides itself into many Branches. But before I proceed, I shall just mention some Things, which we find related of the *Sclaveni* in general; which are applicable to every single *Slavonian* Nation, as arising from one common Antiquity.

III.

Manners of the Sclaveni and Antæ.

1. IN Order to enable the Reader the better to know and distinguish, in general, the *Venedi* and *Sclaveni*, and the other Nations which descended from them, I shall here take Notice of some Passages, which we meet with in ancient Writers, concerning them all. We indeed find more ample Accounts afterwards of some single *Slavonian* Nations; especially of those, who extended themselves in *Germania*: But for these shall postpone them, till the Continuation of the History itself, will more and more discover them.

2. OF the *Venedi*, in general, we must be contented with what *Tacitus* observes of them. I have already given an Account of the *Sclaveni* and *Antæ*, from *Procopius*. (XIII. 9.) The Words of the *Græcian* Historian, deserve to be here recapitulated. His Account differs in several Points, from the Manners of the *Sarmatians*, as related in the foregoing *Annotation*, particularly with Regard to their Religion and Warfare. Nor do we here find any Mention of the Waggon, which the *Sarmatians* made Use of, instead of Houses and Tents. On the other Hand, their Dwellings, their Shields, and the Circumstance of their being good Foot-Soldiers, agree with the *Venedi*, who are principally noted on these three Accounts, by *Tacitus*, and are thereby distinguished from the *Sarmatians*, properly so called.

3. PROCOPIUS says, Lib. III. c. 4. of the *Sclaveni* and *Antæ*: " Et vero hi populi, *Sclaveni*, inquam, et *Antæ*, non uni parent viro, sed ab antiquo in populari imperio vitam agunt *: ac propterea utilitates et damna apud ipsos in commune vocari solent. Aliarum etiam rerum

* WHAT *Procopius* here attributes to the *Sclaveni* in general, *Constantinus* observes of the *Croati* and *Servii*, in particular; Them. P II cap. 29. *Principes vero, ut aiunt, hæ gentes non habent, præter Zupanos senes, quemadmodum etiam reliqui Sclavorum populi.*

" fere

“ fere omnium ratio ab utrisque barbaris servatur eadem, fuitque olim con-
 “ stituta. Unum enim Deum fulguris effectorem, Dominum hujus uni-
 “ versitatis, solum, agnoscunt, eique boves et cujusque generis hostias im-
 “ molant. Fatum minime norunt, nedum illi in mortales aliquam vim
 “ attribuunt: at cum sibi vel morbo correptis, vel praelium incuntibus, jam
 “ mortem admotam vident; Deo vovent, si evaserint, continuo victimam
 “ pro salvato capite mactaturos: elapsi periculo, quod promissere, sacrifi-
 “ cant, eaque hostia vitam sibi redemptam credunt. Præterea fluvios colunt,
 “ et Nymphas, et alia quædam numina: quibus omnibus operantur, et in-
 “ ter sacrificia conjecturas faciunt divinationum *. In tuguriis habitant
 “ vilibus et rare sparsis, atque habitationis locum subinde mutant. Cum
 “ pugnam invadunt, multi PEDIBUS TENDUNT IN HOSTEM, SCUTU-
 “ LA, spiculaque gestantes manibus. LORICAM NON INDUUNT: qui-
 “ dam nec subuculam habent, nec pallium †: sed cum femoralibus tan-
 “ tum, ad virilia usque aptis, hosti se offerunt ad certamen. Una est utrif-
 “ que lingua admodum barbara, nec forma corporis inter se differunt.
 “ Sunt enim proceri omnes ac robustissimi. Colorem nec summe candi-
 “ dum habet cutis, nec flavum coma: neque is plane in nigrum deficit:
 “ ac subrufus est, et quidem omnibus. Vitam aequè ut Massagetæ, victu
 “ arido incultoque tolerant, toti, sicut illi, fordibus et illuvie semper obsiti.
 “ Ingenium ipsis nec malignum, nec fraudulentum, et cum simplicitate
 “ mores Hunnicos in multis retinent. Nomen etiam quondam Sclavenis
 “ Antisque unum erat: utrosque enim appellavit Sporos antiquitas ob id
 “ opinor, quia σποραδες, hoc est, sparsim et rare positis tabernaculis regio-
 “ nem obtinent: quo fit, ut magnum occupent spatium. Et vero ulteri-
 “ oris ripæ Istri partem maximam habent.

Mauritius's Description of the Sclavi and Antæ.

4. IN the *Strateg. Mauriti*, Lib. II. c. 5. is particularly discuss'd: *Quo- modo sit congregiendum cum Sclavis, et Antis, et similibus.* I shall subjoin the Beginning of it, because this Passage may contribute something to a

* THE Account *Procopius* here gives us of the Deities of the *Sclaveni*, differs from what has been observed before, of the Religion of the *Sarmatians*. On the other Hand, it agrees with what more modern Historians relate of the *Paganism* of some *Sclavonian* Nations. Particularly *Jo. Lascius*, in his Treatise, *de Diis Samogitarum, cæterorumque Sarmatarum*. The *Samojedes* are likewise said to have had many Deities; but that they chiefly worshipped a God of Thunder, whom they called *Percunos*.

† THE *Sclaveni* preserved their own Garb. So *Fredegarius* says of the Ambassador, whom *Dagobert* sent to their King, *Samo*, *Vestes indutus ad instar Sclavinorum, cum suis ad conspectum pervenit.* (XV. 5. n. 1.) *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS* names, *Opertorium altaris Sarmaticum*, R. 1195.

Knowledge of these People. “ Slavorum gentes et Antum una vivendi
 “ ratione, moribusque similibus utuntur, libertatem quoque colunt, nec
 “ ulla ratione ad serviendum vel parendum persuadentur, maxime in regi-
 “ one propria fortes tolerantisque. Sustinent facile frigus et calorem, et
 “ nuditatem corporum, et victus penuriam. Sunt quoque adversus pere-
 “ grinos benigni, magnoque studio servant incolumes salvosque de uno lo-
 “ co, in alium deducunt, quo necesse habent, ut et, si per incuriam ejus,
 “ qui servare talem debet, accidat, ut damno peregrinus afficiatur, bellum
 “ ipsi inferat vicinus ejus, pietatem arbitratus, sic ulcisci peregrinum. Qui
 “ sunt in captivitate apud eos, non omni tempore, ut apud gentes alias, in
 “ servitute tenentur, sed certum eis definitur tempus, in arbitrio eorum re-
 “ linquendo, si oblata mercede velint dein reverti ad suos, aut manere apud
 “ ipsos liberi et amici. Abundant copia brutorum omnis generis, et terræ
 “ nascentium, quæ comportant in cumulum; præcipue vero milii, et pa-
 “ nici. Pudicitia servantes foeminae eorum supra omnem modum erga
 “ maritos suos, adeo ut earum multæ virorum suorum mortem proprio
 “ interitu solari voluerint, seque ipsas suffocarint ultro, non ferentes vitam
 “ solitariam. In sylvis autem et ad fluvios et paludes lacusque aditu diffi-
 “ ciles habitant. Multifarios exitus faciunt ædium suarum, propter varia,
 “ quæ forte possunt accidere. Res suas necessarias recondunt sub terra, ni-
 “ hil superfluum palam possidentes, sed viventes instar prædonum. In
 “ locis difficilibus, et angustis, et latebrarum plenis amant configere cum
 “ hostibus *. Utuntur autem frequenter incursionibus, et repentinis irrup-
 “ tionibus, et dolis, tempore nocturno diuturnoque multa variaque per lu-
 “ dibrium simulantes. Inter artes vero eorum est etiam, subire flumina.
 “ Plus enim, quam cæteri homines, et melius durant in aquis, adeo, ut
 “ sæpe aliqui versantes in propriis, cum ex improvviso invaduntur, per mersos
 “ in profundo aquæ calamos longos ad hoc factos, intusque penitus excava-
 “ tos, et ab oris ipsorum pertinentes ad summitatem aquæ usque, jacentes
 “ supini in profundo spiritum ducant, et sic durent longo tempore, ut nulla
 “ amplius suspicio sit de iis. Sed et si accidat forte, ut calami exterius cer-
 “ nanter, nati putantur ab iis, qui rem hanc ignorant. Itaque illi, qui hoc
 “ noverunt, et calamum ex sectione, aut positione dignoscunt, vel compun-
 “ gunt ora ipsorum cum illis, vel avellunt eos, atque sic ex aqua produ-
 “ cunt, dum manere diutius in aqua nequeunt. Armantur autem jaculis
 “ duobus quilibet, quidam vero ex ipsis etiam scutis, validis quidem, sed
 “ quæ difficulter huc illucque possunt transferri. Utuntur quoque arcibus

* PROCOPIUS says of the *Antæ*, in particular, p. 57. *Peritia pugnandi in salebris angustisque cunctorum antecellunt hi barbari.*

“ ligneis,

“ ligneis, et sagittis parvis, veneno illitis; quod est valde efficax, nisi theria-
 “ cæ potum sumserit, qui vulneratus est, vel alia præsidia adhibuerit, quæ
 “ norunt medici periti, aut vulnus statim circumciderit, ne longius vene-
 “ num serpat, totumque corpus reliquum invadat. Neminem ferant im-
 “ perantem, seque mutuo prosequuntur odio. Sed neque ordinem nove-
 “ runt, nec conjunctim curant pugnare, vel in locis nudis planisque se of-
 “ tendere.

Their Cruelty in War.

5. WE see, by these Passages from the Ancients, that the *Sclavonians* were no otherwise known to the *Romans*, but by their Wars. But their Conduct in War was very far from that Decency which civiliz'd Nations observe even to their Enemies. *Tacitus* looks upon the Wars of the *Venedi*, to be no better, in general, than Ravaging and Murder. *Procopius*, here and there, complains of the Cruelties of the *Sclaveni*, in their Wars, e. g. p. 555. that they were wont to cut Thongs out of the Hides of their Prisoners. *Captumque Asbadem tum quidem vivum servarunt; sed postea coniectum in flammæ combusserunt, defectis prius loris ex dorsi illius pelle.* And likewise, p. 556. *Obvios autem non ense, non hasta, non alio quocquam usitato necis genere conficiebant, sed depactis valide in terram sudibus præacutis, miserorum sedes multa vi impingebant, et infixas inter nates palorum cuspides adigentes ad usque viscera, illis vitam extorquebant. Præterea defossis humi lignis quatuor crassioribus, alligabant hi barbari eorum, quos ceperant, manus ac pedes: deinde capita fustibus assidue tundendo, veluti canes aut serpentes, aliudve feræ genus, mactabant. Alios cum bobus et ovibus, quos in patriam abducere non poterant, in tuguria compactos, immisericorditer truncabant. Ita Sclaveni illos, in quos incidebant, necare erant soliti.*

IV.

The several Kingdoms, which were established by the Sclavonian Nations.
Their Migrations to Germany.

1. THE History of the *Sclaveni* branches out, at Length, into many particular Kingdoms, which appear in succeeding Times. We may reduce them, under the following Considerations. Some of these People went into *Germany*, others establish'd themselves in *Illirycum*, and the Remainder preserved the Dominion, in *Sarmatia*. Of those who came to *Germany*, I shall only mention those Things which happened in the Time of the *Merowingian* Kings.

2. ACCORD-

2. ACCORDING to the Order of Time, I must first take Notice of those *Sclaveni*, who gained a firm Footing on the Confines of *Pannonia* and *Noricum* *. Mention is made of them, in the History of the *Franks*, so early as the Time of King *Dagobert*. (XV. 4.) Their Posterity subsist to this Day in *Stiria*, *Carinthia* and *Carniola*; which Tract of Land is therefore called the *Windisch-Mark*.

Of the SORBI and the BOHEMIANS.

3. THE *Serbi* or *Serabi* were likewise, so early as the Times of *Dagobert*, Neighbours of *Thuringia*; (XV. 5. n. 3.) perhaps they were the same *Wenden*, of whom Mention is made under his Son *Siegebert*. (*Ibid.* §. 8.)

4. A PARTICULAR Colony entered the District of *Bojohemum*, and thence took the Name of *Bohemians*. Of this, there is a remarkable Passage in *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, *Them. P. II. c. 32.* from whence we may conclude, that the *Bohemians* belong to the Race of the *Sorbi*: *Sciendum est, Servios oriundos esse a Serviis non baptizatis, qui etiam albi cognominantur, et ulteriora Turciæ incolunt, in loco ab illis BOICI nuncupato, cui finitima Francia est, uti et magna Chrobatia baptismi expers, quæ etiam alba cognominatur. Illic igitur initio Servii hi habitabant etc.* The *Bohemian* History itself gives us no Light into it, except that Tradition boasts of a certain *Czechus*, who was the Leader of this Colony.

5. THE *Wenden* who dwelt in *Germany*, between the *East-Sea* and the *Elb*, will appear in the Sequel, under the Name of *Abotrites*, *Vilzi*, &c.

Kingdoms of Slavonian Nations, in Illyricum.

1. AMONG the *Slavonians*, who founded particular Kingdoms, in the Provinces of *Illyricum*, the *Bulgari*, *Chrobatia* and *Servii*, are particularly noted.

BULGARIA and VLACHIA.

2. THE *Bulgari* were already known, in the Reign of *Anastasius*, and are said to have carried their Name with them from the River *Volga*. In

* OF the *Sarmatians* who, according to *Jornandes*, immediately after *Attila's* Death, settled in *Illyrium*, ad castrum Martenam, see X. 7. n. 6.

Time, they founded a mighty Kingdom on both Sides the *Danube*. On one Side, it comprehended a good Part of *Dacia*, and of the Country of the *Getæ*; and, on the other, the Province of *Mysia* *. The Name of *Bulgaria* now remains only by the latter. The former is called *Wallachia*, and is divided into two Parts, one of which preserves that Name, and the other bears the Name of *Moldavia*, from the River *Moldau*, on the Confines of it. From hence it comes, that the *Sclavonian* Language has spread itself over all this Country. But the ancient Inhabitants, who went by the Name of *Vlachi*, speak a Sort of *Latin*, such as was formerly in Use in the *Roman* Provinces; and, indeed, they boast of being of *Roman* Extraction †. This is a strange Revolution of the *Roman* Tongue, to be entirely lost, in the Provinces of *Illyricum*, which were so long subject to the *Roman* Empire; and, on the contrary, to be preserved on the other Side of the *Danube*.

CROATIA and SCLAVONIA.

3. THE *Chrobati* got a firm Footing in *Dalmatia*, in the Time of the Emperor *Heraclius*; and, by his Persuasion, embraced the *Christian* Faith. CONSTANT. PORPHYROGENITUS Them. II. cap. 31. *Chrobati, qui Dalmatiæ partes nunc inhabitant, a Chrobatis, baptismi expertibus, qui et albi appellantur, originem ducunt, qui sane ultra Turciam, prope Franciam incolunt, et Sclavis contermini sunt, non baptizatis Serviis: Atque hi ipsi Chrobati ad Romanorum Imperatorem Heraclium ‡ confugerant, antequam Servii confugissent ad eundem. Pulsis vero Romanis illis ab Abaribus tempore ejusdem Romanorum Imperatoris Heraclii, desolata eorum regio jacuit. Quapropter jussu hujus Imperatoris iidem Chrobati, armis arreptis, Abares ex illis locis expulerunt, et in ipsorum terra, quam etiam hodie tenent, sedes collocarunt. Heracliusque Imperator Roma per legatum sacerdotibus accersitis, constitutoque ex ipsis Archiepiscopo, Episcopo, Presbyteris et Diaconis, Chrobatos baptizavit.*

* THEIR King, *Joannicius*, therefore, bears the Title: *Rex Bulgariae et Vlachiae*. v. *littera* ejus ad *Innocentium III.* ap. *RAYNALDUM* ad A. 1203. n. 20.

† *JO. LUCIUS* de *Regn. Dalmat.* Lib. VI. cap. 5.

‡ *F. BANDURI*, in not p. 89. 90. will indeed have it, that *Justinian*, II. the Son of *Constantin Pogonatus*, is here meant. In this, he follows *Lucius*, L. I. cap. 11. But the Passages from *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, to which they refer, are not so explicit, that we need, on their Account, deviate from *Constantine*.

4. BY them, the Kingdom of *Croatia* was founded ; and to them likewise is attributed, that which is, in particular, called *Sclavonia*, which extends itself between the two Rivers, *Savus* and *Dravus*.

Of the Servii. Part of them are admitted into Dalmatia.

5. THE *Servii* are by so much the more memorable, among the *Sclavonians*, because, as well the *Sorbi* and *Bohemians* in *Germany*, as the *Servii*, in *Dalmatia*, are descended from them. But whether these be the same *Serbi*, which *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* place in *Sarmatia Asiatica*, or whence this Name otherways arose, is hitherto an Uncertainty. A Body of these *Servii* likewise applied themselves to the Emperor *Heraclius*, who gave up to them certain Districts in ancient *Dalmatia*, which had been laid waste by the *Abari*, and prevailed on them to embrace the *Christian Faith* *. *Constant. Porphyrogen.* gives us an Account of this Migration of the *Servii*, P. II. cap. 32. *Cumque ea, quæ nunc Serbia dicitur, et Pagania, quæque Zachlumorum terra vocatur, item Terbania, et Canaltiarum regio, quæ Imperatoris Romanorum ditionis erant, propter Abarum excursiones desertæ essent, expulsis inde Romanis, qui nunc Dalmatiam atque Dyrrachium incolunt, regiones illas Serviis habitandas Imperator dedit, cui etiam subjecti erant, a quo etiam baptizati fuere per presbyteros Roma accersitos, et pietatis opera edocti, antiqua fide accepta.* F. BANDURI, in not. ad libros *Constantini Porphyrogeniti de Thematib.* p. 109. has given us a Succession of their Princes.

They there founded the Kingdoms of Servia, Rama, Bosnia and Rascia.

THE *Servii*, at first, acknowledged the Supremacy of the *Grecian Empire*; but, in Time, their Princes shook off the Yoke, and divided, in different Manners. Some, in particular, kept up the Title of *Servia*, others called themselves Kings of *Bosnia* and *Rama*. The *Eastern Part* of *Servia* remained longest under the Dominion of the *Grecian Emperors*; but, at Length, likewise took the Form of a particular Kingdom, by the Name of *Rascia*, from the River *Rasca*, which flows thro' it †.

* F. BANDURI adds. l. c. *Roma autem accersitos sacerdotes, qui Croatos baptizarunt, Latinus ritus ipsorum demonstrat*: And conjectures, that this is the Origin of the Bishoprick of *Spalatro*: Add. *Lucius Lib. I. cap. 9. et. 11.*

† LUCIUS *Lib. V. cap. 3. p. 256.*

Of the new Kingdom of DALMATIA.

7. INTO so many different Parts, was the ancient Roman Province of *Dalmatia* divided, and but a small Share of it retained its ancient Name: *F. Banduri* mentions these Revolutions, in not. ad Constant. Porphyrog. Them. p. 88. *Postmodum vero cum fere tota Dalmatia occupata esset a Slavibus, in Sclavoniam, sive Croatiam, Serviam, et ipsam Dalmatiam distincta fuit: posterioribus autem temporibus Servia in Ramam, Rasciam, Bosniam, ipsamque Serviam divisa fuit, quæ singulæ, diversis tamen temporibus, regio nomine decoratæ fuerunt.*

VI.

Sclavonian Nations, *that remained in Sarmatia.*

HISTORY will, indeed, in the Sequel, by Degrees, make us more and more acquainted with those Nations, who preserved their Liberty and Dominion in *Sarmatia*. I must, however, just mention them here, that we may at once have a View of every Branch of the *Sclavonian* Race.

ORIGINAL of the POLES.

1. THE best Part of it is possessed by the *Poles*. We cannot so exactly determine, whence this Name arose*, nor when it separated from the common Appellation of the *Sclavonians*. The first Mention we find of it, is in *Dithmarus*, Bishop of *Merseburg*, who wrote his Chronicle in the Reign of Emperor Henry, II.

2. WE are at as little Certainty, when the *Poles* took Possession of this Country, which was before inhabited, on both Sides of the *Vistula*, by various German Nations, especially of the *Gothick* and *Suevian* Races. The *Poles* and *Bohemians* have a Tradition, that two valiant Brothers, *Lecchus* and *Czecchus*, were each of them at the Head of a new Colony, from which these two Nations were descended. (XV. 4.) This Tradition can, indeed, be supported by some Conjectures only. To which we must add the Testimony of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, of the Expedition of the *Bohemians*, mention'd above, p. 609. num. 4. But that it happen'd before the

* SOME pretend to derive it from the *Bulani*, a People of *Sarmatia*, who are placed by *Ptolemy* on the *Vistula*: Others, from the *Sclavonian* Word *Pole*, which signifies an even Country, as *Poland* is.

End of the sixth Century, we may conclude, because we find the *Sorbi* and *Venedi*, in the Neighbourhood of the *Franks*, so early as the Reign of *Dagobert*, I. Finally, it is not improbable, but that this Country, when the *Slavonians* first came into it, was not yet fully abandoned by the *German* Inhabitants *.

3. THE first Period of the *Polish* History is therefore, for want of Ancient Accounts, very obscure. What Tradition has propagated, is become the more precarious, as modern Authors have put every one their own Construction upon it, as we find in the Accounts they give us of their Princes, *Piaſtus*, *Cracus*, *Premiſlaus*, and *Popielus*. So likewise, in the ancient *German* Historians, we find no Authentic Accounts of the *Poles* earlier than *Miceſlaus*, I. who lived in the Time of *Otto*, I. and, in the Year 965. married the *Bohemian* Princess, *Dombrowa*, on which Occasion he embraced the *Christian* Faith.

4. THE Manner the *Poles* have of wearing their Hair, is perhaps one of the most ancient Tokens of their Origin. We find, so early as the fifth Century, that some Nations, who were comprehended under the Name of *Scythians*, had the very same Custom †.

Of what Extraction the Lithuanians are to be reckoned?

5. THE *Lithuanians* are likewise probably descended from a Nation, which had long inhabited *Sarmatia*, but however, are not of *Slavonian* Race; for the *Lettian* Language does not agree with that of the latter. On the other Hand, the Inhabitants of *Lithuania* and *Samogithia* had many Things in common, as well in their Manners as Language, with their Neighbours in *Prussia* and *Livonia* ‡. The *Lithuanians* can give us no Light, nor indeed do they know, whether to look for their Ancestors among the *Heruli* or the *Alani* §. They are at least, either of them, more proba-

* In particular, MART. HANCKIUS de Silesiorum Rebus, p. 18. §. 37. pretends to affirm of *Silesia*, that the Descendants of the *Lygii* and *Quadi* constantly remained in that Country.

† PRISC. in Exc. Legat. p. 59. C. Hic præ se ferebat, *Scytham*, qui opibus circumſuebat. Erat enim bene et eleganter veſtitus, CAPITE IN ROTUNDUM RASO.

‡ HARTKNOCH. Alt and Neues Preußen, p. 56. and 108. OL. HERMELINUS in Origin. Livon. p. 45.

§ F. WIIU K Koſalowiez, who has written the beſt History of the *Lithuanians*, has Recourſe to the *Heruli* and *Alani*, to find out the Anceſtors of his Country-Men. Ad eos igitur magis animus ac fides propendit, qui unam aliquam Herulorum tribum, *Alanos* olim dictam, exiſtimant: ſedemque ejus (in ea *Lituanice* ora, quæ *Samogithice* propior *Nemeno* ſeu *Chrono*, *Vilia* ſeu *Neride*, et *Duna* fluviiſ intercipi-tur) *Alaniam* primum, poſterioribus vero annis, *Littalaniam*, et *Lituaniam*, a Principe ſuo *Littalano* ſeu *Littuone* juniore nuncupatum.

ble, than to pretend, with *Michalus*, the most ancient of their Historians, that they were a Colony from *Italy* *. He appeals, indeed, to the many *Latin* Words which are intermixed with their Language; but they may have come at these by some other Means †.

Of the RUSSIANS.

6. THE *Russians* have likewise produced many seperate Nations. The Name of *Russi* or *Rossi*, became first known in the IX. Century. The *Byzantine* Historians call them, in general, *gentes Sythicae*; but *Cedrenus*, in particular, says, that they dwelt originally towards the North of Mount *Taurus* ‡. After they had extended themselves on the *Pontus Euxinus*, they infested this Sea, as much as the *Gothick* Nations had done before them. The *Byzantine* Historians relate of them, that, as early as the Reign of Emperor *Michael Balbus*, about the Year 851. they came with a Fleet as far as *Constantinople* §: But what Sort of a Fleet this was, we may judge from another Passage of *Cedrenus* ||.

* V. FRAGMENTA MICHALONIS LITUANI p. 246. Nos Lituanæ ex Italico sanguine oriundi sumus. Quod ita esse liquet ex sermone nostro semilatio, et ex ritibus Romanorum vetustis, qui non ita pridem desiere apud nos, videlicet ex crematis humanis cadaveribus, auguriis, auspiciis, aliisque superstitionibus, adhuc in quibusdam locis durantibus, maxime cultu Æsculapii, qui sub eadem, qua olim Romam ab Epidaurio commigraverat, serpentis specie colitur, et in veneratione habetur. Coluntur et sacri penates, manes, lares, lemures, montes, specus, lacus, luci. Sed nec admodum diu facer ille perpetuusque, qui cremandis victimis, Romanorum Hebræorumque more, fovebatur, extinctus est per baptismatis undam ugnis, id est, ignis, etc.

† F. KOIALOWICZ, whom I quoted above, forms, p. 9. another Opinion, by what Means these *Latin* Words were introduced into the *Lithuanian* Tongue: *Latinae vero Græcæque linguae vestigia, quæ inter hos populos hæserunt, ab ipsismet indigenis illata sunt. Post plures illi annos, per Italiam aut Thraciam in castris exactos, cum majore identidem numero domos repeterent, ultra opulentas prædas, exteræ linguae usum ad suos reportabant.* It is plain, by the Testimony of *Priscus*, IX. 23. not. †. that the Foreign Nations, who waged War in *Illyricum*, were very desirous of learning something of the *Latin* Tongue.

‡ CEDRENUS T. II. p. 551. Interim quidquid est intra Euxinum pontum maritimarum regionum Rossica incursionibus vexabat atque vastabat classis. Rossi gens est Scythica, Ad SEPTENTRIONALEM INCOLENS TAURUM, fera, atque immanis. Hi cum ipsam Constantinopolim in gravæ conjecissent periculum, paulo post Dei iram experti, domum reversi sunt: legatisque in urbem missis, divinum baptismum efflagitarunt, impetraruntque. He here means the Conversion of the *Russians*, which ensued in the Time of *Basilus*.

§ V. ANNALES SYMEONIS LOGOTHETÆ in MICHAEL. c. 38. p. 445. Anno Imperii Michælis decimo, *Russi*, cum in Hierum penetrassent, multas cædes fecerunt etc. The Continuator *CONSTANTINI PORPHYROGENITI* mentions this same Occurrence, p. 121. as does likewise *Cedrenus*, whose Words I have quoted above.

|| CEDREN. p. 578. Proinde ejus gentis Regulus Bladimerus, -- ad arma vocatis subditis, quotquot bello habiles erant, copiisque auxiliaribus adscitis haud exiguis, a nationibus, quæ Oceani insulas Septentrionales inhabitabant, collecta ad hominum centum millium multitudine, eam usitatis apud ipsos navigiis, (linthes nos vocamus, unica arbore cavata factos) imponit, et adversus urbem tendit.

The Russians were originally a Nation distinct from the Roxolani and Sclavi.

7. WE may therefore conclude, even from these *Migrations*, that the *Russians* are a different Nation from the *Roxolani*, tho' they came into the same Country, where the latter had before dwelt. They are, likewise, with Regard to their Original, to be distinguished from the *Sclavi*; and *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, *Them. Lib. II. cap. 9.* observes the Difference between their two Languages. Be that however as it will, the modern *Russian* Language is look'd upon to be a Dialect of the *Sclavonian*: But this Affinity may have arisen, after they had settled among the *Sclaveni*, and the two Nations had frequent Wars with one another, concerning their Possessions.

8. *CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENITUS*, *loc. cit.* gives us a circumstantial Account of the Nature of their Navigation on the *Niester* and *Pontus Euxinus*, and observes, at the same Time, something of their Pagan Worship. *Hoc autem transmissio loco ad S. Gregorii insulam appellunt, ubi propter ingentem quercum sacrificia obeunt, viventesque aves immolant etc.*

Several Nations of the Russians. Whether the Muscovites took their Name from the Moschi?

9. SOME of these *Russian* Nations came, in process of Time, into *Poland* and *Lithuania*. Others remained under the Dominion of their own Princes, who long resided at *Kiow*, on the *Nieper*: But, in After-Times, they removed their Residence to the City of *Muscow*, on the River of that Name; and the whole Kingdom, with the Nation itself, took their Name from thence.

10. I SHALL leave it undetermined, whether this Name be derived from the *Moschi*, a Nation of whom the most ancient Historians and Geographers make Mention. *Herodotus* takes Notice of them, *Lib. III. c. 94.* among those Nations who were subject to the *Persian* Monarchy; and, *Lib. VII. cap. 77.* among those, who composed the Army of *Xerxes*. Their Situation, as laid down by *Strabo*, agrees very well with this Supposition*. Mount *Caucasus*, which borders the whole District, from the

* *STRABO* says, *Lib. XI. p. 497.* *Distinguit versus meridiem Albaniam, et Iberiam a Sarmatarum planitie, versus septentrionem distita.* This same Author looks upon the *Moschici montes*, to be a separated Part of the great Mountains called *Taurus*. *Ibid.*

Pontus Euxinus to the *Caspian Sea*, divided the *Moschi* from the *Sarmatians*. The latter inhabited the Countries towards the *North*, and the former towards the *South*, to Mount *Taurus*. In this District, which was therefore called *Moschica*, dwelt, in the Time of *Strabo*, the *Colchi*, *Iberi*, and *Armenii* *.

II. THE *Moschi* were afterwards known in *Europe*, and in the Service of the *Roman Emperors*. *Sidonius*, in his Account of the Army which *Majorianus* led into *Gaul*, (X. 15) mentions, among other *Northern Nations*, that were in it, likewise the *Sarmatians* and the *Moschi*:

- - - - - *Sarmata, Moschus*
Post aquilas venere tuas. Tibi militat omnis
Caucasus, et Scythicæ potor Tanaiticus undæ †.

VII.

Of the Slavonian Language, and its several Dialects.

I. THE *Slavonian Tongue*, of which *Procopius* speaks so contemptibly, extended itself far and near, and, in many Provinces of *Illyricum*, even got the better of the *Roman*. Perhaps, it has no where remained in that Purity in which it was originally spoken. The *Slavonian Nations* dispersed themselves greatly, and borrowed many Words from other Nations, which, with the Difference of Pronunciation, formed as many Dialects as they consisted of Nations. Tho' it is said, that in those Countries, which had the least Community with Foreigners, it has been preserved the most pure, as is boasted by some of *Bosnia* †, and by others of the Countries on the *Borysthenes* §. The *Slavonian Nations*, who settled in *Illyricum*, introduced their Language there; and, by that Means, it made its Way even to the *Turks*.

* STRABO Lib. XI. p. 498. "Supra dicta flumina in Moschica regione situm est Leucotheæ templum, a Phrixo conditum, ibique oraculum ejus, ubi aries non immolatur: id opulentum pridem nostra ætate spoliavit Pharnaces, ac paulo post compilavit Mithridates Pergamenus. And farther, Quantus antiquitus splendor ejus fuerit regionis fabulæ ostendunt, Jasonis expeditionem sub involucro proponentes, qui usque ad Mediam processerit, ac antea etiam Phrixi. And again: Moschica, - - tripartita est, partem ejus Colchi, Iberes aliam, aliam Armeni tenent."

† In Process of Time, the *Sarmatians* went over the *Caucasus*; whence *Lucan* calls them Neighbours of the *Moschi*, in *Colchis*. See the Passage above, p. 590. not. *

‡ MAURO ORBINI says this to their Honour, Regno degli Slavi, p. 377. "Fra tutti i popoli della lingua Slava, costoro hanno la piu tersa, et la piu elegante lingua; et si gloriano, ch'essi soli hoggidi mantengono la purita della lingua Slava."

§ SEE KOHLII Introd. in Historiam et Rem literariam Sclavorum p. 10.

2. IN *Germany*, it has indeed chiefly remained, in vulgar Use, in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. The Remains of the *Venedi*, in *Lusatia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia* and *Carniola*, have likewise preserved their Mother-Tongue.

3. IN *Sarmatia* itself, it has raised itself to the highest Pitch: But of all the Tongues, which are derived from the *Slavonian*, the *Polish* has hitherto been the most cultivated: And this, with the *Russian*, which is spoken in the most distant Provinces of that Monarchy, have extended themselves the farthest.

VIII.

Of the Slavonian Letters.

Literæ Cyrillitanæ, Glogoliticæ, etc.

1. THE *Slavonian* Language has its own Letters, of three different Kinds. One is called the *Cyrillitan* Character, from the Inventer of it, St. *Cyrillus*, who, with his Brother *Methodius*, converted the *Moravians*, and some other *Slavonian* Nations. He introduced Divine Worship in their Language, and translated the *Holy Scripture* into it, which obliged him previously to reduce it to certain Letters, and it is plain, at first View, that he borrowed them from the *Greek*. There was afterwards a smaller Character introduced, which was more convenient for common Use. This was called *Glogoliticus*, and was particularly in Esteem, in *Dalmatia*, *Carniola*, and *Istria*.

Whether St. Jerom was the Inventer of the Slavonian Letters?

2. THE third Alphabet differs almost wholly from the two former *, and is generally ascribed to St. *Jerom*: And the common Tradition was, that this famous Father, who was born at *Stridon*, in *Illyricum*, translated the Bible into the *Slavonian* Tongue; but this is as false † as the Pretence on which it is grounded, that the Inhabitants of *Illyricum* spoke originally

* WE have a Representation of the different Alphabets used in the *Slavonian* Tongue, in P. BANDURI in not. ad CONSTANT. Them. p. 118. and 119.

† F. BANDURI says, l. c. p. 117. " Quid vero ipse de S. Hieronymi alphabetho, et versione S. Scripturæ ab ipso, ut aiunt, in Slavonicam linguam facta, sentiam, libenter fatebor. Nullibi in operibus D. Hieronymi nequidem vestigium reperi linguæ Slavonicæ: quam quidem si calluisset, in explanandis Scripturis, et pluries cum ne nominibus Hebraicis agit, ea procul dubio usus esset. Ubi vero D. Hieronymus PATRIUM SERMONEM appellat, aut NOSTRATUM LINGUAM: id de lingua latina, quæ tunc per universum Romanum orbem in usu erat, intelligendum esse, nemo eruditus ignorat."

the *Sclavonian* Tongue *. This Alphabet was perhaps first in Use with the *Croatians* and *Servians*.

3. The *Muscovite* Letters are taken from the *Cyrillitan* Character.

4. OTHER *Sclavonian* Nations have borrowed their Letters from the *Latin* Alphabet, as in particular the *Poles* and *Bohemians*: And the same has likewise been introduced among the remaining *Venedi* in *Germany*; and even among those of *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, where, in former Times, the ancient Character was in Use.

* BANDURI p. 67. *Quod vero ait Maurus Orbini, Ragusinus, Abbas Melitenfis, in opere, cui titulus: Il Regno degli Slavi, p. 173. In Illyrico, antequam a Slavis occupatum esset, Slava lingua semper Illyrici populos usos fuisse, mihi quidem non probatur, quippe S. Hieronymi testimonium, quod profert, non de alia lingua, quam de Latina intelligendum est.*



XXXII. ANNOTATION.

Of the Hunns, particularly the Abari, &c.

I.

AS in the History itself, so likewise here, the *Hunns* follow properly after the *Sclavonian* Nations: But I shall only, in a few Words, observe, what is necessary to connect those single Passages, which I have already, here and there, introduced concerning them.

I. AFTER the *Hunns* broke into *Europe*, they were distinguished, in the same Manner as the *Scyth*s and *Sarmatians*, into *Asiatick* and *Europæan*. Those of *Europe* were particularly famous under *Attila* *. His History, I have already given in its proper Place, (IX. 22. seq.) Only the Circumstance §. 33. of his Expedition against the *Alani*, on the *Loire*, and the Overthrow of *Thorismund* is not out of Doubt. In this, I followed *Jornandes*: But some learned *French* Historians have opposed so many Difficulties to his Relation, that it is hardly possible to defend it †.

II.

Manners of the Hunns. Their Way of Fighting: Their Garb, &c.

I. I HAVE already given an Account of the Manners and Customs of the *Hunns*, from *Amm. Marcellinus* (VII. 4.) and shall here only add two Articles.

* I QUOTED (IX. 23. n. 2.) *Juvenius Cælius Callanus's* Treatise *de Vita Attilæ*. We have since that a new Edition of it, and the Letter which *Monsieur Garelli* has added to this new Edition, gives it a particular Preference to the former.

† SEE *Histoire de Languedoc* T. I. p. 194. and not. 52. Likewise *Hist. de l'Etablissement de la Monarch. Franc.* T. I. p. 500. seq.

2. THEIR

2. THEIR Manner of making War is described by MAURICIUS in Strateg. c. 3. p. 26. quomodo congregiendum sit cum Scythis, h. e. Abaribus atque Turcis, similibusque populis *.

3. OF their Garb, and Manner of wearing their Hair, we have a Passage in *Procopii Anecd. cap. 7.* where he gives an Account of the Differences which the *factio Veneta* excited in *Constantinople*. *Factiosi statim comere cæsariem, ac novo quodam, et Romanis alieno cultu recidere: nam mento et alis intonsis, quæ Persarum more prolixe lubebat promittere, sinciput capillitio ad tempora usque nudarunt, coma ad occipitium permissa, ut Massagetæ solent, nulla lege diffluere; quare et hunc habitum Hunnicum appellavere.†. Omnes sibi curarunt vestes arte laboratas, iisque quam pro dignitate splendioribus amiciebantur, quas iniquis sibi prædis poterant comparare. Vestis manicæ ad volam strictissime coibant; inde vero ad humeros, in miram amplitudinem diffundebantur. Cum autem in theatro vel circo intenta manu vociferarentur, vel alios, ut sit, incitarent, ea potissimum vestimenti pars exerebatur, ut bardis opinionem afferrent, tam plena, fortique se esse corporis habitudine, ut illo egeret vestium amictu; neque viderunt tumida et inani veste tanto magis sui prodere corporis pudendam tenuitatem. Humeralia, tibialia, et pleraque calceamentorum genera, Hunnorum ad ritus, nomenque usurparunt.*

III.

Several Nations of the Hunns; Abari, Hungarians, &c.

1. I SHALL not, in this Place, pretend to give an exact Account of all the single Nations, which are comprehended under the Name of *Hunns*. The *Utriguri* and *Cutriguri* are treated of in the History of *Justinian*. XIII. 7.

2. OF the new Colonies, which came, from Time to Time, out of *Asia* into *Europe*, the *Abari* were particularly noted, in the Reign of *Justinian*: And of these I have treated, XIV. 4. and 5.

* ADD VULCANIUS in not. ad AGATH. p. 180.

† THE Saracens likewise wore their Hair in the same Manner. THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS observes, on the Words of JEREMIAH, c. 10. super omnem attonsum circa faciem suam, as follows: *Comam ad occipitium promittentes Saraceni, partem solummodo tondent, quæ fronti imminet; hos hodie Gentiles appellamus.* Vid. ALEMAN. not. ad Anecd. p. 107.

3. I LIKE-

3. I LIKEWISE there mentioned the Ambassy which they sent to the Emperor *Justin the Younger*, at his Accession to the Imperial Crown. This Circumstance is illustrated by *Corippus*, who gives an Account of their Audience, III. 231.

“ Ut lætus princeps solium conscendit in altum
 “ Membraque purpurea præcelsus veste locavit,
 “ Legatos Avarum jussos intrare magister
 “ Ante fores primus divinæ nunciat aulæ,
 “ Orantes sese vestigia sacra videre
 “ Clementis domini: quos voce et mente benignus
 “ Imperat admitti. Miratur barbara pubes
 “ Ingressus primos, immensaue atria lustrans
 “ Ingentes adstare viros scuta aurea cernunt:
 “ Pilaque suspiciunt alto splendentia ferro
 “ Aurea, et auratos conos, cristasque rubentes:
 “ Horrescunt lanceas, sævasque instare secures:
 “ Cæteraque egregiæ spectant miracula pompæ,
 “ Et credunt aliud Romana palatia cælum.
 “ Spectari gaudent, hilaresque intrare videri
 “ Non secus Hircanæ quoties spectacula tygres
 “ Dat populis nova Roma suis, ductore magistro,
 “ Non solita feritate fremunt, sed margine toto
 “ Intrantes plenum populorum millia circum
 “ Suspiciunt, magnoque metu mitescere discunt:
 “ Deponunt rabiem, gaudent fera vincla subire,
 “ Per medios intrare locos, ipsamque superbæ
 “ Quod spectentur amant caveam, turbasque faventes
 “ Lustrant, et proni solium regnantis adorant.
 “ Verum ut contracto patuerunt intima velo
 “ Ostia, et aurati mœcuerunt atria tecti,
 “ Cæsareumque caput diademate fulgere sacro
 “ Ter gazis suspexit Abar, ter poplite flexo
 “ Pronus adoravit, terræque adfixus inhæsit.
 “ Hunc Avaræ alii simili terrore secuti
 “ In facies cecidere suas, stratosque tapetas
 “ Fronte terunt, longisque implent spaciola capillis
 “ Atria, et Augustam membris immanibus aulam.

“ Ut

- " Ut clemens princeps legatos surgere iussit,
- " Officia stratos iussu monituque iubentis
- " Erexere viros: Quod poscitis, ore sereno
- " Clementer regnator ait, memorate, docete,
- " Et vestri regis, quæ sit legatio, ferte.

Corippus makes the Ambassador talk very big:

- " Crudus et asper Avar dictis sic cœpit acerbis:
- " Rex Avarum, Cagan, debellans intima mundi,
- " Famosos stravit magna virtute tyrannos,
- " Innumeros populos, et fortia regna subegit.
- " Cujus Threicium potis est exercitus Hebrum
- " Exhausto ficcare lacu, fluviumque bibendo
- " Nudare, et nondum potu satiatus abire.
- " Quem Persæ timuere feri, genibusque minantis
- " Admovere manus, pacem meruere precando.
- " Ni fieret, frustra celsis Babylonia muris
- " Cincta foret, dominos humeris nunc ferre parata.
- " Rupimus Euphratem, gelidos superavimus amnes,
- " Hybernasque nives, cursus, qua frenet aquarum
- " Frigus, et omnigenis fit durior unda metallis.

We see, at the same Time, that the *Abari* had not then passed the *Danube*.

- " Nunc ripas Scythici victor rex contigit Istri,
- " Denstaque per latos figens tentoria campos,
- " Ad tua nos princeps hæc splendida mœnia misit.
- " Annua prælargi patris solatia vestri
- " Sumere tempus adest. Sanctus quæ præbuit ille,
- " Vos etiam præbere decet, si fœdera pacis
- " Intemerata tibi, si mavis pacta manere,
- " Debita quærenti transmittite munera regi.

The Answer which he puts in the Emperor's Mouth, is of the same Strain. He reproaches them, that they fled out of *Asia*. V. 319.

- " Quid profugos laudas famaue attollis inani
- " Extorrem populum? quæ fortia regna subegit?
- " Effera gens Avarum proprias defendere terras
- " Non potuit, sedesque suas fugitiva reliquit.
- " Tu velut ignarus falsis rumoribus audes
- " Vana loqui, turpique dolo nova somnia fingis.
- " Quod tibi nunc visum est vestro adsignare labori,
- " Militibus nostris ludo solet esse diurno.

He

He gives them but little Hopes of the Subsidies they demanded :

“ Ergo signa meis Cagan contraria signis
 “ Ferre parat, lituosque mihi, campumque minatur
 “ Gens Avarum, ni pacta damus? Terrore putatis
 “ Id nostrum fecisse patrem, miseratus egenis
 “ Et profugis, quod dona dedit? Pietate regendi
 “ Hoc facimus, gratisque dari provisâ jubemus.
 “ Nostra manus larga est, non prodiga, perdere nescit,
 “ Jure suas dispensat opes quo continet orbem.
 “ Sponte damus dignis, indignis sponte negamus.
 “ Tu numeros numeris, et vires viribus audes
 “ Exæquare meis ?

He, at last, threatens them :

“ Ite, licet, campos, acies et castra parate,
 “ Signorumque Duces certos sperate meorum.”

4. BUT the *Abari*, at least, supported their haughty Proposition better than *Justin* his Answer. They assisted the *Longobards* to destroy the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*, and when the latter afterwards marched into *Italy*, they extended themselves, in their Room, in *Pannonia*. (XIV. 4.) After this, they are frequently mentioned in the Histories of the *Græcian* Emperors, of the *Franks*, *Longobards* and *Sclavi*.

5. THEIR Garb and Dress was the same with the other *Hunns*, excepting that they breeded their Hair into several Tresses, which made a very odd Figure. HIST. MISCELLA Lib. XVI. ad A. 31. Justiniani: Eodem anno ingressa est gens Byzantium inopinata eorum, qui dicuntur Avaræ, et tota civitas cucurrit ad visionem eorum, tanquam qui nusquam viderint hujusmodi gentem. Habebant enim retrorsum comas prolixas valde, atque perplexas, junctas prædeis, reliquis vero vestitus illorum similis erat cæterorum Hunnorum *. Isti fugientes ex regione sua venerunt in partes Scythiæ, ac Mysiæ, et direxerunt ad Iustinianum legatos petentes, ut reciperentur. Corippus, therefore, says, Lib. I. Colubrimodis Abarum gens nexa capillis.

6. I HAVE observed, VII. 4. that the *Hunns* paid a Sort of Divine Adoration to the Sword: Perhaps, because Power was the Rule of all their Actions, as it is likewise with other Nations, who do not just worship the Sword. This is illustrated by the Passage of *Menander's*, where, p. 128. B.

* SUIDAS VOC. Βαλγᾶροι. Hi Avarum habitum, quo valde delectabantur, suo mutarunt, eoque ad hoc usque tempus utuntur.

he gives an Account, how the *Chan* of the *Abari* (for so they called their Kings) swore to the Treaty with the Inhabitants of *Singedon*. *Itaque confestim Abarico ritu iusjurandum ad hunc modum præstitit. Ense ducto & in altum sublato, sibi et Abarorum genti dira est imprecatus, si quid mali comminisceretur Romanis in eo, quod pontem super Sao flumine facere susceperat, ut ipse et universa gens, ad internecionem usque periret, cælum ex alto super ipsis, et IGNIS DEUS, qui in cælo est, rueret, silvæ et montes casu et ruina illos obtererent, Saus fluvius superfluentis eos submergeret. Hæc ubi Barbarus emisit, nunc ego, inquit, iusjurandum Romanorum jurare volo. Tum quæsiit ex ipsis, quid esset, quod sanctum, quod religiosum ducerent, per quod jurantes, si fallerent, Dei iram minime evitatuos crederent. Qui in Singidone urbe summam sacrorum potestatem habebat, statim sancta biblia, quæ in medio continebant sacro sancta evangelia, protulit. Et ille quidem occultans, ea, quæ mente voluebat, multo cum tremore et magna cum reverentia præ se ferens ea suscipere, procedit e cathedra, tum alacri et prompto animo in genua provolutus, Furo, inquit, secundum proferentem in verba, quæ habentur in sacris Dei chartis, me in nullo eorum, quæ prolata sunt, mentiri et fallere.*

7. PART of the *Hunns* embraced the *Christian Faith*, so early as the Time of Emperor *Heraclius*. Vid. NICEPHORUS PATRIARCHA in Brev. Histor. p. 9. *Post hæc aliquanto temporis elapso, Hunnorum Rex cum procerum suorum ac satellitum stipatu Byzantium pervenit, et ab Imperatore Christianis sacris initiari se petiit. Quo libenter excepto, Hunnorum Principes a Romanis Principibus, et illorum conjuges ab horum conjugibus, de sacro fonte suscepti sunt. Inde illos omnes divinis ministeriis initiatos donis regiis ac dignitatibus affecit. Quippe Duci ipsi Patriciatus honorem detulit, et in Hunnorum regionem humanissime dimisit.*

8. THEIR Arms, and Manner of making War, are described by *Mauricius*, in the Place above quoted; and he pretends they were the most valiant People among the *Hunns*. De tympanis Abarorum conf. SUIDAS VOC. ἐπιδραπναι.

9. ACCORDING to ancient Writers, the *Hunns*, and in particular the *Abari*, had no Knowledge of Writing or Letters*. Tho' *Hickes* gives us a *Hunnick Alphabet*.

* MENANDER, indeed mentions the *Literæ Scythicæ*, when he gives an Account of the Ambassy, which the *Turks* sent to the Emperor *Justinian* (XIV. 2. n. 2) But as the Name of *Scythæ* is taken in so extensive a Sense, by the *Grecian Writers*, it is difficult to distinguish what Language or Letter is to be here understood.

IV.

Origin of the HUNGARIANS.

THE *Abari* stood their Ground in *Pannonia*, till *Charlemaign* vanquished them in several Campaigns. After this, the Name of *Hungarians* became known. Some learned Men are of Opinion, that this Name is a Compound of *Hunni Abari*; but it is more Ancient, for *Menander*, p. 100. and 109. mentions the *Ongori*, and *Jornandes* the *Ongari*, which probably is the same Name, as *Ungari* or *Hungari*.



XXXIII. ANNOTATION.

A farther Account of the Kings of the Wisi-Goths, in Spain, from the Spanish Councils.

IN the XXVI. Annotation, I treated of the Constitution of the Kingdom of the *Wisi-Goths*, in *Spain*, and, on that Occasion, observed, that there were many Things to be found, in the ancient *Spanish* Councils, which might be of Service, to give us a more exact Knowledge of these Matters. A learned *Spanish* Canon, *Gasp. Cardillus Villalpandus*, has already discuss'd this Matter, in his *Commentarius rerum præcipuarum, quæ in Conciliis Toletanis continentur*. As a Specimen, I will here subjoin those Chapters, in which he has collected such Passages, as have Regard to the Kings of the *Wisi-Goths*.

Quanti fecerint reges Gothi concilia, atque episcopos? (cap. 31.)

Jam vero quanta autoritate concilia Toletana prædita fuerint, quantique illa fecerint reges Gothi, licet multis variisque argumentis convinci possit, his monstratur maxime, quæ ex eorundem conciliorum monumentis eruntur.

Unum est, quod cap. 10. concilium octavum legem tulerit, ad reprimentam principum atque regum suorum cupiditatem. Præterea etiam ad calcem conc. 4.

Alterum est, quod reges petere soliti sint, ut leges a se latas synodus corrigat. Facit hoc ERVIGIUS rex, in oratione, quam habet ad conc. 12. Tolet. his verbis: *Hoc generaliter obsecro, ut, quicquid justitiæ videatur contrarium, humanitatis vestræ judicio corrigatur.*

Tertium

Tertium sumitur ex modo, quo se concilio reges insinuare solebant, atque in medium ejus prodire. ERVIGIUS ad conc. 12. ita loquitur: *Venerabilem paternitatis vestrae cœtum, cum lacrimarum effusione conveni. Et paulo ante ait concilium: Adfuit coram nobis clementissimus princeps humanitatis gratia plenus, qui nostro se cœtui reclinem exhibens, ac devotum, imprimis omnium sacerdotum se commisit precibus adjuvandum. Initio conc. 8. Cum unusquisque sedes debitas occupasset, adest serenissimus princeps pia religione plenissimus, qui se nostro cœtui reddens acclivem, ut eum omnipotenti Deo precibus commendaremus, adstans, dulcissimis nos, ut filios, cohortatus est verbis.*

Initio conc. 4. *Rex coram sacerdotibus Dei humi prostratus, cum lacrimis et gemitibus pro se interveniendum Domino postulavit.*

In conc. 15. *Rex in medio pontificum positus humique prostratus, sacerdotum Dei se commendavit orationibus.*

Egica rex in eodem conc. sic loquitur patribus: *Vobis coram positus vestris precibus supernam mihi clementiam suffragari efflagitans, universitatem sanctitudinis vestrae christiana mentis devotione convenio.*

In conc. 16. *Princeps nostro sese cœtui intulit, et gloriosi capitis verticem cernuo voto reclinans, nostris se Domino precibus commendavit.*

In oratione regis ad conc. 13. *Sanctissimi, et religiosa pietate excolendi pontifices, et divini cultus instantissimi sectatores.*

In conc. 22. *Flavius Ervigius rex sanctissimis, atque reverendissimis patribus.*

In conc. 15. *Sublimissimi patres, et cœlesti jure mihi venerandi pontifices.*

In conc. 16. *Novit, beatissimi patres, serenitatis vestrae gloriosa sublimitas, Hæc autem in medium produxi, ut intelligant omnes, quanti facere debeant patres, præsertim in concilio positos.*

De ratione elegendi reges Gothos. (cap. 32.)

A multis dubitari video, utrum successionem an electionem potius regnum Gothorum olim traderetur, neque de ea re inter scriptores satis convenit: qui si accurate, et diligenter Toletana concilia evoluissent, facile quidem hac dubitatione liberarentur. Illa etenim aperte testantur, Gothorum regnum non successionem accipi, sed electionem potius deferri consuevisse. Præsertim conc. 5. cap. 3. cum ita inquit:

LIII 2

Quo-

Quoniam sunt inconsideratæ quorundam mentes, et se minime capientes: quos neque origo ornat, nec virtus decorat, qui passim putant licenterque, ad regię majestatis pervenire fastigia, hujus rei causa, nostra omnium, cum invocatione divina, profertur sententia, ut si quis talia meditatus fuerit, neque electio omnium præficit, neque Gothorum gentis nobilitas ad hunc apicem trahit, sit consortio catholicorum privatus, et divino anathemate condemnatus.

Objectio. Sed quid dicemus de Ervigio rege, rogabit fortasse quispiam? hunc enim Vamba successorem fecit sibi, cap. 1. conc. 12. his verbis: *Idem Vamba dum inevitabili necessitudinis teneretur eventu, suscepto religionis debito cultu etc. Hunc inclitum dominum nostrum Ervigium, non Eringium, ut legitur in his conciliis, quæ passim circumferuntur, et admonui superius, post se prælegit regnaturum.*

Et paulo inferius eodem capite inquit sancta synodus: *Hunc Ervigium divinum judicium in regno prælegit, et decessor princeps sibi instituit successorem.*

Solvitur:

Sic interroganti, in hunc ego modum responderem: Vambam regem dum viveret, pertæsum vitæ prioris, regno se abdicasse, et religionis vota adstrinxisse. Quod insinuat his verbis, cap. 1. conc. 12. *Rex Vamba suscepto religionis debito cultu, et venerabili tonsuræ sacræ signaculo etc.* Atque optasse, ut Ervigius rex fieret, eundemque nominasse regem Gothorum, sibi-que successorem, ea lege, et conditione, ut id factum ab his, quorum intererat regem creare, probaretur, confirmareturque. Huc enim spectat, quod loco citato, patres in concilio positi testantur:

Vidimus, et pariter patulo alternæ visionis intuitu prælucente prospeximus, hujus præmissi ordinis scripturas: id est notitiam manu seniorum palatii roboratam: coram quibus antecedens princeps, et religionis cultum et tonsuræ sacræ adeptus est venerabile signum, scripturam quoque definitionis ab eodem editam, ubi gloriosum dominum nostrum Ervigium post se fieri regem exoptat.

Subjungit concilium:

Quibus omnibus approbatis, atque perlectis dignum sane nostro cœtui visum est, ut prædictis definitionibus scripturarum nostrorum omnium confirmatio apponatur, ut qui ante tempora in occultis judiciis præscitus est regnaturus,
nunc

*nunc manifesto in tempore generaliter omnium sacerdotum habeatur definiti-
onibus consecratus.*

Constat igitur ex superioribus, reges Gothorum non successione solere, sed electione creari; Vambamque regem non simpliciter successorem sibi fecisse, sed ea tantum lege, modo ab illis probaretur, quorum ex officio interesset regem creare.

Quorum calculis reges Gothorum crearentur? (cap. 33.)

Non est obscurum, a quibus Gothorum reges olim crearentur, si eadem ipsa concilia consulamus. Eligebantur enim a proceribus regni, five illi ex ordine essent sacerdotali, quales ætate illa erant episcopi, five ex sæcularibus profanisque hominibus. Nam episcopi, eo tempore, et jure quidem, inter magnates, principesque viros numerabantur, ad quos quia olim pertinebat creare reges, ne omnino eorum hac parte majestas aboleretur, sed perstaret adhuc ejus vestigium aliquod, ubi ex Sarracenis recuperari cœpit Hispania a Pelagio principe, qui genus ducebat ex Gothis, factum esse arbitror, ut episcopi omnes regum consiliari efficerentur, et referrentur inter principes viros. *Porque agora sellaman de el estado y consejo de los Reyes, y como Grandes se hallan en las cortes que se hazen de Grandes, y como tales tienen otras preeminencias en la corte, y fuera della.*

Cap. 3. conc. 5. severissima adversus eos profertur sententia, qui ad apicem regni adspirant, cum non fuerint omnium electione regno præfecti, dum autem omnium mentionem concilium facit, eos significat procul dubio, qui præsentibus tunc temporis aderant in concilio, cum decretum hujusmodi conderetur: episcopos videlicet atque illustres viros. Hæc etiam sententia plane convincitur eo argumento; quia Ervigium, quem successorem sibi Vamba nominaverat, episcopi et palatini, nobilesque Gothi probaverunt cap. 1. conc. 12.

Sed id apertius constat cap. 10. conc. 8. his verbis: *Ab hinc ergo deinceps ita erunt in regni gloriam præficiendi rectores, ut, aut in urbe regia, aut in loco, ubi princeps decesserit, cum pontificum majorumque palatii omnimodo eligantur assensu, non forinsecus, cœtu aut conspiratione paucorum, aut rusticarum plebium seditioso tumultu.*

En.

Ex qua gente rex Gothorum acciperetur? (cap. 34.)

Quanquam rex Gothorum, principum virorum electione, atque suffragiis regno præficeretur, non poterat profecto, sine discrimine undecunque assumi, atque evehi ad fastigium tantæ dignitatis; quinimo ex nobilibus gentis Gothicæ necessario assumendus erat. Hinc procul dubio refelli possit publicus error asserentium, Vambam regem, ex media fece vulgi ad regni apicem fuisse evectum. Nullam etenim hujus rei, quæ fide digna sit, historiam citare nobis vulgus possit. Imo vero concilia ipsa Toletana nobilem virum appellant Vambam, multo antequam rex crearetur: quem modo Vambam, modo Vuambam, modo etiam Vuambanem appellant. Et hujusmodi electio Gothorum legibus, de creando rege, quæ conciliis insertæ sunt, plane adversatur. Cap. namque 3. conc. 5. catholicorum consortio privatur, et divino anathemate condemnatur, qui contenderit ad apicem regni, nisi omnium electio eundem præfecerit, et nobilitas gentis Gothorum traxerit. Cap. vero 17. conc. 6. id ipsum planius efficit, cum ait Synodus:

Rege defuncto nullus tyrannica præsumptione regnum assumat: nullus sub religionis habitu detonsus, aut turpiter decalvatus, aut servilem originem trahens, aut extraneæ gentis homo, nisi genere cognitus et moribus dignus promoveatur ad apicem regni.

Hinc ego factum puto, ut decerneretur in concilio, ne qui ex servili conditione originem trahunt, cum nobilibus gentis Gothicæ conjugio permiscerentur. Alias enim accideret aliquando, ut, qui ex servis originem ducit, Gothorum rex efficeretur. Legimus enim in hunc modum cap. 13. conc. 9.

Sicut legum reverenda sanctio censuit, ita servari totius generis nobilitas debet, ut in nullo aliena commixtio maculet, quod generositas propria decoravit. Unde cunctis ecclesiarum libertis, tam viris, quam fæminis, eorumque propagini interdicitur judicio generali, ne deinceps connubii causa Romanis ingenuis, copulentur. Addit concilium, quod si hoc factum quandoque patuerit, permixtione tali genita proles, nunquam merebitur jus debitæ dignitatis.

Cæterum, quæ diximus omnia, atque insuper quo loco eligendus sit rex, apertissime decreta reperimus cap. 10. conc. 8. his verbis, quæ etiam citavi proximo capite: *Abhinc ergo deinceps ita erunt in regni gloriam præficiendi rectores, ut, aut in urbe regia, (regiam autem urbem appellat synodus, To-*
letum,

letum, quoniam eam sibi rex ad vitam delegerat,) aut in loco, ubi princeps decesserit, cum pontificum, majorumque palatii omnimodo elegantur assensu : subiungit, non forinsecus cætu, aut conspiratione paucorum, aut rusticarum plebium seditioso tumultu. Aliquando enim, par est credere, id fuisse a plebe tentatum per tumultum, ut, quem probaret, ad regni apicem evehere studeret. Cum enim Concil. dicat non forinsecus etc. ex folis nobilibus gentis Gothicæ assumendum esse regem significat.

De unctione regum Gothorum. (cap. 34.)

Creatus rex Gothorum pontificum iudicio, et nobilium virorum calculis, inungebatur ab episcopis, et consecrabatur Deo: ut intelligant omnes, antiquis temporibus reges Hispanorum inungi solere, et posse id modo, jure suo, petere atque usurpare, si velint. Cap. 1. conc. 12. *Vamba Ervigium post se regnaturum præelegit, et sacerdotali benedictione ungendum curavit.*

Paulo inferius Vamba rex instruxit Julianum, Toletanæ sedis episcopum, illumque admonuit, ut ungeret Ervigium, successorem in regno, atque omni diligentia unctionis celebritas fieret. Adhuc paulo inferius, *nostrorum omnium*, inquit synodus, *confirmatio apponatur*, etc. *ut generaliter omnium sacerdotum habeatur definitionibus consecratus.* Hinc colligo, neque sine ratione, ut mihi videtur, consecrationem atque unctionem regum Hispanorum, ab episcopo Toletano, tanquam a primate, fieri consuevisse. Sed adjuvabatur a cæteris episcopis, qui præsentibus aderant: atque illi operam impendebant. Alioqui neque Vamba commisisset hanc curam Juliano, episcopo Toletano: neque in eam rem cæteri episcopi incumberent; ut omnium esset Ervigijs episcoporum manibus consecratus.

Quoniam vero rex Gothorum ungebatur, Christum eum appellant conc. quasi unctum Domini dixeris. Sic enim legimus in præfatione concil. 6. *Anno prædicti principis et triumphatoris Christi secundo.*

Quid reges populo cum juramento promitterent, quid contra populus regi? et quod regum Toletana concilia mentionem inserant?

(cap. 36.)

Non ante regnare incipiebat Gothus, quam in manu eorum, a quibus creatus fuerat rex, cum juramento promitteret, se servaturum, quæ sunt decreta cap. 10. conc. 8. quod constat his verbis: *Non prius apicem regni quisquam percipiat, quam si illa per omnia suppleturum jurisjurandi taxatione definiat.*

Sed

Sed quæ sunt illa, dicet fortasse quispiam? profecto quæ eodem ipso capite, hac serie verborum continentur:

Erunt catholicæ fidei assertores, eamque ab hac, quæ imminet Judæorum perfidia, et cunctarum hæresum injuria defendentes. Erunt aëtibz judices et vita modesti. Erunt in provisionibus rerum parci, plus quam extenti: ut nulla vi aut factione scripturarum, vel definitionum qualiumcunque contractus a subditis, vel exigant, vel exigendos intendant. Erunt in conquisitis oblatione gratissima rebus non prospectantes proprii jura commodi, sed consulentes patriæ atque genti.

Hæc sunt, quæ juraturos reges decernit concilium loco citato. Quæ omnia dignissima sunt catholicis regibus.

Jurabant insuper, se minime laturus, ut quispiam infidelium degeret in suo regno, quod cap. 3. conc. 6. testatur his verbis:

Quisquis succedentium temporum regni sortitus fuerit apicem, non ante conscendat regiam sedem, quam inter reliqua conditionum sacramenta pollicitus fuerit, nullum non catholicum permittere in suo regno degere.

Jurabant etiam legem latam ad calcem conc. 8. Tolet. de bonis, quæ sine ordine reliquit rex mortuus: ut, inquam, cedant ejus hæredibus; neque possit successor ea occupare: sic enim legimus loco citato: *Non ante quispiam solium regale conscendat, quam juramenti fœdere, hanc legem se implere promittat.*

Quemadmodum autem futurus rex ea, quæ retulimus, cum juramento pollicebatur populo, ita quoque populus regi pleraque jurabat: sed illud maxime, quod in præfat. conc. 8. in hunc modum rex testatur:

Revolutis retro temporibus, ita vos, loquitur ad episcopos rex, atque illustres palatinos, omnemque populum jurasse recolimus, ut cujuscunque ordinis, vel honoris persona, quæ in necem regum, excidiumque Gothorum gentis, ac patriæ detecta fuisset vel cogitasse noxia, vel egisse, irrevocabilis sententiæ mulctatus atrocitate nusquam mereretur veniæ remedium. etc.

XXXIV. ANNOTATION.

What the real Subject was of the Treaty between Gregory III. and Charles Martell? ad XVI. 19. 20.

THE Negotiations between Gregory, III. and Charles Martel, are remarkable, because they contain the Grounds on which afterwards the Treaties with *Pipin* and *Charlemaign* were built. The latter enjoyed the real Fruits of them, when he took upon him the Title of *Roman Emperor*.

I.

An Account thereof from the Chronicon FREDEGARII.

IT will be first of all necessary to set the Accounts themselves, which we have of this Treaty, in their proper Light. What we can take from *Anastasius* and the Letters of *Gregory, III.* himself, I have already produced in their proper Place. A *Franconian* Historian, the *Continuator Fredegarii*, gives us, c. 110. another particular Circumstance: *Eo tempore bis a Roma B. Papa Gregorius claves venerandi sepulcri, cum vinculis S. Petri, et muneribus magnis et infinitis, legationem, (quod antea nullis auditis aut visis * temporibus fuit) memorato Principi destinavit: eo pacto patrato, ut ad partes Imperatoris recederet, et Romanum Consulatam præfato Principi Carolo sanciret. F. Pagi* observes, *ad A. 704. n. 4.* that the last Words are not printed every where alike, and imagines, that they should be read: *Eo pacto patrato, ut a parte Imperatoris recederet, et Romanum Consulatam præfato Principi Carolo sanciret* †. The *Annales Metenses* seem to confirm his Opinion, and likewise relate the Matter, in such Manner, as if the Ro-

† In *F. Rydnari's* Edition it is, *ut a partibus Imperatoris recederet*. For which he refers to several Codices. M. S.

mans were inclined to abandon the Emperor, and to put themselves under the Protection of *Charles*; ad An. DCCXLI. *Carolus Princeps domitis circumquaque positis gentibus, dum ea quæ pacis erant, infra sui regiminis terminos disponderet, his eodem anno legationem Beatissimi Gregorii Papæ, ab Apostolica sede directam suscepit. Qui sibi claves venerandi sepulcri Principis Apostolorum, Petri, ejusdemque pretiosa vincula, cum muneribus magnis delatis obtulerunt: quod antea nulli Francorum Principi, a quolibet Præsule Romanæ urbis, directum fuit. Epistolam quoque, DECRETO ROMANORUM PRINCIPUM, sibi prædictus Præsul Gregorius miserat, quod sese populus Romanus, relicta Imperatoris dominatione, ad suam defensionem, et invictam clementiam convertere voluisset.* We may, moreover, conclude, with *Pagius*, that, in the above Passage of the *Continuator Fredegarii*, *Consulatus* signifies so much as *Patriciatus*.

II.

Several Opinions of the Contents of this Treaty. Whether it was level'd against the Emperor?

I. SOME, and especially *Nicolaus Alemannus*, in *Diff. de Lateranensibus parietinis, cap. II.* takes it for granted, that *Gregory, II.* withdrew the City of *Rome*, and a Part of *Italy*, from their Obedience to the Emperor, in the Reign of *Leo Isaurus*, and brought them under the Subjection of the Roman Church; and that *Gregory, III.* sought the Friendship of *Charles Martell*, in order to maintain this Temporal Power. But I have already shewn, in the Course of this History, (XVI. II.) that this Pretence of the Defection of the City of *Rome*, and the Rest of *Italy*, is groundless. *Anastasius*, on the contrary, says, in Praise of *Gregory, II.* that he prevented it. And besides, *F. le Cointe ad Ann. 796. n. 10. et seq.* has amply refuted *Alemannus*.

Or rather for the Benefit of the Empire?

2. HE himself imagines, that *Gregory, III.* had no Views against the Emperor, but against the *Longobards*, and rather endeavoured to prevail on *Charles* to undertake something, for the Benefit of the Empire, against *Luitprand* *. He will, therefore, give no Credit to the *Annales Metenses*, and n. 12. amends the Passage in the *Chronicon Fredegarii*, in the follow-

* His Words are in n. 11. *Gregorius non auxilium pro se contra Imperatorem, sed pro ipso Imperatore contra Longobardos a Carolo postulat.*

ing Manner: *Eo pacto patrato, ut AD PARTES IMPERATORIS ACCEDERET, et Romanum Consulatatum PRÆFATUS PRINCEPS CAROLUS sanciret.* Where he supposes the Word *Consulatatus* to be understood of the Empire itself.

F. PAGIUS's Opinion.

3. F. PAGIUS is not wholly satisfied with this Conjecture. He agrees so far with *F. le Cointe*, against *Alemannus*, that the City of *Rome* had not yet withdrawn from its Allegiance to the Emperor, in the Time of *Gregory, II.* but believes, on the other Hand, that *Gregory, III.* had absolutely this Intention, tho' the Matter was not brought to bear. He is likewise of Opinion, that *Charles Martell* actually accepted of the *Patriciat* *, and, at the same Time, examines wherein it properly consisted †.

III.

The Design of the Romans was not to separate themselves from the Empire.

1. As therefore the Passage quoted above, from the *Chronicon Fredegarii* is disputable, we cannot have much Dependance on it. We might likewise easily dispense with not knowing the private Views of a Treaty, which never came to a total Conclusion: But as so many learned Men have endeavoured to raise different Conjectures from this Passage, it is necessary, to enquire into the Circumstances of the Empire, the *Longobards*, and the City of *Rome*. When we compare these together, it does not seem, that the *Romans* had any Intention to free themselves from their Allegiance to the Empire.

Of the then State of the Empire, in Italy.

2. THE Power and Credit of the Emperors, in what remained of *Italy*, was indeed very much fallen, and the great Cities had taken the Oppor-

* His Words, loc. cit. are: *Quare falsi sunt Ducangius, in Glossar. verb. Patricius, et passim ante eum alii, qui scripsere, Romanos, postquam sese a Græcanici Imperii jugo subduxere, Longobardis etiam devictis et superatis, Pippino primunt, deinde Carolo Magno, et Carolomanno Patriciatum ascripsisse. Nam non Pippinus, sed Carolus Martellus primus hanc auctoritatem a Romanis accepit, idque antequam si aperte ab Imperatore descenderent, quod nonnisi post Pippinum, in Regem Francorum unctum, contigit.*

† Ad an. 740. n. 8. He there gives *Peter de Marcia's* Opinion of this *Patriciat*, and concludes: *Patriciatu igitur Romanorum, præter imperium in urbem et Ducatum Romanum, defensionem Romanæ Ecclesiæ complectebatur.*

tunity of the Troubles under *Leo Isaurus*, to exert themselves: (XVI. 11. n. 2.) Nevertheless, it was not their Intention to withdraw themselves from the *Roman Empire*. Those who were the most disaffected to *Leo Isaurus*, threatened to elect another Emperor, and to march with him towards the *East*. *Anastasius* says: *Cognita vero Imperatoris nequitia, omnis Italia consilium iniit, ut sibi eligerent Imperatorem, et Constantinopolin ducerent. Sed compescuit tale consilium Pontifex, sperans conversionem Principis.* XVI. 11. n. 2.

Occasion of the War, which Luitprand waged with the Romans.

3. THE Arms of the *Longobards* were not level'd in particular against the *Roman Church*. *Luitprand* himself was of their Communion, and disputed neither their Faith nor Discipline. His Quarrel was with the *Romans* in general. *Stephen*, Duke of *Rome*, and the Chiefs of the *Roman Militia*, had given him as great Provocation to it as *Gregory, III **. The four Cities, which he had taken, belonged to the Duchy of *Rome*. When afterwards *Pope Zachary* appeased the King, the Truce was likewise concluded with this Duchy. (XVI. 21.)

State of the City of ROME, in particular.

4. THE Pope treated indeed with *Charles* chiefly in his own Name; but yet with the previous Knowledge of the Chiefs of the *Roman People*, and the *Roman Militia*. These Troops, at that Time, assumed so much Authority, that they, not long before, threatened to elect another Emperor, and to march with him against *Leo*, to the *East*. In the City of *Rome*, the Senat had likewise yet some Eminence; *Justinian* allows it them, in the *Sanctio Pragmatica*, which he issued after the Destruction of the *Gothick Empire*. (XIII. 27. n. 4 †.) But such were the Circumstances of the Times now, that all Ranks of Men were allowed to do what they could to oppose the *Longobards*. That the Senat, in particular, exerted their Authority, we may conclude, because, soon afterwards, King *Pipin* addressed his Letter to the Senat and People of *Rome* ‡.

* So ANASTASIUS says of the Motives to the War; in Vit. Zachariæ, (XVI. 19. n. 1.) *Et dum a prædecessore ejus, beatæ memoriæ, Gregorio Papa, atque a Stephano, QUONDAM PATRICIO et DUCE, vel OMNI EXERCITU ROMANO, prædictus Thrasimundus redditus non fuisset, obsessione facta pro eo, ab eodem Rege ablata sunt a ROMANO DUCATU civitates quatuor etc.*

† Conf Nov. 20.

‡ Vid. Cod. Carol. ep. 36.

5. IF we will likewise follow the common Tradition, that the *Romans* then offered *Charles Martell* the *Patriciat*, this Title itself is an Evidence, that they had no Intention to withdraw their Allegiance from the Empire; but rather resolved, with Regard thereto, to proceed with Caution. The *Patriciat* was a Dignity of the *Roman Empire*, which the Emperors used to bestow, and which till then the *Exarchs* and *Duces* were generally invested with. The *Romans* sought a Protection, to secure them, under the Sovereignty of the Emperor, against the *Longobards*; and that they of themselves sought him, might be excusable from the Circumstances of the Times.

IV.

The City of Rome, and the Rest of Italy, remain also afterwards under the Græcian Emperors.

AND whatever *Gregory, III.* may have had in View, certain it is, that *Rome* did not then withdraw their Allegiance from the Empire. His Successor, *Zacchary*, joined with the *Exarch*, at *Ravenna*, to restore the State of *Italy*, and mediated a Peace between the Emperor and King *Luitfrand*. (*XVI.* 28.) He kept his *Apocrisiarius* at *Constantinople*, and the Emperor *Constantine* made him a Present of certain Estates in *Italy*, which yet belonged to the Imperial Chamber. (*Ibid.* 29.) He dated his *Briefs* according to the Years of the Emperour's Reign; and tho' the Court differ'd in Opinion, from the *Roman Church*, with Regard to the Adoration of Images, the Pope was contented with making reiterated Remonstrances against it *, without coming to a Rupture.

V.

Of the Nature of the Patriciat, in the Roman Empire.

AND as the Title of *Patricius* is so eminent in the Histories of *Pipin* and *Charlemaign*, it may be worthy our Enquiry, what was the real Signification of it. The *Patriciat*, in itself, was not so much an Office, or Kind of Public Employ †, as the *Exarchatus*, *Ducatus*, and other Offi-

* VID. ep HADRIANI, Papæ, ad Constantin. et Iren.

† IT almost seems as if *F. Pagius* looked upon the *Patriciat* as a particular Office. He says, ad an. 740. n. 5. Erant enim Patricii, qui et Consules dicti, Ecclesiarum ac pauperum defensores: And n. 6. Ea dignitas conferebatur illis, qui ad defensionem Ecclesiarum, et inopum, adversus vim potentiorum, eligebantur.

ces of the Empire were, as rather a peculiar Dignity in the Empire, which had likewise its proper *Insignia* *. *Constantine*, the Great, in particular, placed it in high Esteem: And, after this, Persons of the greatest Distinction, when they had enjoyed the Offices of *Consuls* and *Præfeti Prætorii*, or other the principal Posts of the Empire, were honoured with it †. Even several Kings of Foreign Nations have accepted of it. *Odoacer* sued for this Title from the Emperor *Zeno*, (X. 37.) that he might rule, with the better Face, in *Rome* and *Italy*. When this Emperor afterwards encouraged *Theoderic*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, to march into *Italy*, he nominated him *Patricius*. (XI. 3.) Even *Clovis* accepted of this Dignity from *Anastasius*. (XI. 14.) But after the Popes conferred the Title of *Patricius* on King *Pipin* and his Sons, it may have received a new and particular Signification. From this Time, we might agree with *Peter de Marca*, and *Pagius*, that the *Patricii* were the Protectors of the *Roman Church*, and, at the same Time, had the Temporal Jurisdiction in *Rome*.

VI.

Whether Charles Martell actually accepted of the Patriciat?

PAGIUS affirms, *ad An. 740. n. 8.* that *Charles Martell* is actually to be looked upon as a *Patricius Romanus*. He appeals even to the Testimonies of *Charlemagne*, and *Ludovicus Pius*. The first says, in the Partition of the Empire among his Sons, which was made *Ann. 806. Super omnia autem jubemus, ut ipsi tres fratres curam et defensionem Ecclesiæ S. Petri simul suscipiant, SICUT QUONDAM AB AVO NOSTRO CAROLO, et beatæ memoriæ genitore Pipino Rege, et a nobis postea suscepta est, et ut eam cum Dei adjutorio ab hostibus defendere nitantur, et justitiam suam, quantum ad ipsos pertinet, et ratio postulaverit, habere faciant.* *Lewis* lays his Sons almost under the same Obligation, *loc. cit. num. 9. Super omnia jubemus,*

* WE have a formula dandi *Patriciatus*, in *CASSIODOR V A R. III. 5.* in which are the following Words: *Tot parentum laude decoratus, tot etiam morum luce conspicuus, sume post Consulares fasces emeritis Patriciatus insignia, tuorum munus plenariam dignitatum: et cani honoris insulis adultum cinge cæsariem, qui meritorum laude ætatis judicia superasti. F. Pagius. ad An. 740. n. 6.* gives us the Form, which the Emperors observed, when they conferred the *Patriciat* on any one, from a *Mss. Copy*. *Hunc honorem tibi concedimus, ut Ecclesiis Dei et pauperibus legem facias, et inde apud altissimum judicem rationem reddas. Tunc induat eum Imperator mantum, et ponat ei in dextro indice annulum, et det ei bombacinum propria manuscriptum: Eslo Patricius misericors et justus. Tunc ponat ei in caput aureum circum, et dimittat.*

† CONF. L. I. et 3. C. de Consulibus et Patriciis.

ut ipsi tres fratres curam et defensionem Ecclesiæ S. Petri simul suscipiant, Sicut quondam a pro avo nostro, CAROLO, et avo nostro Pipino, et beatæ memoriæ Carolo, genitore nostro, Imperatore, et a nobis postea suscepta est. But tho' Charles Martell may have taken upon him the Protection of the Roman Church, at least by Ambassies, it does not follow, that he was actually proclaimed *Patricius* at Rome, and likewise bore the Title and *Insignia* of the *Patriciat*; especially as Death cut him short, before the Treaty with Gregory was fully concluded.



XXXV. ANNOTATION.

Of the Duchy of Bavaria, under the Kings of the Franks, of the first Race.

THE History of the Kingdom of the *Franks* leads us, at the same Time, to the particular Histories of the other *German Nations*, which belonged to the Kingdom of the *Franks*, viz. the *Bavarians* and *Swabians*, *Frisians* and *Thuringians*. These Nations were under the Dominion of the *Franks*; but, in such Manner, that they always preserved their own Constitution. As a *Specimen*, I shall just mention the Duchies of *Bavaria* and *Swabia*.

Whether the Bavarians are descended from the Boji?

1. THE first Mention we find of the Name of *Bojoarii* * is in *Jordanes*.

2. BUT whether these *Bojoarii* were the Descendants of the *Boji*, is not here a proper Place to enquire. As we have no evident Testimony, it rests on Conjectures. Some learned Men have attempted to prove it; however *Valesius*, T. III. p. 459. seq. pretends to aver the contrary.

When they come under the Dominion of the FRANKS?

3. IT is, likewise, just as uncertain, when they came under the Dominion of the *Franks*. It is, however, most probable, that it was in the Time of *Theodoric*, I. King of *Austrasia*. (XII. 42.) *Pagius* fixes the Beginning of this Duchy, in the Year 556.

* IT is hardly possible to enumerate how strangely this Name is written; *Bajoarius*, *Bojoarius*, *Bajuarius*, *Bodoarii*, *Bavocarii*. Conf. ECKARD. Hist. Franc. Orient. p. 193.

† In some of the *Scriptores medii ævi*, the Names *Boji* and *Bojoarii* are used as Synonyma. Vid. ECKARD. Hist. Franc. Orient. p. 193.

4. THE

4. THE Dukes of *Bavaria* were powerful Princes, and ruled over the Nation in almost an absolute Manner. They acknowledged the Supremacy of the Kings of the *Franks*, and were chosen by the Nation; but were sometimes also put in by the Kings of the *Franks* *; tho' always of the Family of the *Agilolfingi* †. Next to the Dukes were the Counts, whose Function was particularly over the Courts of Judicature ‡, under the Superiority of the Dukes §. The *Bavarians* had likewise their own Laws. (XII. 42.)

5. As to the Confines of their Territories, *Paulus* supposes *Noricum* to have belonged to them; Lib. III. cap. 29. *Noricorum provincia, quam Bajoariorum populus inhabitabat, habet ab Oriente Pannoniam, ab Occidente Suaviam, a Meridie Italiam, ab Aquilonis vero parte Danubii fluentia*. But they also possessed a good Tract of Land on this Side the *Danube*, as, among others, we may conclude, by the Disposition of the Bishopricks in *Bavaria*, as settled by *St. Boniface*, at the Desire of Duke *Odilo* (XVI. 18.)

6. BUT as the History of the *Franks* itself is very obscure, in this Period, it reflects but a very weak Light on that of the *Bavarians*. *Valesius*, T. III. p. 465. was the first who placed the Succession of the Dukes of *Bavaria*, on a certain Foundation; and *Pagius*, ad An. 696. n. 6 and seq. has farther confirmed his Computation. I shall here only name these Dukes in the same Order, as they follow one another in the Course of the History itself.

* * *

Dukes of BAVARIA in this Period.

I.

G A R I B A L D.

1. THIS is the first Duke of the *Bavarians*, who is mentioned in the History of the *Franks*. His Consort was *Waldrada*, a Daughter of *Wac-*

* Tit. II. 1. n. 1. *Si quis contra ducem, quem Rex ordinavit in provincia illa, aut populus sibi elegerit ducem etc.*

† Tit. II. 20. n. 3. *Dux vero, qui præest in populo, ille semper de genere Agilolfingorum fuit, et debet esse*

‡ Tit. II. 5. 7. *Comes tamen non negligat custodire exercitum suum. Ut placita fiant per Kalendas. aut XV. dies, si necesse est ad causas inquirendas, ut si pax in provincia, et omnes liberi convenient contritis diebus, ubi iudex ordinaverit, et nemo sit ausus contemnere venire ad placitum: qui infra illum constitutum manent: sive REGIS VASSI, sive DUCIS, omnes ad placita veniant, et qui neglexerit venire damnetur.* Ib. n. 21. *Comes vero secum habeat iudicem etc.*

§ Tit. II. 5. 4. *Et si talis homo hoc fecerit. quem ille Comes distringere non potest, tunc dicat duci suo*

cho, King of the Longobards; and Widow of Theodebald, King of *Austrasia*. (XIII. 33. n. 1.) He is the most known on Account of his Children.

2. His Daughter, *Theodelinda*, was married, A. 589. to *Antharis*, King of the Longobards *, (XIV. 24.) and is very famous in the History of that Kingdom, (*Ibid.* 28.)

3. His Son, *Gundoald*, accompanied *Theodelinda* into *Italy*, and became himself Duke of *Asti*. His Son, *Aribert*, was afterwards King of the Longobards. (XV. 14.)

4. GARIBALD was thereupon involved in a War with the *Franks*; but we are not informed what Opposition he made to them; nor do we find any thing of *Bavaria*, till we meet with Mention of *Thassilo*, who succeeded him. (XIV. 24. n. 8 and 9.)

II.

THASSILO, I.

PAULUS DIACONUS informs us, that *Thassilo* was ordained Duke, or, as *Paulus* calls him, King of *Bavaria*, by *Childebert*, King of *Austrasia*, and that he was successful in his Wars against the neighbouring *Sclavi*. (XIV. 24. n. 9.)

III.

GARIBALD, II.

THASSILO died about the Year 609. and his Son, *Garibald*, II. succeeded him. Of him *Paulus Diaconus* says, L. IV. c. 41. *Mortuo Thassilone, Bajoariorum duce, filius ejus Garibaldus Agunti a Sclavis devictus est, et Bajoariorum termini a prædantibus invaduntur. Bajoarii tamen viribus resumptis et prædas ab hostibus excusserunt, et hostes de finibus suis repulerunt, PAG. ad an. 509. n. 5.* It is not known when *Garibald*, II. died: But it must have been before the Year 649. *Pag.* 637. 8.

* PAUL. III. 29. *Flavius Rex Authari legatos post hæc (id est, post ingressum Francorum in Italiam adversus Longobardos) ad Bajoariam misit, qui Garibaldi eorum Regis filiam, sibi in matrimonium peterent. Quos ille benigne suscipiens Theudelindam suam filiam Authari se daturum promisit. Denique post aliquod tempus, cum propter Francorum adventum perturbatio Garibaldo Regi advenisset, Theudelinda, ejus filia cum suo germano, nomine Gundoald, ad Italiam confugit, seque adventare Authari sponso nuntiavit etc. Qui et ndem cunctis lætantibus in conjugium Idus Majas accepit.*

IV.

IV.

THEODO, I.

'Till about the YEAR 680.

UNDER him *St Emmeranus* preached, and in 652. obtained the Crown of Martyrdom. (XV. 23.) *Pagius*, ad A. 696. n. 6. computes that he reigned till about the Year, 680.

V.

THEODO II.

Duke of BAVARIA, from A. 680. to 722. and with him his Sons,
THEODEBERT, THEODEBALD and GRIMOALD.

1. UNDER him, *St. Rupert*, was assiduous to re-establish the Church in *Noricum*, and, in particular, at *Fuvavia*, or *Saltzburg*, (XV. 23.) whence they reverence him as their Founder.

2. ABOUT the Year, 702. this *Theodo* gave up, to each of his three Sons, a Part of *Bavaria*. (XVI. 7.) So that there were, at the same Time, four Princes, Rulers of *Bavaria*, a Circumstance particularly remarkable in that History.

3. IN 716. he went a Pilgrimage to *Rome*. (XVI. 7.)

4. HE kept up a good Intelligence with the *Longobards*: For *Ansprand*, with the Assistance of the *Bavarians*, conquered the Kingdom, and his Son *Luitprand*, took to Wife a Princess of the House of *Bavaria*. (*Ibid.*)

5. HE died about the Year 722. *Pag.* ad an. 723. n. 9. His Family, as far as it is known, the Reader will best see in the following Table.

THEODO, II.

THEODEBERT*,	THEODEBALD, Cons. BILITRUD. who afterwards married GRIMOALD.	GRIMOALD, Cons. BILITRUD. His Brother's Widow. S. n. VI.
HUCBERT, is again Duke of all <i>Bavaria</i> . S. n. VI.	GUNTRUDIS, Cons. LUITPRAND, King of the <i>Longobards</i> .	SUNECHILD, Her Consort, <i>Charles Martell</i> . S. n. VI.

* THEODEBERT is particularly mention'd by PAULUS DIACONUS. XVI. 7. not: 7.

VI.

H U C B E R T.

1. HE was a Son of *Theodebert* *, and, about the Year, 725, after *Grimoald's* Death, brought the whole Nation again under one Government. *Charles Martell* made, about this Time, an Expedition into *Bavaria*; and perhaps this very Revolution gave Occasion to it. The *Franconian Annals*, which give as little Account of the Motives to, as they do of the particular Circumstances of this Expedition, only say, that *Charles* conquered the Country, and carried away with him *Bilitrud*, *Grimoald's* Widow, together with her Niece, *Sunechild*, whom he chose for his second Consort. (*XVI.* 7.) But that *Sunechild* was a Daughter of *Theodebert*, has no other Foundation but Conjecture. *Eckh. T. I. p. 351.*

2. HE is likewise mentioned to Advantage in the History of *St Corbinian*. This Saint underwent great Persecution, in the Time of *Grimoald*, because he zealously censured his Marriage with his Brother's Widow. On the other Hand, *Hucbert* shewed him the greater Affection. *Pag. ad A. 725. n. 7. Eckh. l. c. p. 452.*

VII.

O D I L O.

1 HIS Consort was *Chiltrud*, the Daughter of *Charles Martell*. *XVI.* 22.

2. AFTER the Death of *Charles Martell*, he attempted to free himself from the *Franconian Yoke*: But the two Brothers, *Carolomannus* and *Pipin*, went, in the Year 743. with an Army into *Bavaria*, and obliged him to submit to the Sovereignty of the *Franks*, as before. (*XVI.* 24.)

3. IN his Reign, *St. Boniface* established the *Bavarian Church*, and divided it into the four Bishopricks of *Saltzburg*, *Passaw*, *Ratisbon* and *Frey-singen*. (*XVI.* 18.)

4. I HAVE placed his Death in the Year 748. (*XVI.* 33.) and in that I follow the *Annales Metenses*, which Computation is confirmed by *F. Pagius*.

VIII.

T H A S S I L O II.

THE Son of *Odilo*, succeeded to the Duchy of *Bavaria*, *Ann.* 748. (*XVI.* 33.) but was afterwards deprived of the Duchy, by *Charlemaign*.

* CONF. PAG. ad An. 725. n. 7.

XXXVI. ANNOTATION.

Of the Duchy of Alemannia, or Swabia, under the Kings of the Franks, of the first Race.

I.

THE *Alemanni* were one of the most famous Nations in ancient Germany, as the Course of their History, in the first Volume, sufficiently shews.

Original and State of the Duchy of ALEMANNIA.

2. BUT after *Clovis* had conquered it, *A.* 496. a memorable Revolution thence ensued. (*XI.* 8.) One Part of the vanquished Nation then took Refuge to *Theoderic*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, who gave them *Rætia* for an Habitation. *Vitiges* afterwards resigned this District, together with the Inhabitants of it, to the Sons of *Clovis*, and they fell to the Portion of *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasia*. (*XII.* 9.)

3. AFTER they came, in this Manner, under the Sovereignty of the *Franks*, they were governed by Dukes. These had almost the same Power, as the Kings had, in former Times, excepting that they acknowledged the Sovereignty of the *Franks*, in the same Manner, as the Dukes of *Bavaria* did. This consisted chiefly in their being faithful and loyal to them, and serving them in their Wars. The *Alemanni* themselves preserved their ancient Customs, whence arose their particular Laws, which King *Clotarius* brought, in some Measure, into Order. (*XV.* 2, *n.* 2.) The most happy Fruits of their Union with the *Franks* was, that, by Degrees, they were converted to the *Christian* Faith.

II

Dukes of ALEMANNIA and SWABIA.

IT is impossible to give a compleat Succession of the Dukes of *Alemannia*. In Want of which I shall here only take Notice of those Passages, which we met with concerning them, in the Course of their History itself.

I. BU-

1. BUCELINUS and *Leutharius* * are mentioned as Dukes, so early as the Reign of *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasia*. (XII. 9. n. 5.) They are both very noted, on Account of the Expedition into *Italy*, which they undertook in the Time of K. *Theodebald*. (XIII. 21. seq.)

2. WE meet with *Leudefredus* Duke of *Alemannia*, in the History of *Childebert*, King of *Austrasia*. He was one of those *Grandeas* of the Kingdom, who rebelled against that King, and thereby lost his Duchy. He was succeeded by *Uncelenus*, of whom likewise no farther Mention is made. (XIV. 22.)

3. ROTBERTUS assisted *Dagobert*, I. against the *Sclavi*. (XV. 5.)

4. LEUTHARIUS, II. is mentioned immediately after the Death of *Dagobert*, under the Minority of King *Sigebert*. (XV. 7.) He was particularly remarkable in Genealogy, as I have shewn, in the same Place, *not.* 10.

5. WHEN, after the Death of *Clovis*, II. the *Franconian* Monarchy fell to Decay, and *Pipin* of *Herstall* took upon him the Administration of the Government, as *Major-Domus*, the other *German* Nations, and in particular those under *Gotfrid*, Duke of *Alemannia*, endeavour'd to free themselves wholly from the *Franconian* Dominion. An ancient Author † says, the latter likewise found Means to maintain himself in this unlimited Freedom.

6. THEODEBALD, the Son of *Gotfrid*, endeavoured likewise to support the same Independency: But *Charles Martell* made War against him: (XVI. 7.) And *Pipin*, III. did not desist, till he again submitted to the Sovereignty of the *Franks*.

7. In the Time of *Theodebald*, we find Mention of more Dukes of *Alemannia*; particularly *Bertholdus* ‡, and *Houchingus*, the Brother of *Theodebald*, and his Son *Nebus*: As likewise *Adalbert* §. Whence we may conclude, that, at least then, there were more than one Duke of the *Alemanni*, as in former Times they had likewise more than one King: About the very same Time, *St. Gallus* propagated *Christianity* among the *Alemanni*, (XV. 23.) as did likewise *St. Pirminius*. (XVI. 6.)

8. LANTRID, or rather *Luitfrid*, is the last in this Succession of the Dukes of *Swabia*. He took Part with *Grippo*, when he assumed the Title of Duke, in *Bavaria*; but, as well as *Grippo*, was obliged to submit to *Pipin*. (XVI. 33.) The latter put an End to the Duchy, and incorporated *Swabia* with the *Franconian* Monarchy; and so it remained under the *Carolingian* Race.

XXXVI.

* MONS. von Eckhard makes this *Leutharius* the great Ancestor of the succeeding Dukes of *Alemannia*, from whom the ancient Counts of *Alsace* descended, in *Orig. Austræ*, Lib. I. cap. 2. and *Hist. Franc. Orient.* T. I. p. 68. But it is a mere Conjecture, that the succeeding *Leutharius*, II. was his Grandson.

† FRAGMENT. ERCHAMBERTI. See the Passage, XV. 21. n. 2. et 9.

‡ V. D. ECKHARD. *Hist. Franc. Orient.* T. I. p. 348.

§ ECKH. l. c. p. 359.

XXXVII. ANNOTATION.

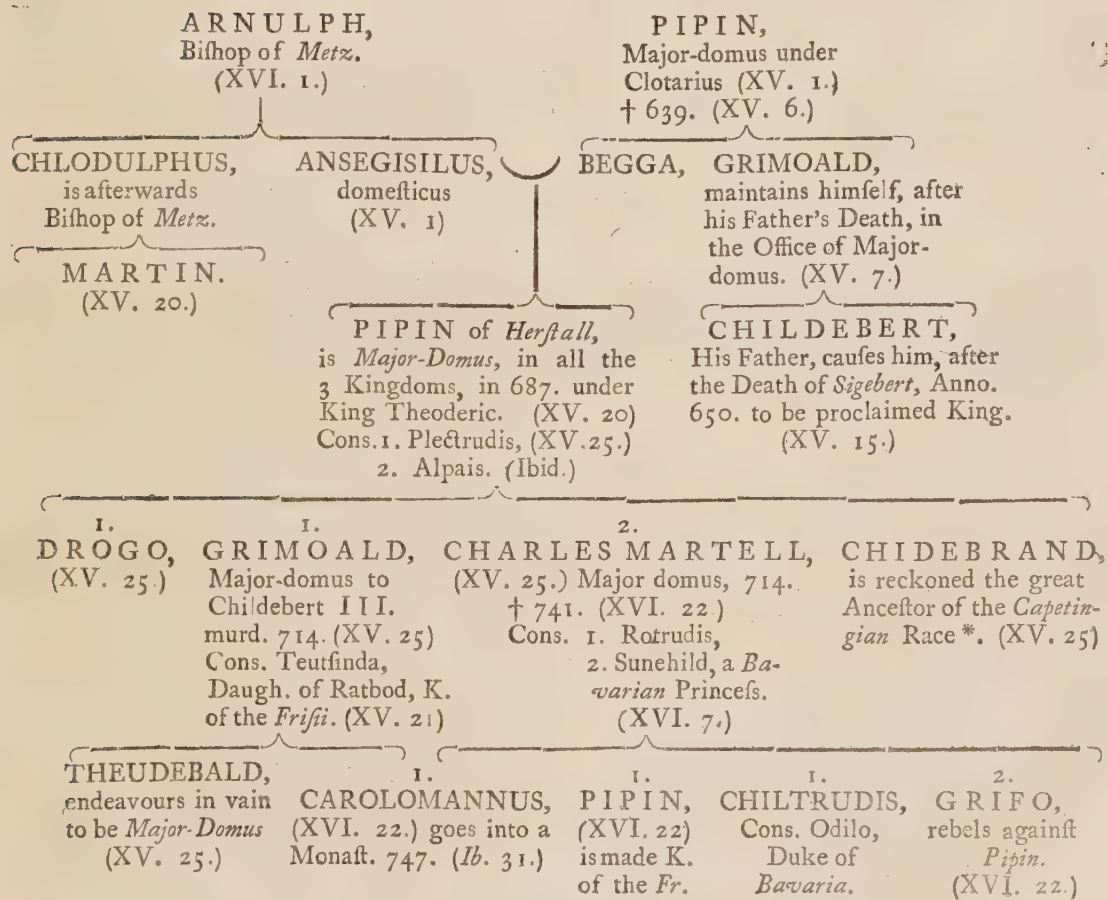
Family of the PIPINS.

Ad XV. 1.

CAROLOMANNUS,

*A FRANK of Distinction, in HASPENGOW**or HASBANIA. (XV. 1.)*

* * *

* SEE XV. 25. not. 1. *Monf. von*. ECKHARD doubts of it. *Hist. Franc. Or. T. I.* p. 321.

XXXVIII. ADDENDA.

1. Ad A. XXVII. 3. FRANCISCUS FABER appeals to the Epitaphium Cindonactis. JOHANNES GUENEBAUD, a Physician of *Dijon*, in whose Vineyard this Sepulcher was found, has written a particular Book of it; entitled: *Le Reveil de Chyndonax, Princes des Vacies* etc.

2. Ad. XXXI. 5. 2. n. *. I shall here add the Passage to which *Lucius* and *F. Banduri* refer, as they may serve to illustrate the *Sclavonian History*. p. 441. An. III. *Justinianus expeditionem in Sclavinos et Bulgaros suscepit, atque hos quidem obviam sibi factos cum pepulisset, excursione ad Thessalonicam usque facta, multas Sclavinorum multitudines, partim ad se deficientes, partim bello superatas, subegit, inque OPSICIANAM regionem * deportavit. In reditu autem a Bulgaris, intra fauces angustiarum interceptus, multis suorum amissis ægre evasit.* And farther An. VII. *Ex Sclavinis, quos ab eo deportatos fuisse diximus, novum exercitum XXX millium conscripsit, quem nomine POPULI PECULIARIS † affecit.* ZONARAS p. 92. *Idem etiam ic-tum cum Bulgaris fœdus rupit, neque eis tributa pendere sustinuit, sed expeditione in plagas occidentales suscepta, multas Sclavicas gentes partim in deditiorem accepit, partim bello domuit. Unde novas legiones conscripsit, delectis juvenum fortissimorum circiter XXX millibus: quos populum acquisitum appellavit.*

3. Ad A. XXXII. 3. 8. *Suidas* has a Passage from *Menander*, of the Preparation to a Battle, between the Imperial Army and the *Abari*: *Abari tem sub initium prælii dissonum et horridum clamorem tollere, et cum fremitu bellico TYMPANA quoque PULSARE statuerant, ut inopinato illo, et vehementi strepitu Romanos percellerent, et terrerent. Bonus igitur rem istam ante cognitam militibus indicavit, ne subito strepitu consternarentur, sed animis ante repræsentantes, et opinione præcipientes id, quod futurum erat, assuescerent ei, quod nondum aderat: et ubi strepitum tympanorum audivissent, ipsos quoque scuta concrepantes bellicum clamorem tollere, et pæana canere, et fitulas ligneas collidere jussit.* The Romans had neither Drums nor Kettle-Drums, in their *Militia*. Add DANIEL Hist. de la Milice Française T. I. P. 537.

* I do not find this District mentioned any where else. Perhaps it has the Name from *Opisana*, a City on Mount *Hæmus*.

† λαὸν περιετορ.

A N

I N D E X

O F T H E

M O S T R E M A R K A B L E O C C U R R E N C E S

I N T H E

S E C O N D V O L U M E.

N. B. *The Roman Number is the Book, the small Figures are the §, and those with n. the Notes ; but when the first, or second, or both, are omitted those immediately preceeding are to be understood. The Annotations are denoted by the Letter A, the first small Figures after it, are the Sections, and the second the Numbers.*

A

A B A R I are descended from the *Asiatick Hunns*, xiv. 4. abandon their Native Country, *ib.* make an Alliance with *Justinian*, *ib.* vanquish the *Utruguri* and *Antæ*, *ib.* send Ambassadors to *Justin II*, A. xxxii. 3. 3. pass the *Danube* and extend themselves in *Pannonia*, xiv. 3. make an Alliance with the *Longobards* against the *Gepidæ*, *ib.* *Tiberius* causes *Sirmium*

to be delivered up to them. 4. their Inroads into *Gaul*, *ib.* a Part of them goes with the *Longobards* into *Italy*. 6. A. xxxii. 2. 3. & seq.

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O O O O

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- *Justinian*

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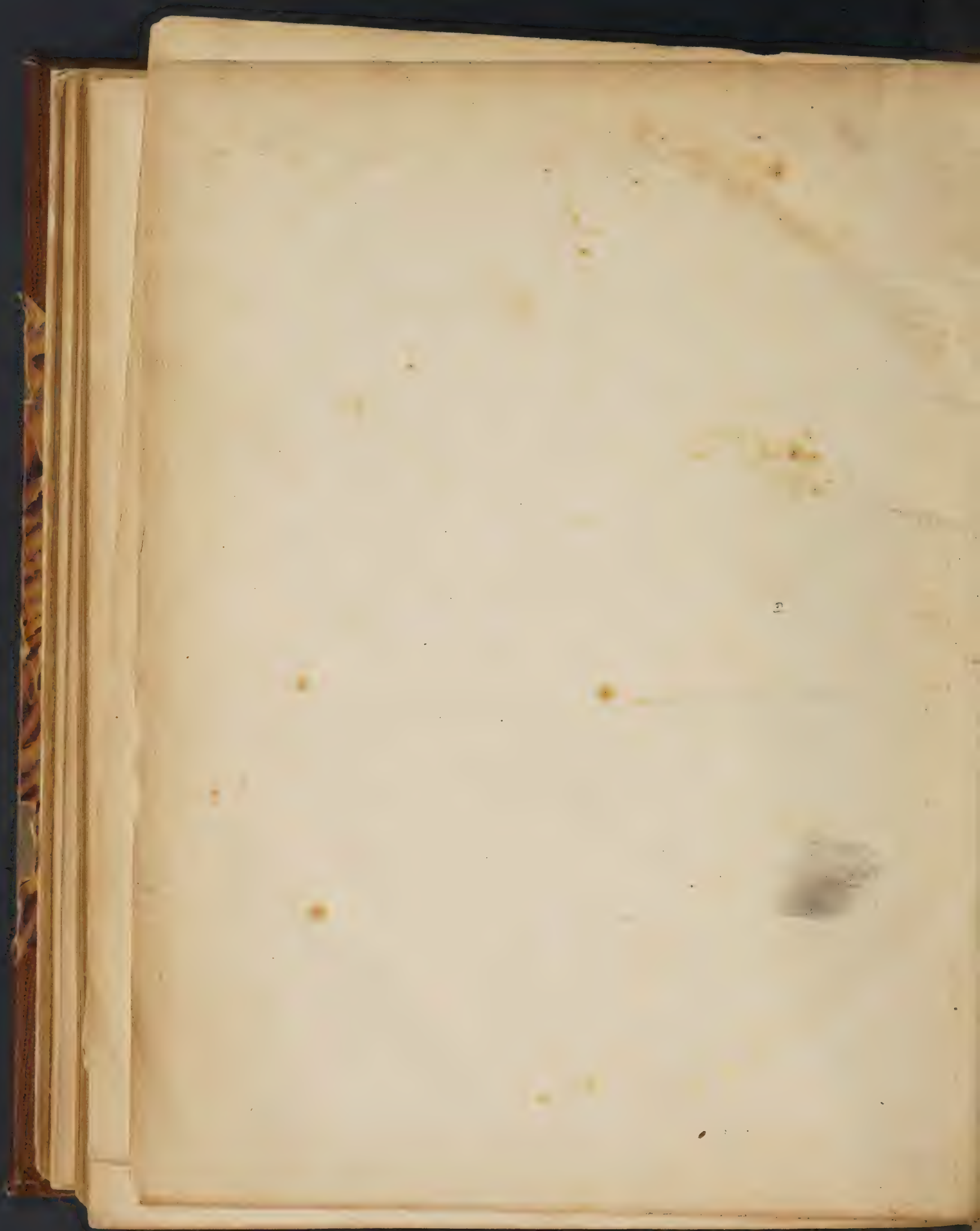
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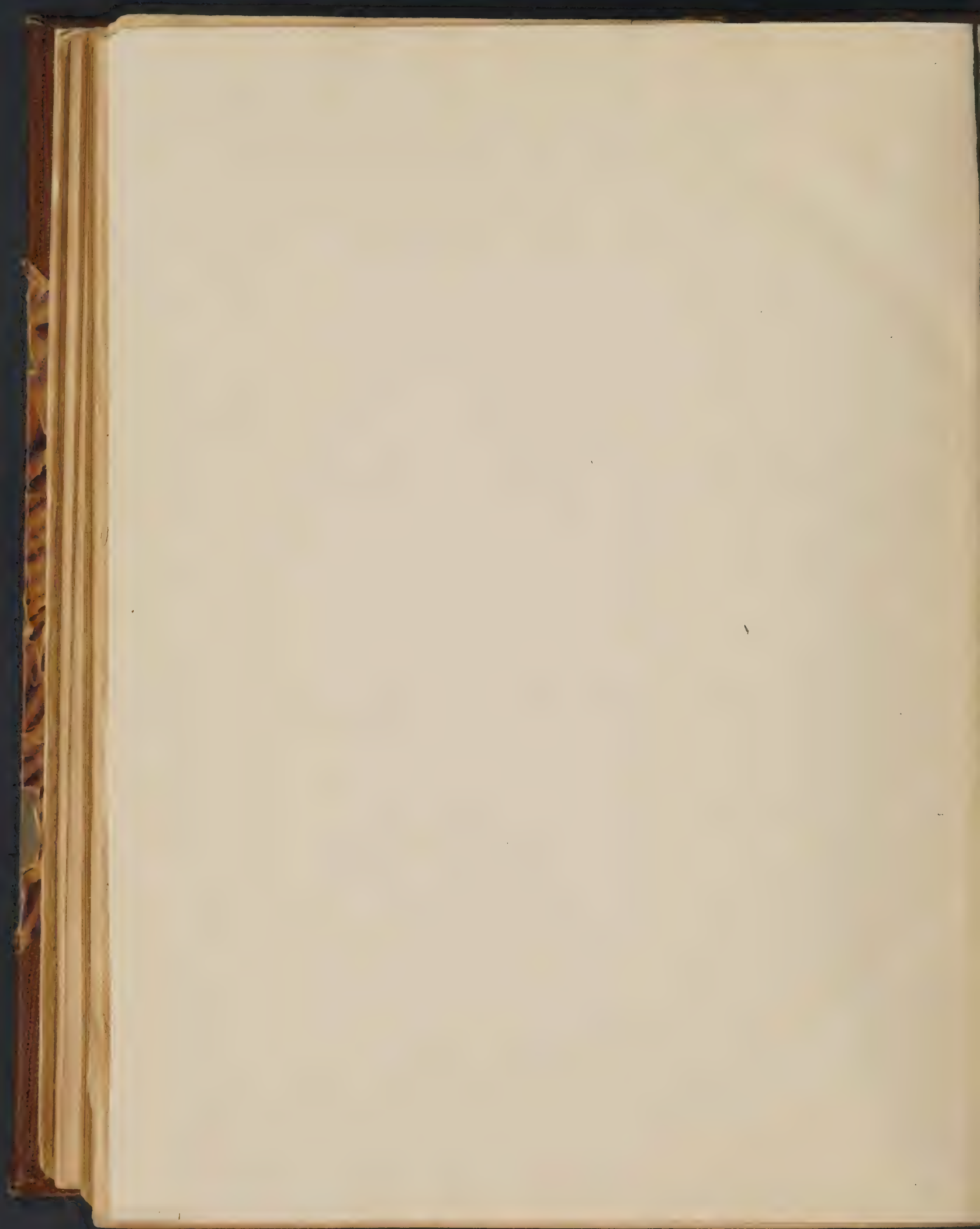


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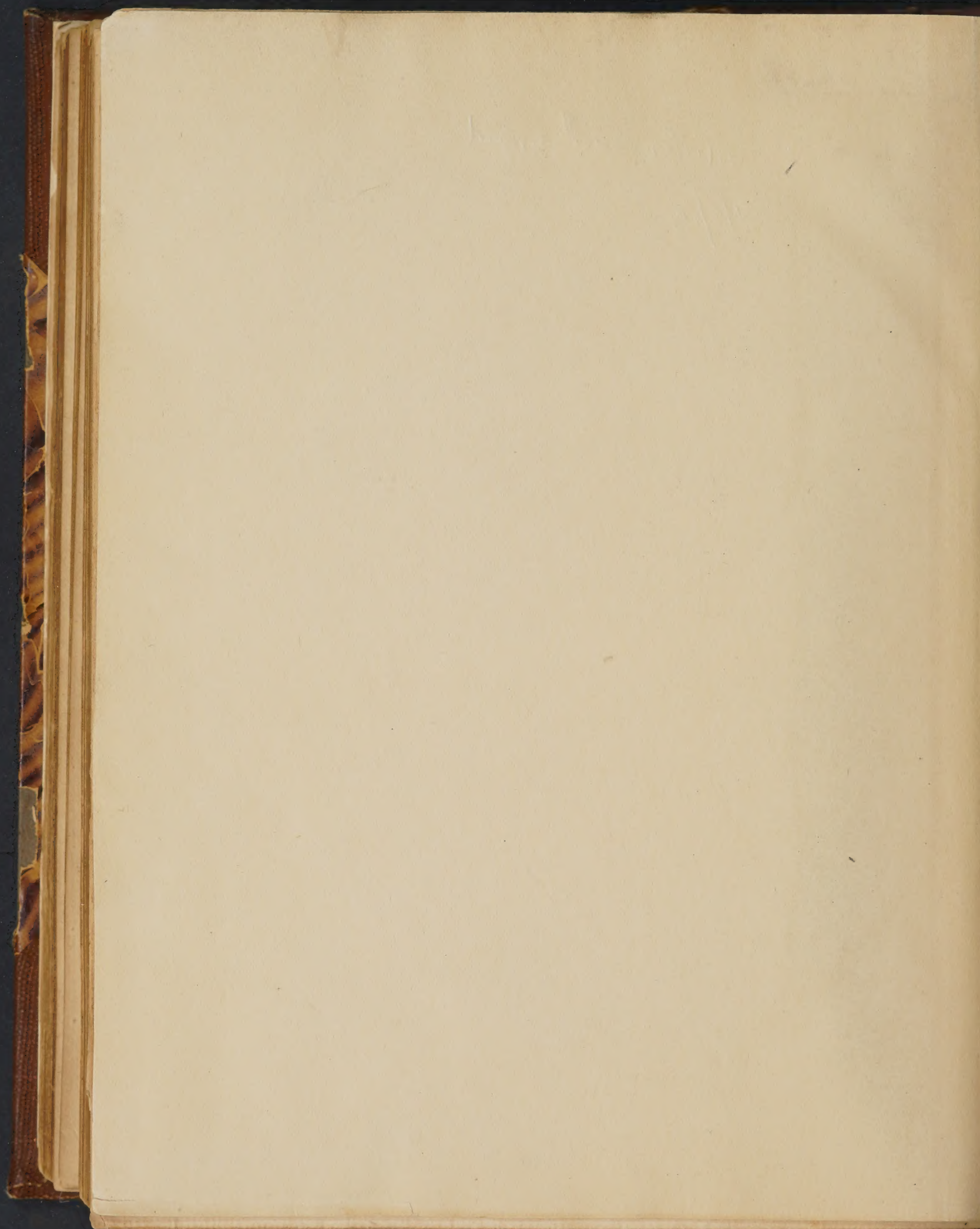






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